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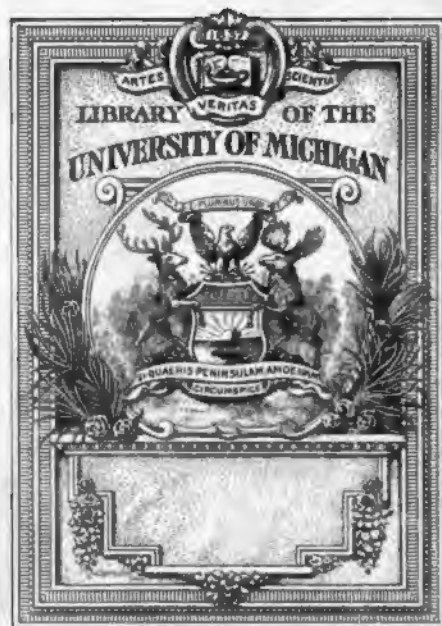
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HANSARD'S
PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES,

THIRD SERIES:

COMMENCING WITH THE ACCESSION OF

WILLIAM IV.

50° VICTORIÆ, 1886.

VOL. CCCIX.

COMPRISING THE PERIOD FROM

THE TENTH DAY OF SEPTEMBER 1886,

TO

THE TWENTY-FIFTH DAY OF SEPTEMBER 1886.

SECOND AND LAST VOLUME OF SESSION 2.

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<i>Moved</i> , "That a sum, not exceeding £953, be granted, &c.,"—(<i>Mr. Thomas Russell</i> :)—After short debate, Question put :—The Committee divided ; Ayes 36, Noes 178 ; Majority 142.—(Div. List, No. 27.)	
Original Question again proposed	266
<i>Moved</i> , "That a sum, not exceeding £1,727, be granted, &c.,"—(<i>Dr. Tanner</i> :)—After short debate, Question put :—The Committee divided ; Ayes 55 ; Noes 179 ; Majority 124.—(Div. List, No. 28.)	
Original Question again proposed	28
<i>Moved</i> , "That a sum, not exceeding £1,427, be granted, &c.,"—(<i>Mr. Clancy</i> :)—After short debate, Question put :—The Committee divided ; Ayes 62, Noes 172 ; Majority 110.—(Div. List, No. 29.)	
Original Question again proposed	280
<i>Moved</i> , "That a sum, not exceeding £2,456, be granted, &c.,"—(<i>Mr. Dillon</i> :)—After short debate, Question put :—The Committee divided ; Ayes 56, Noes 165 ; Majority 109.—(Div. List, No. 30.)	
Original Question again proposed	285
<i>Moved</i> , "That a sum, not exceeding £2,154, be granted, &c.,"—(<i>Mr. Crilly</i> :)—After short debate, Motion, by leave, <i>withdrawn</i> .	
Original Question put, and <i>agreed to</i> .	
Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £17,866, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1887, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Offices of the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in Dublin and London, and Subordinate Departments"	286
After short debate. Motion, by leave, <i>withdrawn</i> .	
(12.) £819, to complete the sum for the Charitable Donations and Bequests Office, Ireland.	
(13.) £2,414, to complete the sum for the Record Office, Ireland.—After short debate, <i>Vote agreed to</i>	287
(14.) £8,826, to complete the sum for the Valuation and Boundary Survey, Ireland.	

Resolutions to be reported.

CLASS III.—LAW AND JUSTICE.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £29,041, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1887, of Criminal Prosecutions and other Law Charges in Ireland, including certain Allowances under the Act 15 and 16 Vic. c. 83"	288
After short debate, <i>Moved</i> , "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again,"—(<i>Mr. Conyngham</i> :)—After further debate, Question put :—The Committee divided ; Ayes 54, Noes 150 ; Majority 96.—(Div. List, No. 31.)	
Original Question again proposed	311
<i>Moved</i> , "That the Chairman do now leave the Chair,"—(<i>Mr. John O'Connor, Tipperary, S.</i> :)—Question put :—The Committee divided ; Ayes 55, Noes 154 ; Majority 99.—(Div. List, No. 32.)	
Original Question again proposed :— <i>Moved</i> , "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again,"—(<i>Mr. Hunter</i> :)—After short debate, Question put :—The Committee divided ; Ayes 56, Noes 148 ; Majority 92.—(Div. List, No. 33.)	
Original Question again proposed	321

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<i>Moved</i> , "That the Chairman do now leave the Chair,"—(<i>Mr. Dilhoyne</i> :)—After short debate, Motion, by leave, <i>withdrawn</i> .	
Original Question again proposed	324
<i>Moved</i> , "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again :"—After short debate, Motion <i>agreed to</i> .	
Resolutions to be reported <i>To-morrow</i> ; Committee also report Progress ; to sit again <i>To-morrow</i> .	
SUPPLY—REPORT—Resolutions [10th September] reported	325
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(10.) "That a sum, not exceeding £8,326, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1887, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Public Record Office"	325
<i>Moved</i> , "That a sum, not exceeding £8,226, be granted, &c.,"—(<i>Mr. Dillon</i> :)—After short debate, Motion, by leave, <i>withdrawn</i> .	
Resolution <i>agreed to</i> .	
Remaining Resolutions <i>agreed to</i> .	
Submarine Telegraph Act (1885) Amendment Bill [Bill 45]—	
Bill <i>considered</i> in Committee	328
After short time spent therein, Bill <i>reported</i> , without Amendment :—Bill read the third time, and <i>passed</i> .	
Expiring Laws Continuance Bill [Bill 46]—	
Order for Second Reading read	329
Second Reading <i>deferred</i> till <i>To-morrow</i> . .. [3.45. A.M.]	

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QUESTIONS.

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After debate, <i>Moved</i> , "That a sum, not exceeding £17,866, be granted, &c."— <i>(Mr. Twite :)</i> —After further debate, <i>Moved</i> , "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again,"— <i>(Mr. Biggar :)</i> —After further short debate, Question put, and <i>negatived</i> .	
<i>Moved</i> , "That a sum, not exceeding £17,866, be granted, &c."— <i>(Mr. Twite :)</i>	442
After debate, Question put :—The Committee <i>divided</i> : Ayes 75, Noes 178 ; Majority 103 —(Div. List, No. 34.)	
Original Question again proposed	467
After debate, <i>Moved</i> , "That a sum, not exceeding £16,666, be granted, &c."— <i>(Mr. Lalor :)</i> —After further short debate, Motion, by leave, <i>withdrawn</i> .	
Original Question again proposed	482
After short debate, Original Question put, and <i>agreed to</i>	
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(2.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £68,688, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1887, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Local Government Board in Ireland, including various Grants in Aid of Local Taxation"	490
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Bill <i>considered</i> in Committee	492
After short time spent therein, Bill <i>reported</i> ; as amended, to be considered <i>To-morrow</i> .	[2.30.]

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SUPPLY—considered in Committee—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES—

In the Committee.

CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS.

(1.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £68,688, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1887, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Local Government Board in Ireland, including various Grants in Aid of Local Taxation"	496
After debate, <i>Moved</i> , "That a sum, not exceeding £65,688, be granted &c."— <i>(Mr. Jordan :)</i> —After further debate, Question put, and <i>negatived</i> .	
Original Question again proposed	545
<i>Moved</i> , "That a sum, not exceeding £65,198, be granted &c."— <i>(Mr. Finucane :)</i> —After short debate, Question put, and <i>negatived</i> .	
Original Question put, and <i>agreed to</i> .	
(2.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £18,559, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1887, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Office of Public Works in Ireland"	555
After debate, <i>Moved</i> , "That a sum, not exceeding £17,559, be granted &c."— <i>(Mr. Donald Sullivan :)</i> —Question put :—The Committee <i>divided</i> : Ayes 72, Noes 155 ; Majority 83.—(Div. List, No. 35.)	
Original Question again proposed	575

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<i>Moved</i> , "That the Vote be omitted,"—(<i>Mr. Clancy</i> :)—After short debate, Motion, by leave, <i>withdrawn</i> .	
Original Question put, and <i>agreed to</i> .	
Resolutions to be reported.	
Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £5,126, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1887, for the Salaries and Expenses in the Department of the Registrar General of Births, &c., and the Expenses of the Collection of Agricultural and other Statistics in Ireland"	578
After short debate, it being a quarter of an hour before Six of the clock, the Chairman left the Chair to report Progress.	
Resolutions to be reported <i>To-morrow</i> .	
Committee also report Progress; to sit again <i>To-morrow</i> .	[5.50.]

LORDS, THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 16.

Their Lordships met;—and having gone through the Business on the Paper without debate, [House adjourned] [4.0.]

COMMONS, THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 16.

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- (1.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £5,126, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1887, for the Salaries and Expenses in the Department of the Registrar General of Births, &c., and the Expenses of the Collection of Agricultural and other Statistics in Ireland" 604
- Moved*, "That a sum, not exceeding £5,106, be granted, &c.,"—(*Mr. Arthur O'Connor* :)—After short debate, Question put :—The Committee *divided* : Ayes 76, Noes 136; Majority 60.—(Div. List, No. 38.)
- Original Question put, and *agreed to*.

CLASS III.—LAW AND JUSTICE.

- (2.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £29,041, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1887, of Criminal Prosecutions and other Law Charges in Ireland, including certain Allowances under the Act 15 and 16 Vic. c. 83" 614
- After long debate, *Moved*, "That a sum, not exceeding £22,041, be granted, &c.,"—(*Mr. Sheehy* :)—After further debate, *Moved*, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again,"—(*Colonel Nolan* :)—After further short debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*.
- Question again proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £22,041, be granted, &c.,"—(*Mr. Sheehy* :)—After debate, Question put :—The Committee *divided* : Ayes 75, Noes 162; Majority 87.—(Div. List, No. 37.)
- Original Question again proposed 687
- Moved*, "That a sum, not exceeding £26,791, be granted, &c.,"—(*Mr. Alexander Blane* :)—After short debate, Question put, and *negatived*.
- Original Question put, and *agreed to*.
- (3.) £38,861, to complete the sum for the Supreme Court of Judicature in Ireland. — After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 695
- (4.) £7,835, to complete the sum for Registry of Deeds, Ireland.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 696
- (5.) £1,163, to complete the sum for Registry of Judgments, Ireland.
- (6.) £26,613, to complete the sum for the Irish Land Commission.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 699

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- (7.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £54,450 (including a Supplementary sum of £8,763), be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1887, for the Salaries, Allowances, and Expenses of various County Court Officers, and of Magistrates in Ireland, and of the Revising Barristers of the City of Dublin" .. 699
Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £53,450 (including a Supplementary sum of £8,763), be granted, &c.,"—(*Mr. John O'Connor* :)—After short debate, *Moved*, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again,"—(*Mr. Clancy* :)—After further short debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*.
 After further short debate, Question put :—The Committee *divided* ; Ayes 54, Noes 188 ; Majority 134.—(Div. Dist. No. 38.)
 Original Question again proposed .. 721
 After short debate, *Moved*, "That a sum, not exceeding £53,950 (including a Supplementary sum of £8,763), be granted, &c.,"—(*Mr. M. J. Kenny* :)—After further short debate, Question put :—The Committee *divided* ; Ayes 57, Noes 171 ; Majority 114.—(Div. List, No. 39.)
 Original Question put, and *agreed to*.
 (8.) £60,632, to complete the sum for Dublin Metropolitan Police.
 (9.) £70,886, to complete the sum for Prisons, Ireland.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* .. 734
Moved, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again,"—(*Mr. Jackson* :)—After short debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*.

CLASS IV.—EDUCATION, SCIENCE, AND ART.

- (10.) £1,322,989, to complete the sum for Public Education.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* .. 743
 (11.) £170,043, to complete the sum for the Science and Art Department.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* .. 751
 (12.) £77,285, to complete the sum for the British Museum.
 Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £3,607, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1887, for the Salaries and Expenses of the National Gallery" .. 760
 After short debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*.
 (13.) £7,400, to complete the sum for Learned Societies and Scientific Investigation.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* .. 761
 (14.) £6,152, to complete the sum for the London University.
 (15.) £6,000, to complete the sum for the University College, Wales.
 (16.) £1,837, to complete the sum for Deep Sea Exploring Expedition (Report).—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* .. 762
Moved, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again,"—(*Mr. Jackson* :)—Question put, and *agreed to*.

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow* ; Committee to sit again *To-morrow*.

- SUPPLY—REPORT—Resolutions [15th September] *reported* .. 763
 After short debate, Resolutions *agreed to*. [4.0 A.M.]

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QUESTIONS.

—o—

- WAR OFFICE (ORDNANCE DEPARTMENT)—THE STOREKEEPERS AT PURFLEET—Question, Major Rasch ; Answer, The Surveyor General of Ordnance (*Mr. Northcote*) .. 764
 LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—KILRUSH PETTY SESSIONS—ILLEGAL FISHING—CASE OF MR. SIMON M'AULIFFE—Question, Mr. Cox ; Answer, The Attorney General for Ireland (*Mr. Holmes*) .. 765
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ORDERS OF THE DAY.

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES—
(In the Committee.)

CLASS III.—LAW AND JUSTICE.

(1.) £542,153, to complete the sum for the Constabulary, Ireland.—After debate,
Vote agreed to 789

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SUPPLY—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES—Committee—continued.

CLASS IV.—EDUCATION, SCIENCE, AND ART.

- (2.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £3,607, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1887, for the Salaries and Expenses of the National Gallery" .. 828
Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £3,307, be granted, &c."—(Sir George Campbell :)
 —After short debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*.
 Original Question again proposed .. 835
 After short debate, Original Question put, and *agreed to*.
 (3.) £1,161, to complete the sum for the National Portrait Gallery.—After short debate, *Vote agreed to* .. 837
 (4.) £184,263, to complete the sum for Public Education, Scotland.—After debate, *Vote agreed to* .. 838
 (5.) £8,508, to complete the sum for Universities, &c. in Scotland.—After debate, *Vote agreed to* .. 866
 (6.) £500, to complete the sum for the National Gallery, &c., Scotland.
 (7.) £258,073, to complete the sum for Public Education, Ireland.—After debate, *Vote agreed to* .. 867
 (8.) £945, to complete the sum for Teachers' Pension Office, Ireland.
 (9.) £270, to complete the sum for the Endowed School Commissioners, Ireland.
 (10.) £701, to complete the sum for the National Gallery of Ireland.
 (11.) £8,528, to complete the sum for Queen's Colleges, Ireland.—After short debate, *Vote agreed to* .. 889
 (12.) £520, to complete the sum for the Royal Irish Academy.—After short debate, *Vote agreed to* .. 891

CLASS V.—FOREIGN AND COLONIAL SERVICES.

- (13.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £62,010, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1887, for the Expenses of Her Majesty's Embassies and Missions Abroad" .. 892
Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £58,010, be granted &c."—(Sir George Campbell :)
 —After debate, Question put:—The Committee *divided*; Ayes 54, Noes 158; Majority 104.—(Div. List, No. 40.)
 Original Question put, and *agreed to*.
 (14.) £46,486, to complete the sum for Consular Services.
 (15.) £4,160, to complete the sum for Slave Trade Services.
 (16.) £2,005, to complete the sum for the Suez Canal (British Directors).
 (17.) £13,116, to complete the sum for Colonies, Grants in Aid.
 (18.) £69,637, to complete the sum for South Africa and St. Helena.—After short debate, *Vote agreed to* .. 907
 (19.) £13,050, to complete the sum for Subsidies to Telegraph Companies
 (20.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £1,000, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1887, as a Grant in Aid of the Revenue of the Island of Cyprus" .. 914
 After short debate, Question put:—The Committee *divided*; Ayes 148, Noes 47; Majority 101.—(Div. List, No. 41.)

CLASS VI.—NON-EFFECTIVE AND CHARITABLE SERVICES.

- (21.) £123,928, to complete the sum for Superannuation and Retired Allowances.
 (22.) £4,200, to complete the sum for Merchant Seamen's Fund Pensions, &c.
 (23.) £485,000, to complete the sum for Pauper Lunatics, England.
 (24.) £2,000, to complete the sum for Pauper Lunatics, Scotland.
 (25.) £800, to complete the sum for Pauper Lunatics, Ireland.
 (26.) £7,558, to complete the sum for Hospitals and Infirmarys, Ireland.
 (27.) £1,000, to complete the sum for Savings Banks and Friendly Societies Deficiency.
 (28.) £1,111, to complete the sum for Miscellaneous Charitable and other Allowances, Great Britain.
 (29.) £1,303, to complete the sum for Miscellaneous Charitable and other Allowances, Ireland.

CLASS VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

- (30.) £13,331, to complete the sum for Temporary Commissions.

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SUPPLY—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES—Committee—*continued*.

- (31.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £2,802, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1887, for certain Miscellaneous Expenses" .. 916
After short debate, Question put:—The Committee *divided*; Ayes 140, Noes 48; Majority 92.—(Div. List, No. 42.)

REVENUE DEPARTMENTS.

- (32.) £536,057, to complete the sum for Customs. .
(33.) £1,057,506, to complete the sum for Inland Revenue. .
(34.) £3,118,995, to complete the sum for the Post Office. .
(35.) £335,663, to complete the sum for the Post Office Packet Service.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* .. 919
(36.) £775,510, to complete the sum for the Post Office Telegraphs. ..

CLASS III.—LAW AND JUSTICE.

- (37.) £1,680, Supplementary, for Revising Barristers, England.
(38.) £3,930, for the Crofters' Commission.

CLASS IV.—EDUCATION, SCIENCE, AND ART.

- (39.) £5,000, for the Royal University of Ireland.

CLASS VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

- (40.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £14,786, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1887, for the repayment to the Civil Contingencies Fund of certain Miscellaneous Advances" .. 920
Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £14,172, be granted, &c."—(Mr. Labouchere:)—After short debate, Question put:—The Committee *divided*; Ayes 48, Noes 126; Majority 78.—(Div. List, No. 43.)
Original Question put, and *agreed to*.

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow*.

SUPPLY—REPORT—Resolutions [16th September] *reported* .. 925

Resolutions 1 to 5, inclusive, *agreed to*.

Resolution 6 read a first and second time:—*Moved*, "That this House doth agree with the Committee in the said Resolution:"—After short debate, Question put, and *agreed to*.

Resolutions 7 and 8 *agreed to*.

Resolution 9 read a first and second time:—*Moved*, "That this House doth agree with the Committee in the said Resolution:"—After short debate, Question put, and *agreed to*.

Remaining Resolutions *agreed to*.

WAYS AND MEANS—

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Resolved, That, towards making good the Supply granted to Her Majesty for the service of the year ending on the 31st day of March 1887, the sum of £20,089,689 be granted out of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom.

Resolution to be reported *To-morrow*. [3.0.]

COMMONS, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 18.

Q U E S T I O N .

—o—

POOR LAW (ENGLAND AND WALES)—AGED COUPLES IN WORKHOUSES—
Question, Mr. Charles W. Gray; Answer, The President of the Local
Government Board (Mr. Ritchie) .. 928

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MOTION.

ORDERS OF THE DAY—

Ordered, That, on Monday next, the Order of the 3rd day of September, giving precedence to all stages of the Appropriation Bill, be suspended,—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer*.)

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

SUPPLY—REPORT—Resolutions [17th September] *reported* 929

Resolutions 1 to 12, inclusive, *agreed to*.

(13.) "That a sum, not exceeding £62,010, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1887, for the Expenses of Her Majesty's Embassies and Missions Abroad."

EGYPT (FINANCE, &C.)—THE 5 PER CENT DEDUCTION FROM THE COUPONS — REPAYMENT BY ENGLAND — Observations, Sir George Campbell; Reply, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Lord Randolph Churchill) 929

Resolution *agreed to*.

Resolutions 14 to 33, inclusive, *agreed to*.

(34.) "That a sum, not exceeding £3,118,955, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1887, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Post Office Services, the Expenses of Post Office Savings Banks, and Government Annuities and Insurances, and the Collection of the Post Office Revenue" 934

POST OFFICE—THE MEDICAL STAFF—Observation, Mr. Pickersgill .. 934

POST OFFICE—SUCCESS OF THE SIXPENNY TELEGRAM SYSTEM—Observations, Mr. Shaw Lefevre 935

Resolution *agreed to*.

Remaining Resolutions *agreed to*.

WAYS AND MEANS—Resolution [September 17] *reported*, and *agreed to*.

MOTION.

Consolidated Fund (Appropriation) Bill—

Moved, "That leave be given to bring in a Bill to apply a sum out of the Consolidated Fund to the service of the year ending on the thirty-first day of March, one thousand eight hundred and eighty-seven, and to appropriate the Supplies granted in this Session of Parliament,"—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer*) .. 935

POST OFFICE—SUCCESS OF THE SIXPENNY TELEGRAM SYSTEM—Observations, Mr. Shaw Lefevre; Reply, The Postmaster General (Mr. Raikes) .. 935

POST OFFICE — THE MEDICAL STAFF — Observations, Mr. Pickersgill, Mr. Wootton Isaacson; Reply, The Postmaster General (Mr. Raikes) 937

SEA AND COAST FISHERIES (IRELAND)—TRAWLING IN BANTRY BAY — GRIEVANCES OF THE TRAMMEL NET FISHERMEN — Observations, Mr. Gilhooly; Reply, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) .. 947

Motion *agreed to*:—Bill *ordered* (*Mr. Courtney, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Jackson*); *presented*, and read the first time. [1.30.]

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Resolutions <i>agreed to</i> :— <i>Ordered</i> , That the said Resolutions be <i>printed</i> . (No. 23.)	

Disturbances at Belfast Inquiry Bill (No. 21)—

<i>Moved</i> , “That the Bill be now read 2 ^a ,”—(<i>The Earl Cadogan</i>) ..	951
Motion <i>agreed to</i> :—Bill read 2 ^a accordingly; Committee <i>negatived</i> ; Then Standing Order No. XXXV. <i>considered</i> (according to Order), and <i>dispensed with</i> ; Bill read 3 ^a , and <i>passed</i> .	

FISHERY BOARD (IRELAND)—REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONERS—RESOLUTION—

<i>Moved</i> , “That no assistance given by the Government to the Irish fisheries will prove of permanent benefit unless the transport and a reduced fare of carriage for fish to the English markets is duly provided for,”—(<i>The Earl of Howth</i>) ..	951
Motion (by leave of the House) <i>withdrawn</i> .	

RAILWAY BRAKES—LEGISLATION — Question, Observations, Earl De La Warr; Reply, The President of the Board of Trade (Lord Stanley of Preston)	952
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ORDERS OF THE DAY.

Tenants Relief (Ireland) Bill [Bill 47]—

Moved, “That the Bill be now read a second time,”—(*Mr. Parnell*) .. 984

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word “That” to the end of the Question, in order to add the words “in the opinion of this House, it is inexpedient at the present time to make any further alteration in the Irish Land Laws,”—(*Mr. Penrose Fitzgerald*),—instead thereof.

Question proposed, “That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question :”—After long debate, *Moved*, “That the Debate be now adjourned,”—(*Mr. John Morley*) :—Question put, and *agreed to* :—Debate *adjourned* till *To-morrow*.

Consolidated Fund (Appropriation) Bill—

Moved, “That the Bill be now read a second time” .. 1073

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—IMPRISONMENT OF FATHER FAHY—Observations, Mr. Dillon ; Reply, The Attorney General for Ireland (Mr. Holmes) :—Debate thereon .. 1073

Question put :—The House *divided* ; Ayes 176, Noes 66 ; Majority 110.
—(*Div. List. No. 44.*)

Bill *committed* for *To-morrow*. [1.30.]

COMMONS, TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 21.

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M O T I O N S.

—o—

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE (WEDNESDAY SITTINGS)—

Ordered, That the Standing Orders of the House relating to Wednesday Sittings be suspended To-morrow,—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.*)

ORDERS OF THE DAY—

Ordered, That the Order of the Day for resuming the Adjourned Debate on the Second Reading of the Tenants Relief (Ireland) Bill have precedence next after the Consolidated Fund (Appropriation) Bill,—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.*)

O R D E R S O F T H E D A Y.

—o—

Consolidated Fund (Appropriation) Bill—

Order for Committee read :—*Moved*, “That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair” 1129

LAND LAW—TRANSFER OF LAND—LEGISLATION—Question, Observations, Mr. Shaw Lefevre; Reply, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Lord Randolph Churchill) 1129

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS—POLLING PLACES IN COUNTIES—Observation, Mr. Waddy; Reply, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) 1130

Question put, and *agreed to* :—Bill *considered* in Committee .. 1131

After short time spent therein, Bill *reported*, without Amendment; to be read the third time *To-morrow*.

Tenants Relief (Ireland) Bill [Bill 47]—ADJOURNED DEBATE— [SECOND NIGHT]—

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment proposed to Question [20th September:]—“That the Bill be now read a second time :”—Question again proposed, “That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question :”—Debate *resumed* 1132

After long debate, Question put :—The House *divided*; Ayes 202, Noes 297; Majority 95.

Division List, Ayes and Noes 1247

Words added :—Main Question, as amended, put, and *agreed to*.

Resolved, That, in the opinion of this House, it is inexpedient, at the present time, to make any further alteration in the Irish Land Laws.

[2.15.]

LORDS, WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 22.

Their Lordships met at Two o'clock.

House adjourned during pleasure :—House resumed.

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Consolidated Fund (Appropriation) Bill—

Read 1st; and to be read 2nd *To-morrow*: and Standing Order No. XXXV. to be considered in order to its being dispensed with,—(*The Lord Stanley of Preston.*)

[10.45.]

COMMONS, WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 22.

QUESTIONS.

—o—

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ORDER OF THE DAY.

—o—

Consolidated Fund (Appropriation) Bill—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read the third time" .. 1270

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS (IRELAND)—THE DERRY ELECTION—ACTION OF THE RESIDENT MAGISTRATE AND POLICE—OFFICIAL INQUIRY—RESOLUTION—Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "in the opinion of this House, it is expedient and necessary that an official inquiry should be held into the conduct of the resident magistrate and police in the city of Derry on the 6th of July last, when it is alleged that, under the orders of the resident magistrate, an unwarrantable attack was made by the police, with staves, upon a number of respectable and orderly people who were assembled on the steps of the Imperial Hotel, Londonderry, on the occasion of the declaration of the poll at the city of Derry election on that day,"—(*Mr. Charles Lewis*),—instead thereof .. 1270

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:"—After debate, Question put:—The House *divided*: Ayes 237, No 1; Majority 236.—(*Div. List, No. 46.*)

Main Question, "That the Bill be now read the third time," again proposed:—

MERCANTILE MARINE—SALVAGE LAWS—SALVAGE OF DERELICT VESSELS—SAILORS AND FISHERMEN ON THE EAST COAST—Observations, Major Rasch .. 1257

EDUCATION (SCOTLAND)—THE GLASGOW SCHOOL BOARD SYSTEM—Observations, Mr. Mason; Reply, The Secretary for Scotland (Mr. A. J. Balfour):—Short debate thereon .. 1288

ARMY—CHARGES AGAINST THE ORDNANCE DEPARTMENT—Observations, Sir Henry Tyler, Mr. Waddy; Reply, The Attorney General (Sir Richard Webster) .. 1294

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SOUTH - EASTERN EUROPE — AFFAIRS OF BULGARIA — ACTION OF THE GOVERNMENT—Observations, Mr. Cremer; Reply, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Lord Randolph Churchill):—Short debate thereon .. 1328

Main Question put, and *agreed to*:—Bill read the third time, and *passed*.

ADJOURNMENT—

Resolved, That this House will, at the rising of the House this day, adjourn till *Saturday*,—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer*.) [9.15.]

LORDS, THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 23.

ARMY—EFFICIENCY OF THE NEW RIFLE—INSTRUCTIONS TO THE COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY—THE RESERVE FORCES—Question, Observations, The Earl of Wemyss; Reply, The Under Secretary of State for War (Lord Harris) 1340

Consolidated Fund (Appropriation) Bill—

Read 2^a (according to order); Committee *negatived*: Then Standing Order No. XXXV. *considered* (according to order), and *dispensed with*: Bill read 3^a, and *passed*.

[5.15.]

LORDS, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 25.

PROROGATION OF THE PARLIAMENT—

The ROYAL ASSENT was given to several Bills; and afterwards HER MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS SPEECH was delivered to both Houses by the LORD CHANCELLOR (pursuant to Her Majesty's Command.)

Then a Commission for proroguing the Parliament was read.

After which,

THE LORD CHANCELLOR said—

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

By virtue of Her Majesty's Commission, under the Great Seal, to us and other Lords directed, and now read, we do, in Her Majesty's Name, and in obedience to Her Commands, prorogue this Parliament to Thursday the Eleventh day of November next, to be then here holden; and this Parliament is accordingly prorogued to Thursday the Eleventh day of November next.

COMMONS, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 25.

Q U E S T I O N S.

OFFICE OF WORKS (FURNITURE DEPARTMENT)—MEMORIAL OF ASSISTANTS—Question, Mr. Lawson; Answer, The First Commissioner of Works (Mr. Plunket) 1351

ROYAL PARKS AND PLEASURE GARDENS—KEW GARDENS—Question, Mr. Macdonald Cameron; Answer, The First Commissioner of Works (Mr. Plunket) 1352

INDIA—NAVANCORE—EXCLUSION OF M. MONTDAR—Question, Mr. Hunter; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir James Fergusson) 1353

WESTERN AUSTRALIA (LAW AND JUSTICE)—APPOINTMENT OF THIRD JUDGE—Question, Mr. Deasy; Answer, The President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Ritchie) 1353

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IN THE

FIRST SESSION OF THE TWENTY-FOURTH PARLIAMENT OF THE
UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND
APPOINTED TO MEET 5 AUGUST, 1886, IN THE FIFTIETH
YEAR OF THE REIGN OF
HER MAJESTY QUEEN VICTORIA.

SECOND VOLUME OF THE SESSION.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

QUESTIONS.

Friday, 10th September, 1886.

FRANCE—THE CUSTOMS LAW—
EXACTIONS AT THE PORT OF ROUEN.

MR. KING (Hull, Central) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether the attention of the Government has been called to the manner in which the French Customs Law is enforced at the port of Rouen against English vessels, whereby the captains or owners of vessels are obliged to employ the local brokers on frivolous pretences, and to pay fees amounting in one case to two per cent. of the entire freight; whether, in the case of the British ship, *Royal Minstrel*, the Custom House authorities insisted on the employment of a broker simply to translate

MINUTES.]—SUPPLY—considered in Committee
— CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES; CLASS II. —
SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPART-
MENTS, Votes 13 to 25

Resolutions [September 9] reported.

PUBLIC BILLS — Ordered — First Reading —
Expiring Laws Continuance * [46]; Tenants'
Relief (Ireland) * [47].

Second Reading — Submarine Telegraph Act
'1885, Amendment * [45].

Committee — Disturbances at Belfast Inquiry
[35]—R.P.

Withdrawn—Employers' Liability * [2].

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the statement of one seaman, from whom a statement was demanded, quite unnecessarily, as all the ship's documents were in the hands of the authorities, in consequence of which the owners had to pay a brokerage fee of 538 francs 50 centimes; whether French, Russian, Dutch, Portuguese, and other vessels are exempted from this exaction by the authorities; whether English vessels are entitled, under existing Treaties, to be placed on the same footing as French and other vessels in this respect; and, whether steps will be taken in the case of the *Royal Minstrel* to vindicate the rights of British shipowners against such exactions?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JAMES FERGUSSON) (Manchester, N.E.): The case referred to by the hon. Member is correctly stated, and no doubt involves great hardship, although it does not appear that anything has been done contrary to either law or treaty. The ships of other nations are equally liable to such exactions, but often escape because the shipbrokers are unable to act as interpreters of their several languages. The question of shipbrokerage in France has formed the subject of frequent representations to the French Government, and the hon. Member will find a full statement upon the subject in a Parliamentary Paper, Commercial, No. 35 (1884), page 10. Her Majesty's Government will watch for a suitable opportunity to make a further attempt to procure some amendment of the law. A recent decision of the French Minister of Commerce will, I hope, lessen somewhat the difficulties and expenses of British shipowners; and I will communicate it, with explanations on the points adverted to by the hon. Member, to the owners of the *Royal Minstrel*.

POST OFFICE (IRELAND)—THE POSTMASTER AT KILDYSART,
CO. CLARE.

MR. JORDAN (Clare, W.) asked the Postmaster General, Whether Mr. Maloney, postmaster, Kildysart, county Clare, receives but £10 per annum for postal work, and whether out of that amount he is compelled to pay £5 yearly to a letter carrier; whether, as postmaster, he attends from 7 o'clock a.m. till 7 p.m. daily for net £5 per annum, or 3½d. per day, and without an hour's leave during

the year; whether Kildysart is a postal centre of such importance as to warrant an increase of Maloney's salary, and the payment of the letter-carrier by the Post Office authorities; whether Maloney's remuneration as telegraphist at Kildysart is but 6s. per week, while in many cases apprentices for less responsible work receive double that sum, and for little more work telegraphists receive from 20s. to 30s. per week; whether 1,000 words on a daily average are transmitted from Kildysart; whether his work in this department is made more onerous by the use of a bad instrument; whether the Government will consider this case with a view to redress it; and, whether a similar state of things does largely obtain in said county?

THE POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. RAIKES) (Cambridge University): I think I ought to inform the hon. Member that all sub-postmasters throughout the United Kingdom are paid upon one principle, which may be described, shortly, as a system of payment by results. It is the practice to appoint as sub-postmasters persons having private business, and to give them a small retaining fee, and, in addition, commission for various branches of work. The payment, therefore, adjusts itself to the work; and if there is but little pay it is evident there is but little work. The principle appears to me a sound one. If there is anything peculiar in the case of Mr. Maloney, his proper course is to make his application to me through the prescribed channel, when the case would be investigated. I may add that Mr. Maloney is a grocer, and is not required to give his whole time to the Public Service, and that the total amount paid to him in 1885, under the principle mentioned, was about £28. An allowance of £9 2s. 6d. is given to him for the purpose of engaging a messenger, who is occupied but a short time daily. I have called upon him to explain why he only gives £5 of the allowance to this messenger. The telegraph instrument—an "A. B. C."—is fully adequate for the telegraph requirements of the office, and the average number of words telegraphed daily is much below 1,000.

MR. JORDAN: Is the £9 2s. 6d. allowed for the messenger in addition to £10?

MR. RAIKES: Certainly.

Mr. King

FISHERIES (IRELAND) — THE WEST AND NORTH WEST COAST—LOANS TO FISHERMEN.

MR. CLANCY (Dublin Co., N.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the present system of making loans to fishermen in that country has operated to exclude from its benefits very many of those most in need of loans; whether a relaxation in the rules regulating the making of loans to fishermen was effected by an Order of the Lords Justices in Council in January last, so as to enable loans for boats and gear to be made on the security alone of the borrowers and the boats; whether this new rule was made without restriction to particular localities; whether it has since been acted on as referring only to the West and North West Coasts of Ireland; and, if so, why, and by virtue of what authority; and, whether the Government will consider the propriety of enabling all fishermen in Ireland to obtain loans on the conditions said to be exacted now in the cases of those on the West and North West Coasts?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH) (Bristol, W.): I understand that in the case of small loans the difficulty suggested is not experienced. The relaxation of the rules sanctioned in January last permitting large loans for boats, on the security of the vessels, was recommended by the Inspector of Fisheries and agreed to by the Government in the hope of aiding in the development of fisheries by the supply of large boats, particularly on the West and North-West Coasts, where the fishermen most need assistance. The rule was not expressly limited to those parts of the Coast, though it was intended mainly to apply to them. The Lord Lieutenant's consent is required in the case of every loan above £500. I am in expectation of hearing further on this subject from the Inspectors of Fisheries; but I think I may say that I shall be prepared to advise his Excellency to entertain the applications in deserving cases arising in other parts of the country than those mentioned. It is evident, however, that the experiment of dispensing with security other than that of the vessels themselves may be attended with risk of loss to the loan

fund; and it must, therefore, be on a strictly limited scale, at all events at first.

INTERMEDIATE EDUCATION (IRELAND)—THE ASSISTANT COMMISSIONERS.

MR. CLANCY (Dublin Co., N.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the combined salaries paid to the two Assistant Commissioners of Intermediate Education in Ireland amounted in 1884 to seven per cent of the entire expenditure of the Board, to nearly one-fourth of all the results fees to boys and girls in Ireland, to once and a-half as much as the results fees given to girls' schools in all Ireland, to all the results fees given in respect of boys and girls in Munster, to six times the amount of the results fees given to all the schools in Connaught; whether the Assistant Commissioners who were appointed to act as secretaries and inspectors have even acted in the latter capacity, and have had their secretarial work mainly done by the chief and under clerks; and, if all this be the case, the Government will take advantage of the present vacancy in the office of Assistant Commissioner to effect a reduction in the administration expenses of the Board of Intermediate Education, and thus increase the small fund available for prizes to pupils and fees to schools?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH) (Bristol, W.). The hon. Gentleman will excuse me if I do not go into the calculations he has made. They may be correct, but if they are correct I do not know that his premisses would be established. I may state, however, that in the year he mentions (1884) the Commissioners had at their disposal for payment as rewards and results fees £5,000 more than was earned by students. With regard to the distribution of the business of the Department, I am informed that the secretarial duties have been performed by the Assistant Commissioners exclusively; but that no occasion has as yet arisen for their employment as Inspectors. I have already intimated that the question of the salary to be attached to the office of Assistant Commissioner will be considered before the existing vacancy is filled.

POST OFFICE (IRELAND)—BELFAST—
TELEGRAPH CLERKS.

MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W., and Sligo, S.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the Telegraph Clerks in Belfast are obliged to work without pay on certain Sundays; whether they are paid for overtime at the same rate only as for ordinary duty; and, what is the length of their annual holiday, and whether any representations have been made that it is not sufficient for the preservation of health?

THE POSTMASTER GENERAL (MR. RAIKES) (Cambridge University): In reply to the hon. Member, I have to state that the telegraphists at Belfast are not obliged to work without pay on any Sunday. The scale of wages was fixed in 1881 to cover an average of two hours' work on Sundays. All work in excess of such average of two hours is specially paid for as overtime. Payment for overtime is at the same rate as for ordinary duty for the first three hours on a single occasion; but 25 per cent is added for overtime in excess of that period. The length of annual holiday allowed to the telegraphists at Belfast varies from a fortnight to three weeks, according to their position and duties, as at other Provincial offices. It is not at all unusual for persons who wish for a little longer holiday to make representations of the character of those to which the hon. Member alludes, and such a one has been received from Belfast. I am considering the subject, and at the proper time shall announce the decision.

MR. SEXTON: May I ask if the regulations in force in Belfast are different from those in other towns?

MR. RAIKES: I understand they are the same.

THE TRUCK ACTS—INFRINGEMENT IN
SCOTLAND.

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether he has obtained any further information as to the infringement of the Truck Acts in various parts of Scotland; and, whether it is true that there are technical difficulties in enforcing those Acts in Scotland; and, if yes, whether he will, during the recess, consider the advisa-

bility of introducing a Bill, next Session, enacting that all prosecutions under the Truck Acts may be brought in the Sheriffs' Court by the Procurators Fiscal, whose expenses may be entered and repayable as in other prosecutions?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (MR. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): In answer to the hon. Member, I regret to say that I have no further information on this subject as yet from Scotland. I have consulted the Lord Advocate as to the latter part of the Question, and he tells me that he is not aware of any technical difficulties in the way of enforcing the Truck Acts in Scotland, and he does not advise any further legislation on the subject. I may add that I am still prosecuting inquiries into the matter.

MR. BRADLAUGH: I wish to ask the Lord Advocate whether he is aware that these difficulties were expressly stated by the Truck Commissioners, and have never been altered since?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (MR. J. H. A. MACDONALD) (Edinburgh and St. Andrew's Universities): I am aware that certain difficulties were stated by the Commissioners; but inquiries I have made as to the present state of the matter do not appear to indicate that there is any substantial difficulty now.

INLAND NAVIGATION AND DRAINAGE
(IRELAND)—DRAINAGE OF
LOUGH ERNE.

MR. JORDAN (Clare, W.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he has yet obtained the necessary information, or if the terms of reference have yet been settled, or, if not, when it is probable that they will be, so as to enable him to state the intention of the Government, as to referring the matter of the drainage of Lough Erne with its tributaries, and the Ulster and Ballinamore Canals, to the proposed Commission on the development of Irish resources, having regard to the fact that the interests of a large district of the north west of Ireland, including the counties of Cavan, Monaghan, Fermanagh, Leitrim, and Donegal, are affected thereby?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH) (Bristol, W.): This Question, as addressed to me, has only appeared on the Paper to-day; and, therefore, I have not been able to make

myself acquainted with the precise position of the question of the drainage of Lough Erne. But I may say generally that the duty of the proposed Commission will be to inquire what requires to be done to complete the arterial drainage of Ireland, and how that work should be carried out. If the drainage of Lough Erne and its tributaries is not completed, or if arrangements for its completion have not been already entered into, it would fall within the scope of the Commission.

INDIA—THE GOVERNOR OF MADRAS.

MR. JORDAN (Clare, W.) asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether the Governor of Madras visited the Viceroy at the end of last year at the public cost; whether he travelled by special train, with a large following; whether he could have travelled by ordinary train at one-fifth of the sum the Indian Press reports has been charged in the public accounts; whether it was absolutely necessary that the route should have been round by Bombay, Oodeypore, and Jeypore, and not by the direct and inexpensive route by sea, awaiting the Viceroy's then impending return to Calcutta; and, whether there is any truth in this newspaper report?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JOHN GORST) (Chatham): The Governor of Madras did visit the Viceroy of India at Simla at the end of 1885. The Secretary of State has no official information as to his route, method of conveyance, or the persons by whom he was accompanied, nor can he say for what reason he visited the Viceroy at Simla rather than Calcutta. As to the cost of the journey, the Civil Travelling Allowance Code, Section 35, lays down that—

“The travelling expenses of the Governor of Madras and Bombay and of their households are paid out of the contract allowance for household charges;”

and the Secretary of State has no reason to suppose that this rule was departed from.

FISHERY PIERS AND HARBOURS (IRELAND)—BUNDORAN PIER, CO.

DONEGAL.

MR. BERNARD KELLY (Donegal, S.) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, If it be a fact that a pier has been lately erected at Bundoran, county Donegal, by the Board of Works, at a cost of

about £4,000; if it is so short that it does not meet with the absolute necessities of the place, and that a small steamer which had been put on for the conveyance of passengers and fish from Killybegs to Bundoran, which is the nearest railway station, had to be given up in consequence of not being able to come alongside and discharge either passengers or fish; if the fisheries of Donegal Bay have lately been largely developed, and large quantities of fish sent therefrom to the English markets, but that the trade is outweighed by the expense attendant on sending the fish a very long distance by road before it reaches a railway station, whilst a near one exists at Bundoran, if only the harbour were made convenient for landing at; and, if the Commissioners of Fisheries would approve of the extension of the pier and improvement of the harbour, so as to effect the object so much desired; and, if so, would he authorize the Board of Works to make the improvements so necessary, and thus help the fishing industry of a poor district of country?

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.) said, he would ask the hon. Member to postpone this Question till Tuesday. He had made inquiry, and he understood a letter had been forwarded to the Commissioners of Fisheries; but as yet no reply had been received.

COMMISSIONERS OF IRISH LIGHTS—DONEGAL HARBOUR.

MR. BERNARD KELLY (Donegal, S.) asked the Secretary to the Board of Trade, If the entrance to Donegal is rendered dangerous by the existence of what is called the “Blind Rock,” in the channel leading to that town, on which formerly a beacon tower was erected, but knocked down some years ago, and has never been rebuilt; if, in its present state, the navigation of this narrow channel up to Donegal is rendered very difficult and unsafe, and is a great drawback, not only to the commercial interests of the town, but also to the fishing industry of the bay; and, if the lighthouse tower at Fannad Point, Lough Swilly, is about to be taken down by the Commissioners of Irish Lights, and if he could induce that Board to have it moved to and erected on the “Blind Rock” in Donegal Bay, so that the interests of that

town and the fishing industry, which has lately been considerably developed, might be assisted?

THE SECRETARY TO THE BOARD (Baron HENRY DE WORMS) (Liverpool, East Toxteth): There is no doubt that the entrance to Donegal Harbour is, as stated by the hon. Member, rendered dangerous to navigation by the existence of the Blind Rock. The Rock at present has no beacon; but it was formerly marked by an iron pole erected and maintained by those locally interested. With regard to the last part of the hon. Member's Question, the Board of Trade are not in a position to make any definite statement respecting the old Fannad Point Lighthouse; but I must point out that the expense of marking dangers which affect only the local trade of a port should be provided for by the locality. The Board of Trade, as custodians of the Mercantile Marine Fund, which is contributed by the general passing trade (and towards which fishing boats do not pay) are unable to recommend the Irish Lights Commissioners, who are the general lighting authority for Ireland, to mark such dangers at the expense of that Fund.

PORTUGAL—MADEIRA—MR. MAXWELL WRIGHT, A BRITISH SUBJECT.

SIR WHITTAKER ELLIS (Surrey, Kingston) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If he is aware that Mr. Maxwell Wright, a British subject, is now waiting his trial on a question of offence against religion at Santa Cruz; that he has applied unsuccessfully to the Authorities at Lisbon to allow the trial to take place at Funchal; and, whether the Foreign Office will take steps to insure him a fair hearing?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JAMES FERGUSSON) (Manchester, N.E.): This question has been before the Foreign Office for some time past. Her Majesty's Consul in Madeira is under instructions to watch carefully the proceedings in the case, and to afford Mr. Wright all the assistance he properly can. Her Majesty's Minister at Lisbon has, moreover, been instructed to request the friendly intervention of the Portuguese Government in order to procure a change of venue to Funchal, if the case should be one for trial by jury; and the matter will not be lost sight of.

Mr. Bernard Kelly

THE NEW FOREST—SALES OF LAND.

SIR WHITTAKER ELLIS (Surrey, Kingston) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether it is the intention of the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Woods and Forests to sell or otherwise dispose of the parcels of lands acquired by the Woods and Forests in the New Forest at Lyndhurst in Hampshire?

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.): It is a little difficult to understand the precise object of this Question. If it means whether any decision has been taken to dispose of particular lands in the New Forest I answer that no such decision has been come to. But, as the hon. Member will know, the Commissioners of Woods are constantly leasing or otherwise dealing with the lands under their care.

VACCINATION CERTIFICATES—PUBLIC VACCINATORS (IRELAND).

DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid) asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether it is a fact that certificates of proficiency in vaccination can only be issued in Great Britain, by public vaccinators appointed by the Local Government Board; what is the number and distribution of these public vaccinators; and, whether any are appointed in and for Ireland?

THE PRESIDENT (Mr. RITCHIE) (Tower Hamlets, St. George's): The certificates of proficiency in vaccination required as part of the qualifications for the appointment of public vaccinator in England can only be obtained at certain educational vaccination stations, which are subject to the inspection of the Local Government Board. Twenty public vaccinators in Great Britain have been authorized to grant such certificates; the stations being at London, Birmingham, Bristol, Exeter, Leeds, Liverpool, Manchester, Newcastle, Sheffield, Edinburgh, and Glasgow. The Board have in the present year been applied to to authorize the grant of such certificates at Dublin, and have expressed their willingness to do so upon certain arrangements being made in order to assimilate the practice with regard to the issue of certificates throughout the United Kingdom. Steps are now being taken for this purpose.

PRISONS (IRELAND)—CASE OF DANIEL ALLEN.

DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether it is a fact that Daniel Allen, of Ballinaboy, Ballinacraig, who was imprisoned as a suspect in the year 1882, got his right collar bone broken on the 23rd April 1882, in consequence of a door opening between the new and old yards being blown in upon him when passing; whether the accident was occasioned by neglect on the part of the officials; whether the door fastenings were sufficient on or before the date of the accident in question; whether another prisoner, Denis Lane, of Killumney, did, on a prior date, receive, in a similar manner, a violent blow from the same door; whether he called the official's attention then and there to the want of a stay upon the door; whether a stay was attached to the back of the door about a week subsequent to Allen's accident; whether Daniel Allen received proper medical attention while suffering from the fracture; whether he was discharged from prison with the fractured bone entirely ununited, and with a useless right arm; whether it is a fact that he is still unable to use his right arm and work as he was accustomed to do for his own and his family's (six in number) support; and, whether the Home Secretary will have the circumstances of the case inquired into, and will recommend his case to the benevolent attention of Her Majesty's Government?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH) (Bristol, W.) (who replied) said, he had examined the Medical and Official Reports made at the time. The occurrence seemed to have been a pure accident. On the part of the officials, nothing was known of the circumstances alluded to in the Question. After the accident Lane received proper relief, and was discharged shortly afterwards. Possibly the bone was not completely united at the time. He did not see how he could recommend the case to the benevolent attention of Her Majesty's Government.

DR. TANNER asked, whether, considering the sufferings of this poor man, and the fact that he was unable to earn his livelihood, the right hon. Gentle-

man would not recommend the Government to take his case into consideration?

[No reply.]

POST OFFICE—RATES OF POSTAGE BETWEEN ENGLAND AND THE COLONIES.

MR. HENNIKER HEATON (Canterbury) asked the Postmaster General, Whether he intends to take any steps with reference to the anomalies and the high charges for postage between England and the various Colonies of the British Empire?

THE POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. RAIKES) (Cambridge University): The completion of the Postal Union by the adhesion of the few British Colonies still outside it offers the most practical means of removing anomalies and reducing charges. Such a step depends more upon the Colonial communities than the Imperial Post Office; but the hon. Member may rest assured that all possible encouragement and assistance will be given towards the entry of the remaining Colonies into the Union, and the consequent assimilation of rates of postage. I can assure my hon. Friend that I take a great interest in this question, and that I am in continual communication with the Secretary of State for the Colonies, with the view of fully ascertaining the opinion of the Colonies on this subject.

MR. HENNIKER HEATON asked, whether the right hon. Gentleman would agree to grant an inquiry as to the feasibility of cheapening postage with our Colonies; also, whether he would give an assurance that no contract would be entered into which would preclude the introduction of an Imperial penny postage? The reason he asked this was that he was informed a new contract was about to be signed.

MR. RAIKES said, he should require notice of that Question.

LABOURERS (IRELAND) ACTS—NEWCASTLE GUARDIANS—SCHEME AT ABBEYFEALE.

MR. WILLIAM ABRAHAM (Limerick, W.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been called to the condition of the labourers in the district of Abbeyfeale, union of Newcastle; whether the sanitary authority of the

said union prepared a scheme for two hundred labourers' cottages, and forwarded a petition to the Local Government Board to inquire into the scheme on the 15th of April last; whether an inquiry was held in June, and a letter forwarded from the Local Government Board in July, stating that instructions for the preparation of a Provisional Order had been issued; if he will state the reason why this Order is delayed; and, whether he will urge the responsible officials to proceed with the necessary steps to complete the scheme with some degree of expedition?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH) (Bristol, W.): It is true that a scheme for the erection of a large number of labourers' cottages was submitted by the Newcastle Guardians in April last, and that some delay has occurred in carrying it out; but this is attributable partly to the extent of the scheme, but mainly to the omission of necessary documents and other irregularities on the part of the Guardians. However, a draft order will be sent to the Guardians by the Local Government Board before their next meeting.

ADMIRALTY—MR. C. J. COX, PRINCIPAL CLERK.

SIR RICHARD TEMPLE (Worcester, Evesham) asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, Whether Mr. C. J. Cox, Principal Clerk in the Admiralty, has been retired; from what date; and, on what terms as regards pension?

THE SECRETARY TO THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. FORWOOD) (Lancashire, Ormskirk): In reply to the hon. Member for Worcester I have to say that it has been arranged for Mr. Cox to retire, and that negotiations are pending with the Treasury to determine the terms of pension, pending the settlement of which the date of retirement has not been fixed; but I will urge the matter forward to a conclusion.

ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—EX-CONSTABLE EDWARD M'ENTER.

SIR THOMAS ESMONDE (Dublin Co., S.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If Ex-Constable Edward M'Enter, of Newry, will be allowed his full retiring pension of £41 a-year, in consideration of the fact that during his twenty years' service in the

Royal Irish Constabulary he was only fined five times, and paid the full penalty each time?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH) (Bristol, W.), in reply, said, the constable named retired six and a-half years ago. The man's pension was fixed below the maximum on account of previous misconduct. He had been punished six times for various offences. The last occasion occurred only a few months before his retirement, and on that occasion he was not only punished, but warned of his dismissal. He (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) thought that, on the whole, he had been leniently dealt with.

FISHERY PIERS AND HARBOURS (IRELAND)—PIER AT ENNISCORIE, CO. SLIGO.

MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W., and Sligo, S.) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, What was the date appointed by contract for the completion of the pier at Enniscorie, county Sligo; whether complaints have been made by the fishermen of the district as to loss and suffering caused to them by the delay; and, what steps will be taken to secure the prompt completion of the work?

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.), in reply, said, the contract for the completion of this pier was dated October last. He was not aware that any former complaints had been made up to date. He was informed that the delay had been caused by the bad weather. The contract would be completed as quickly as possible. He had caused a letter to be written calling special attention to the matter.

MR. SEXTON: Does the hon. Gentleman mean the House to understand that there has been bad weather all the time since last October; and will the Government take steps to exact from the contractor the penalties for default in this matter?

MR. JACKSON said, the question of exacting of penalties was a question which would have to be considered if it was thought necessary to do so. He supposed these penalties would be exacted if the default was due to causes over which the contractor had complete control; but he had been told that the delay had been due to the prevalence of difficulties over which he had not con-

Mr. William Abraham (Limerick, W.)

trol. He would make further inquiry into the matter.

MR. P. McDONALD (Sligo, N.): May I ask the hon. Gentleman if he can say when the work is likely to be completed?

MR. JACKSON: I have no information as to that. It does not appear in the Question.

LAW AND POLICE (IRELAND)—ACTION OF THE POLICE AT BALLYRUSH, CO. SLIGO.

MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W., and Sligo, S.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether, at twelve o'clock on the night of the 29th of June last, District Inspector Smith, of Riverstown, county Sligo, accompanied by Acting Sergeant Glennon and a constable, demanded admission to the house of Mr. Willis, Ballyrush, and, having entered the house, proceeded to search it; whether District Inspector Smith unlocked, by means of a key which he had brought with him, a box, the property of the Ballyrush Branch of the Irish National League, and examined the papers contained in it; and, what were the reasons and authority for this proceeding?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACHE) (Bristol, W.), in reply, said, he was afraid he could not answer the Question, as he had not had time to receive the necessary information.

MR. SEXTON said, he would repeat the Question on Monday.

TRADE AND COMMERCE—FOREIGN LABOUR IN THE TOWER HAMLETS—THE CENSUS.

CAPTAIN COLOMB (Tower Hamlets, Bow, &c.) asked the Secretary to the Board of Trade, Whether his attention has been drawn to an alleged accumulation of Foreign labour in the Tower Hamlets; whether it is in contemplation to include in statistics relating to labour any information as to the nature and extent of Foreign competition in the labour market of the United Kingdom; and, whether any record is kept of the immigration of Foreigners from European Countries into the United Kingdom?

THE SECRETARY TO THE BOARD (Baron HENRY DE WORMS) (Liverpool,

East Toxteth): The Board of Trade have observed the statements in the public Press as to an alleged accumulation of foreign labour in the Tower Hamlets. It will be the duty of the officers engaged in the collection of labour statistics, when the Department is fully organized, to give their attention to such matters, and publish statistics and other information regarding them. It is intended that the Labour Correspondent, who will enter on his duties next month, should give special attention to subjects of this class. There is no record of the immigration of foreigners into the United Kingdom; but substantially the information desired is given in the Census, which contains a record of the foreign population resident in the United Kingdom.

AFRICA (SOUTH)—ANNEXATION OF NATIVE TERRITORY—THE PONDOS AND XESIBES.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.) asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether Her Majesty's Government have made a fresh annexation of native territory in South Africa to the Cape Colony, and on what ground; and, whether it is the policy of Her Majesty's Government to make over to the Cape Government (without representation) Pondos and Xesibes near the coast, while tracts in the interior not accessible from the sea are held by the British Government?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. E. STANHOPE) (Lincolnshire, Horncastle): Yes, Sir; it is true that the Xesibe country has been annexed. During this year the relations between the Xesibes and the Pondos being very strained, it was represented to Lord Granville by the Cape Ministry, the Cape Parliament, the Acting Governor, and by Sir Hercules Robinson that the formal annexation of the country to the Cape Colony was expedient, and would promote the chances of a peaceful settlement of existing difficulties. Lord Granville adopted that advice, and recommended Her Majesty to effect an annexation which was highly acceptable to the Xesibes. To the second Question my answer is that the subject of representation in the Transkei districts has been recently under consideration; but no action has yet been taken.

EGYPT—INTERNAL ADMINISTRATION —THE PAPERS.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether he is yet prepared to lay upon the Table any Papers throwing light on the internal administration of Egypt in 1885 and 1886, and especially showing whether any real *bond fide* attempt is being made to put in practice the autonomous institutions recommended by Lord Dufferin and decreed by the Khedive?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (SIR JAMES FERGUSSON) (Manchester, N.E.): Papers are on the point of being distributed showing the progress in the internal administration of Egypt up to a recent date.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL: Will the hon. Gentleman say when immediately means?

SIR JAMES FERGUSSON: I made inquiry to-day, and I am told that Papers may be expected in the course of next week.

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.) asked, whether the Papers would include any information as to the administration of the Daira Loan?

SIR JAMES FERGUSSON said, he could not say at that moment that that would be included; but he would inform the hon. Member on Monday.

WALES—THE AGITATION AGAINST TITHE.

MR. J. G. HUBBARD (London) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether it has come to his notice that the agitation against tithe in Wales, instigated by the Liberation Society, is conducted by bodies of men bound in writing to resist the payment of the tithe, which is a legal liability under their several tenures; and, whether combinations organized to resist the discharge of legal obligations and obstruct the recovery of just claims are conspiracies, subjecting those engaged in them to the penalties statutorily provided for such offences?

MR. BORLASE (Cornwall, St. Austell): Arising out of this Question, I beg to ask the right hon. and learned Gentleman a supplemental one, of which, on seeing this Notice on the Paper, I have given him private Notice, Whether, taking into consideration the wide diver-

sity of opinion as to the origin and nature of tithe, the liability which, under certain conditions, exists or may not exist to the payment of it, the continuous depression in agriculture, and the strong feeling which is rife in regard to this species of burden, Her Majesty's Government will take into consideration the advisability of appointing a Royal Commission to inquire into the whole subject?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (MR. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): I have no knowledge of the facts referred to in my right hon. Friend's Question—namely, that in Wales men are bound in writing to resist the payment of tithes. The latter part of the Question is a question of law, on which the Law Officers of the Crown, and not myself, could properly give an opinion; but I apprehend that where organized efforts are actually made to resist or obstruct the process of law, that would amount to a conspiracy punishable at Common Law. In reply to the hon. Member for the Mid Division of Cornwall (Mr. Borlase) I have to say that, in the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, sufficient reasons do not exist for the appointment of a Royal Commission to inquire into the question of tithe.

INDIA—THE AFGHAN FRONTIER— THE RAILWAY TO QUETTA.

SIR HENRY TYLER (Great Yarmouth) asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether the Railway to Quetta is now open for traffic; and, what is the condition of the Railway in the direction of Candahar?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (SIR JOHN GORST) (Chatham): The Railway through the Bolan Pass reached Quetta on the 26th of July last. That by the Harnai route is still under construction. Preliminary surveys have been made beyond Quetta in the direction of Candahar.

LAW AND JUSTICE — CODIFICATION OF THE CRIMINAL LAW.

MR. HOWELL (Bethnal Green, N.E.) asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, If the Government will, during the recess, consider the advisability of introducing a Bill to consolidate and codify the Criminal Law?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL)

(Paddington, S.): The subject is undoubtedly one of first-class importance, and I earnestly hope it may be in the power of the Government to deal with it before any great lapse of time.

LAW AND JUSTICE—THE REVISED STATUTES—ISSUE OF A NEW AND CHEAP EDITION.

MR. HOWELL (Bethnal Green, N.E.) asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, If the Government will, during the recess, consider the advisability of issuing in a cheap octavo form a new edition of the Revised Statutes, with index and tables up to date, with the view of bringing the Statute Law of England within the means and reach of a larger class of readers?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL) (Paddington, S.), in reply, said, the Government would consider the advisability of carrying out the proposal referred to, provided always that the new edition could be issued without loss to the Treasury.

THE FRANCHISE ACTS, 1885—EXTRA REMUNERATION TO POOR LAW OFFICIALS.

MR. O'HANLON (Cavan, E.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the Government intend to pass a similar grant to that given by the late Government for the purpose of remunerating Clerks of Unions and Poor Rate Collectors for their services in completing the Parliamentary List of Voters in Ireland?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH) (Bristol, W.), in reply, said, he could only repeat the answer which he had previously given.

ARMY—CHARGES AGAINST THE ORDINANCE DEPARTMENT.

SIR HENRY TYLER (Great Yarmouth) asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether his attention has been called to a further letter from Colonel Hope, published in *The Times* newspaper, and to a communication circulated to Members by Captain Armit; and, whether he now considers that, for the protection of the branches of the War Department alleged to be implicated in the matters referred to in these communications, as

well as in the interest of the public service, and for the satisfaction of the Country generally, it is expedient to appoint a Royal Commission with full power to take evidence, to award protection to witnesses, and to report on all such matters so referred to as may be laid before them?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): I have already explained to the House that I have invited from Colonel Hope and from any other person a statement of facts, and have undertaken myself to consider, and also to take the opinion of the Law Officers, whether such statement would justify proceedings before any Court. Every document I have received has been submitted to the Law Officers; and they advise that none of the documents contain any allegations which would justify me in taking any legal proceedings, civil or criminal, or would, in their opinion, warrant the appointment of a Royal Commission with the powers suggested in the Question.

SIR HENRY TYLER said, that, in consequence of the answer of the right hon. Gentleman, he would move at an early date—

"That it is expedient to appoint a Royal Commission with full powers to examine witnesses and report on all matters that may be referred to them in connection with the charges so constantly and persistently brought against certain branches of the War Department."

EMPLOYERS' LIABILITY ACT—AMENDMENT OF ACT.

MR. F. S. POWELL (Wigan) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether the Government intend to introduce a Bill early next Session to amend the Employers' Liability Act?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS): Yes, Sir; I hope the Government will be able in the course of next Session to introduce a Bill amending the Employers' Liability Act.

FISHERY PIERS AND HARBOURS (IRELAND)—CAPPAGH PIER, KILRUSH.

MR. JORDAN (Clare, W.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If the Kilrush Town Commissioners are now an urban sanitary authority; if, as such, they should have charge of the Cappagh Pier, Kilrush;

if the Board of Trade has been communicated with repeatedly on the matter; if, up to the present, no satisfactory reply or information has been received; and, if the Department will be instructed at once to perfect the arrangements by which the pier will be handed over to the Kilrush Commissioners?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH) (Bristol, W.), in reply, said, he must ask the hon. Member to postpone the Question, as he had not been able to obtain the necessary information.

MR. JORDAN said, he would postpone it till Monday.

ROYAL COURTS OF JUSTICE—THE BAR LIBRARY—ELECTRIC LIGHTING.

MR. PICKERSGILL (Bethnal Green, S.W.) asked the First Commissioner of Works, What is the cause of the delay in carrying out the long promised extension of the electric light to the Bar Library at the Law Courts; and, whether he will undertake to complete the arrangements before the close of the Long Vacation?

THE FIRST COMMISSIONER (Mr. PLUNKET) (Dublin University): It was impossible to begin the work of extending the electric lighting to the Bar Library at the Royal Courts of Justice while the Courts were sitting. The necessary arrangements are now being made, and will, I am assured, be completed before the close of the Long Vacation.

POST OFFICE—MEDICAL STAFF, GENERAL POST OFFICE—DR. FIELD.

MR. PICKERSGILL (Bethnal Green, S.W.) asked the Postmaster General, In what capacity and by what authority a Dr. Field, whose name does not appear among the Medical Staff, was employed at the General Post Office in July last in the examination of officers who had previously forwarded from their own medical men certificates of unfitness for duty; how long Dr. Field was employed; how much he was paid; and, who paid him?

THE POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. RAIKES) (Cambridge University): Dr. Field was employed for five weeks under the authority of my Predecessor, and paid at the rate of £3 3s. a-week, out of the sum of £100 provided for the purpose of paying substitutes in the absence

of the medical officer on annual leave. The amount will be seen at page 76 of the Estimates. His duty was to perform all the duties attaching to the officer whose duty he was taking.

SUPPLY—POST OFFICE ESTIMATES—CLERKS IN THE SAVINGS BANK DEPARTMENT.

MR. PICKERSGILL (Bethnal Green, S.W.) asked the Postmaster General, If he will be good enough to explain the following discrepancy: in the Post Office Estimates 200 clerks of the Third Class in the Savings Bank Department are charged for, whereas it appears from the Post Office Directory that there are only 107 clerks of that class?

THE POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. RAIKES) (Cambridge University): The explanation is that Clause 4 of the Order in Council of 1876 lays down that no vacancies in the third class of the branch referred to should be filled up except by the appointment of Lower Division Clerks; and a note appears in the Post Office Establishment Book to the effect that clerks borne on the Lower Division Class in excess of the authorized number count against vacancies in the third class. I shall be very glad to avail myself of the suggestion of the hon. Member to adjust the numbers of the respective classes, and will confer with the Treasury on the subject before the next Estimates are prepared.

PRISONS ACT—SITE OF CLERKENWELL PRISONS.

CAPTAIN PENTON (Finsbury, Central) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether Her Majesty's Government will place at the disposal of the Clerkenwell Vestry the site of the Clerkenwell Prisons for building purposes, at a reasonable rate, as at present the ground is unremunerative, and adds to the burdens of the rate-payers?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): The Government are prepared to sell to the Clerkenwell Vestry the site of the Clerkenwell Prisons for building purposes at the fair value of the site. The Government are, in effect, trustees of the site for the Justices of the County, and would not be justified in selling the site below its value.

Mr. Jordan

case of the Barbavilla prisoners since the trials:—

"On a morning immediately after young M'Keon was brought from Clonmel to witness's depôt, business brought me at an early hour from another part of the city towards the depôt. I came up to old M'Keon and Head Constable Lynch, who were standing about ten or fifteen yards from the depôt. We spoke to each other, and the conversation turned on the Barbavilla case. Lynch said Pat (meaning M'Keon, then present) was trying to help him with it. He then said he had M'Keon's son there, but could get nothing out of him. Old M'Keon then said, 'When I have a talk with him it will be all right,' or, 'Let me have a talk with him and it will be all right.' I asked Lynch if he meant to do so, when he clearly gave me to understand that he did. In fact, old M'Keon said he had come up from Castlepollard expressly for the purpose with him (Lynch). In a very few minutes after this I saw both father and son together in a room in the upper part of the building.

"MAURICE FITZGERALD, Sergeant."

Whether, at the trials, Judge Lawson made use of the following observation:—

"'To insinuate,' said he, 'that the M'Keons had interviews while in the hands of the police, is to insinuate that the very sources of justice are polluted, and he scouted the insinuation as an impossibility;'"

whether Constable Fitzgerald is at present in the Constabulary force, and bears a most exemplary character; and, whether, having regard to the above facts, he will cause a sworn inquiry into the means by which the convictions were obtained?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (MR. HOLMES) (Dublin University) (who replied) said, he had been asked by the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland to answer this Question, as it was on a subject with which he had been already acquainted. He had to say that, although he had most carefully read all the Papers connected with this matter last year, yet, considering the nature of the subject, he would not like to answer the Question without having had an opportunity of refreshing his memory by going over the Papers again. If the hon. Member put down the Question for Tuesday, most likely he would be able to answer it then.

MR. TUIE said, the Votes for the salaries of the right hon. Gentleman and the Lord Lieutenant would then be disposed of, and he might not have an opportunity of impugning their action.

Mr. Tuite

AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS (SCOTLAND)—APPOINTMENT OF A COMMISSION.

DR. CLARK (Caithness) asked the Secretary for Scotland, If in view of the probability of future legislation regarding the tenure of land and the condition of agriculture, he will appoint a Committee or Commission to inquire into the condition of the farm servants or agricultural labourers of Scotland, as to their system of service, hours of labour, the extent to which the bothy system is still carried on, and the moral and physical results of that system?

THE SECRETARY FOR SCOTLAND (MR. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.): So far as I am aware, there is no immediate prospect of any legislation of the character indicated by the Question of the hon. Member; and, looking to the very able and exhaustive Reports of the last Royal Commission on agricultural employment, I see no reason to institute any further inquiries, which could not, in my opinion, be confined to Scotland. The fourth Report of the Commission, published in 1870, deals exclusively with Scotland, and refers especially to the bothy system.

PUBLIC BUSINESS—COMMITTEE OF SUPPLY—INCORRECT ENTRY IN VOTES.

MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W., and Sligo, S.): I wish to put a Question to you, Sir, before you leave the Chair. Last night, in Committee of Supply, my hon. Friend the Member for Mid Cork (Dr. Tanner) moved to report Progress, but afterwards asked leave to withdraw the Motion. The Motion, thereupon, was withdrawn; but in the Votes printed to-day I find that it is stated that the Motion was negatived.

MR. SPEAKER: I have no cognizance of what takes place in Committee of Supply. I am only cognizant of those matters which take place when I am in the Chair.

MR. SEXTON: All I wish to ask you, Sir, is whether, if my representation of the vote is correct, it will not be proper to correct the entry in the Votes?

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member had better make a representation to the Chairman of Committees. I have no doubt that if any mistake has been committed, it will at once be rectified.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

—o—

SUPPLY—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES.

SUPPLY—considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS.

[Mr. COURTNEY in the Chair.]

MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W., and Sligo, S.): I beg to move, Mr. Courtney, that the entry in the Votes in reference to the Motion of my hon. Friend the Member for Mid Cork (Mr. Parnell) last night to report Progress be amended by stating that the Motion was withdrawn and not negatived.

THE CHAIRMAN: My recollection does not coincide with that of the hon. Member. The hon. Member for Mid Cork moved to report Progress; I put the Question from the Chair, and it was negatived.

(1.) £3,767, to complete the sum for Friendly Societies Registry.

(2.) £10,111, to complete the sum for Land Commissioners for England.

MR. CLANCY (Dublin Co., N.): The Report of the Land Commissioners shows that the Commissioners have very little work to do. Last year they appear only to have had four applications before them—two for the regulation and two for the inclosure of commons. I do not find that the amount of work performed is in any respect adequate to the sum of money voted for this Commission. Indeed, the duties of the Commissioners are preposterously small, and yet there is a Parliamentary Vote amounting this year to £24,509 for the Commission. I venture to say that there is not a single Land Commission Court in Ireland which does not do 10 times the amount of work in a month that this Commission transacts in the course of 12 months. I should like to have some explanation of this extraordinary sum. Upon the face of the Vote there is comparatively no work whatever done by these three Commissioners for the amount of salary they receive. Unless I obtain a satisfactory explanation from the Government, I shall certainly move to reduce the Vote by the amount of the salaries of the Commissioners.

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. STUART-WORTLEY) (Sheffield, Hallam): I will answer the remarks of the hon. Gentleman as far as I have been able to gather from them the point of his complaint. I understand him to say that the business of the Land Commission does not receive that amount of attention from the Land Commissioners which it demands.

MR. CLANCY: No; that is not my complaint. What I submit is that a very small number of applications come before them, and for that work they are paid the enormous sum of £24,000 a-year. The hon. Gentleman does not appear to have read the Report of the Commission.

MR. STUART-WORTLEY: I can assure the hon. Gentleman that applications for inclosures are not the only matters which the Land Commissioners have to deal with. There are many other things they have to attend to, and during the year they do a great deal of work. Their functions are exercised under the Acts which create the Commission to which they are attached. In addition, there are duties thrown upon them under the Acts which relate to the improvements of landed estates.

MR. CLANCY: I have only drawn attention to the facts which are stated in the Report of the Commission; and I repeat that there seems to be a very small amount of work done in comparison with the amount of money voted for the Commission. On the face of this Report it is not difficult to understand why Sir James Caird can apply himself once a week to writing letters to *The Times* on matters that he does not seem to understand very much about. It is true that a sum of £18,000 has been paid into the Exchequer out of the fees received by the Commission; but a clerk paid at the rate of £100 a-year would have been quite sufficient to receive those fees, and one Commissioner with £5,000 a-year would be quite adequate to discharge the rest of the duties of the Office. I beg to move that the Vote be reduced by the sum of £15,181.

THE CHAIRMAN: I must point out to the hon. Member that the total amount of the Vote is only £10,000.

MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W., and Sligo, S.): The hon. Member can move the

rejection of the remaining portion of the Vote.

MR. CLANCY: I find, under the head of the expenses of this Commission, that the items amount to £15,181; but, of course, a portion of that sum has already been voted on account. I beg to move the rejection of the Vote.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL) (Paddington, S.): The hon. Gentleman will excuse me if I say his remarks were couched in so extremely low a tone of voice that scarcely any of them reached the Treasury Bench. I understand that he objects to the cost of the Land Commission for England. I think the hon. Member can have very little idea of the enormous amount of work this Land Commission has to do. The whole of the duties of the Inclosure Commission fall upon it, and they involve considerable and very arduous labours. In the next place, advances of public money, which are made for the improvement of land estates under the Inclosure Acts, are made by the Land Commission; and those advances represent a very considerable sum. The Land Commission has also other duties which devolve upon it under the Settled Land Act of 1881. The Land Commissioners have also large duties thrown upon them in connection with the Tithe Commission. I happened the other day to meet Sir James Caird, and he told me that his time, and that of his Colleagues, was occupied, to a considerable extent, in consequence of the labours thrown upon the Commission in connection with the extraordinary tithe in Kent. I understood him to say that it would occupy a greater part of the time of the Commission for the next six months. I have never heard it alleged within recent years that the Land Commission for England was not accomplishing most valuable work, and that it was well worth the money laid out upon it. I feel quite sure that the hon. Member would not wish to deprive Sir James Caird of the position and salary he enjoys for the duties he performs, because I understand that, at the present moment, Sir James Caird is one of the great authorities on land on which the Party opposite most rely in connection with their policy under the Land Act.

Mr. Sexton

MR. CLANCY: I will pass by the sneer which the noble Lord made as to the nature of my remarks. All I will say is that they are founded on the contents of this Report, which I do not believe the noble Lord can have read. Indeed, nobody on the Treasury Bench appears to have read it. Anybody who has read it will see at once the small amount of business which has been transacted by the Commissioners. I defy anyone to read that Report, and to say that the amount of business done is in any degree proportionate to the amount of money spent upon it. I shall certainly go to a division if the noble Lord will not give some assurance that he will require from the Commissioners a Return of the number of days' work they transact in a year, and the hours they are occupied each day.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: I admit that the Vote has not been very fully explained; but upon the Report a fuller explanation will be given by someone more intimately acquainted with the Department.

MR. CLANCY: Will the noble Lord require from the Commissioners a Return of the number of days' work they transact in a year?

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: No; I cannot do that.

MR. CLANCY: Such a Return is required from the Judges of the County Court in Ireland.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: I have already promised that a fuller explanation will be given on the Report.

MR. CLANCY: I think that would be altogether too late. I wish to make this further remark. It has struck me, as a new Member, that it is extraordinary what pains the House of Commons takes in sending out Commissioners, and in printing Reports, and then the extraordinary laxity it displays—especially on the part of Members in charge of the Votes—to make themselves masters of the contents of the Reports presented to them.

MR. BIGGAR (Cavan, W.): The noble Lord the Leader of the Government in this House has certainly failed to give a satisfactory explanation of this Vote. Sir James Caird may be a very able gentleman; but, at the same time, it does not appear that the Land Commissioners have any sufficient amount

of work to transact. I, therefore, think it ought to be amalgamated with some other Office, so that the abilities of the present officials might be utilized in some other direction. The noble Lord has stated that one of the duties connected with the Office is the control of loans to landlords for the improvement of land in this country. Now, I maintain that the lending of money by the Government for the purpose of improving land is not a proper outlay of public money. We know of many cases where money has been ostensibly borrowed for the purpose of improving land which has really been utilized for some other purpose, and certificates have been taken from engineers or surveyors certifying that there has been a larger outlay than was originally expected. I have been informed by an hon. Friend that he went one day with a certain surveyor to survey the land upon which an outlay of this nature was taking place. I believe it had some connection with drainage; but the entire extent of the survey made by this gentleman was that he stood on one of the fences and surveyed with his eye the amount of drainage alleged to have taken place. That is one sample of the way in which the public money is expended. I quite agree with my hon. Friend the Member for North Dublin (Mr. Clancy) that the expense incurred in the payment of these Commissioners is altogether disproportionate to the work they have to do; and, in the next place, I contend that part of the work they do is work that should not be undertaken by this or any other Government. Another part of the duty of these gentlemen is to give certificates as to expenditure upon life property. I do not see why there should be a tribunal of that sort paid by the State; at any rate, the persons who derive benefit from the service rendered should recoup the Government for the expenditure incurred in maintaining a staff to carry out the survey. In this particular instance it does not appear to me that any amount of fees charged would be sufficient to recoup the country for the expenditure incurred.

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton): I understand the noble Lord to give an unconditional promise that upon the Report the Minister in charge of the Vote shall make an explanation in order

to meet the objections which have been raised. Under these circumstances there would be clearly an opportunity of dividing upon the Vote if the explanation was not considered satisfactory. The hon. Member has done good service in pointing out what the Vote is; but I think, in view of the promise which has been made, he may now withdraw his opposition to the Vote.

MR. CLANCY (Dublin Co., N.): My principal object in calling attention to the matter, and not taking a division upon it, was to enter a protest against what I consider to be a scandal in passing over, without taking any notice, important Reports of this kind. I consider it altogether improper to ask the Committee to vote large sums of money, year after year, without knowing the purposes for which the money is voted. I certainly shall take every opportunity of obtaining from Ministers in charge of these Votes a full explanation of their object, and the way in which they are dealt with. At present the Representatives of the people are altogether without knowledge, and do not understand what they are doing, when they are voting away the public money.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.): With regard to the expenditure of this Commission, probably the hon. Member is aware that a considerable portion of it is returned to the Exchequer by the fees paid for various purposes. In fact, the greater part of the amount voted for the Commission is repaid by fees of one kind and another. In consequence of a Motion which was made in the House of Commons in 1878, a scale of fees in the shape of stamps was prescribed by which a sum of £7,000 or £8,000 a-year is raised. These *ad valorem* fees are paid into the Exchequer. Therefore, the argument of the hon. Member, that the work of the Commissioners is disproportionate to the expenditure, is not strictly correct. As far as the payments by the Exchequer are concerned they are very much less than the hon. Member imagines. I trust that, with this explanation, the hon. Gentleman, having done good service by drawing attention in so pointed a manner to the question, will not put the Committee to the trouble of a division. So far as the investigation of the Government is concerned, I can assure the hon. Gentleman that the

work is not extravagantly paid for, and that very good public service is done by the Commission. I will promise to look carefully into the matter between this and the Report, and to make then a complete statement as to the work done and the actual net cost of the Commission.

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton): I understood the noble Lord to give a distinct promise that that should be done.

MR. CLANCY (Dublin Co., N.): I did not attempt to conceal from the Committee that fees to the amount of £18,000 were received; but I maintain that those fees would be received in any case, and that a clerk with £100 a-year would receive them, and would do quite as much work as three Commissioners, who cost the country something like £5,000 a-year.

SIR JOSEPH M. KENNA (Monaghan, S.): What we wish particularly to know is the amount of time and attention devoted by the Commissioners to the work for which they are so highly paid.

SIR WALTER B. BARTELOT (Sussex, North-West): The three Commissioners have to inquire into matters of a most important character, and the amount of work they perform is far beyond what the hon. Gentleman has any conception of.

Vote agreed to.

(3.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £175,956, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1887, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Local Government Board, including various Grants in Aid of Local Taxation."

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.): I propose to move the reduction of this Vote by the sum of £16,500, that being the item which, under Sub-head U, is to be appropriated for public vaccination. The reason why I make this Motion is that I believe the sum of £16,500 is a mainspring, or, at any rate, one of the mainsprings of a system which is in itself immoral, stupid, and cruel, and which inflicts immense physical suffering upon the objects of the operation, and a needless amount of mental anguish upon tens of thousands of fathers and mothers in this country. This charge of £16,500 is made under

Section 5 of the Vaccination Act of 1857; and the terms of that section are that on the Report made to the Lords of Her Majesty's Council with regard to the number and quality of the vaccinations performed in the several vaccination districts of England, awards are made to the public vaccinators, from time to time, by payment out of the money provided by Parliament, and under regulations authorized to be made to any medical officer, in addition to the payments received by them from the Guardians and Overseers, such further payments as shall not exceed in any case 1s. per child who should have been successfully vaccinated. The Committee will see that that provision is not imperative, but that it is merely permissive. It says that their Lordships may, out of the money provided by Parliament, and which may or may not be provided by Parliament, grant these rewards in addition to the sum which was received from the rates. What I propose to do is to ask the Committee not to provide any money for that purpose. The Committee will perceive that this pecuniary reward is, in the first place, limited to England. You look in vain for any similar charge on account of skill at all corresponding to the charge in Vote No. 34, or in the corresponding Vote for Ireland, No. 38. It is, first of all, a reward entirely reserved for this country. Moreover, it is to be charged in addition to the amount which may be received from the Guardians or the Overseers of the District Unions. It will also be noticed that the amount asked for this year is in excess of the item of last year. If I remember rightly, £15,800 was the sum voted last year, and this year it has gone up now to £16,500. Now, the history of this item is very remarkable. When, in the year 1868, the first charge was made on account of public vaccination, the sum asked for was only £2,700 odd; but by 1872, in four years, it had risen to £6,000, and in 1878, or six years later, it had doubled that amount, being then slightly over £12,000. Last year it was £15,800, and this year it amounts to the sum I have named—£16,500. Since 1868 there has been paid to the public vaccinators of England, under this head, no less a sum than £200,000. And what does it supplement? It supplements a charge of no less than £120,000 a-year, taken out of

Mr. Jackson

the pockets of the ratepayers of this part of the Kingdom—all of it for public vaccination, and in support of a system which probably brings into the pockets of medical men in England alone something like £250,000 annually. The charge is part and parcel of a system which tends to establish, and year by year to strengthen, a vested interest in an influential body, the members of which, at any rate, it may be reasonably regarded as calculated to induce them to maintain a system which is opposed to the moral sense of a very considerable section of the community. It is also opposed, as I said before, to the parental instincts of tens of thousands of conscientious people in this country. The defence of vaccination itself by a large number of medical men is by means of this Vote, and by means of similar charges; and it is a defence, not of medical theory, but of pecuniary vested interest. It is not more surprising, under the circumstances, that medical men should be so obstinately wedded to the maintenance of the present system, than it was surprising that the Irish Church Establishment should have been defended by the clergymen of the Establishment, or that the institution of slavery should have been maintained by the slaveowners of the Southern States of America. It is no more surprising than the resistance and the unscrupulous opposition which was offered by many shipowners of this country to Mr. Plimsoll's Bill some years ago, when he endeavoured to protect the seamen of the United Kingdom from the unscrupulous proceedings of certain shipowners, who were in the habit of sending men in certain cases to almost certain death in unseaworthy vessels. How does this money go? I find that the public vaccinator in Birmingham gets between £200 and £300 every year. A similar sum is annually divided between three public vaccinators in Liverpool. There is a similar charge for Manchester; and about the same amount is paid in St. Pancras and London, not every year, but every alternate year. Well, what is it for? At the end of the section of the Act to which I have already referred it is stated as being paid for successful vaccination. Well, Sir, is it successful vaccination? Let us judge of it by the result. In 1881 there was a Return of the number of births and of the num-

ber of children vaccinated, and it seems from this Return that the births in Birmingham numbered 9,000, but those who were successfully vaccinated were only 8,000. Of course, a number of children would die unvaccinated. As would always be the case in every population, there would be a number of children who would be presumably at their birth not fit subjects for vaccination. The percentage of children unaccounted for by vaccination was only 1·5. Under these circumstances, one might reasonably expect that, if the system is to be justified, Birmingham, as compared with other places where vaccination has not been so successfully carried out, would have been singularly free from small-pox. But what is the fact? The epidemic of small-pox in Birmingham has always been of the same severe description. Then, again, with regard to London, which, in the opinion of the authorities at the Local Government Board, is a very successful instance of the satisfactory treatment of vaccination, we know that small-pox is not only occasionally an epidemic, but that it is practically an endemic. We never get rid of small-pox in London, although the people of London are more completely vaccinated than almost any other portion of the United Kingdom. Well, Sir, in London, in every one of the 19 different Unions, these payments are made annually to certain public vaccinators. What is the result? There was an epidemic of small-pox last year, and the number of small-pox patients who entered the small-pox hospital, I will not say in London alone, numbered no less than 9,000, being larger by 4,000 than the number who entered the hospital in the previous year. The number in 1884 was 5,000, and in 1885 it was 9,000. Yet in the town of Leicester, where not more than 40 per cent of the children born were vaccinated, the small-pox hospital was tenantless. I ask, therefore, if it is not fair to say that the successful vaccination, for which this Vote was taken year by year, and for which this Vote grows so rapidly year by year—that it is not a ridiculous and mischievous delusion, at any rate, open to serious doubt as to its value? Can there be any reason for wonder that in considerable districts of the country where the people have had a fair opportunity of judging of the relative safety of

the vaccinated and non-vaccinated condition—such places, for example, as Keighley, Dewsbury, Brighton, Bedford, and Leicester—they should object not only to this particular item, but to the whole system with which it is bound up? They regard it as a great hardship and as a public scandal—a scandal both public and private. From what I have been able to learn, I believe that at least one-third of the population of this country do not believe in vaccination at all; and most assuredly, outside, the majority of the population is strongly opposed to compulsory vaccination. But, Sir, the system by which this payment of rewards is made for the effective poisoning of healthy children is a part and parcel of a most direct incentive to a most cruel and persecuting system. It is about as cruel a system of persecution as can very well be conceived. It makes it to the interest of hundreds of thousands of men, educated men, men of refinement and remarkable for their kindly and charitable disposition, to seek to maintain and almost insist upon the systematic persecution, prosecution, and punishment by fine and imprisonment, repeated sometimes over and over again, of persons who, on moral and religious grounds, or on matters personal to themselves, arrived at by reason of terrible personal experience, object to this filthy rite being imposed on their children. It explains the secret why we so often hear of some poor man or woman who has had his or her first child done to death by vaccination, or, at any rate, permanently disfigured by vaccination—it explains why it is that in spite of that man's or woman's instinct, and possibly in spite of their consciences, they are sent to prison or fined over and over again. I do not look at this matter from a sentimental or from an hysterical point of view. I am not given, I think, to look at anything from an hysterical point of view. On the contrary, as the son of a physician, the brother of another, and the nephew of a third, I am as much disposed as any layman to take a professional view of the matter. I have also looked at the other side of the question. I have inquired into the matter, and I have read what I could lay my hands upon in reference to it. I may say that most of us have had a good deal of literature sent to us upon the subject. I have also listened to

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many discussions upon it, and the result is that I have become convinced that vaccination is neither a preventive nor a palliative. I believe that the whole system is a huge and deplorable delusion. I have stated that I intend to move the reduction of the Vote. I do not know what amount of support I may receive; but even if I should find myself almost alone, which I certainly hope will not be the case, I should still conceive it my duty to take this step in order to protest, not only against a system which I believe to be wrong, and in itself immoral, stupid, and cruel, but also in the hope of drawing still more public attention to the fact that there are, from time to time, many instances in this country of men and women who conscientiously object to vaccination, and who are systematically prosecuted, but whom the Local Government Board has it in its power to protect if they will—persons who are subjected to repeated punishment, and whose lives have been permanently darkened by the recollection of the loss of children, and of the disfigurement of their offspring, and who, in consequence, have a conscientious objection to subject their children to what they believe to be not only a filthy but an injurious operation. But even if I do not carry with me either the sympathy or the votes of any considerable number of the Committee, I hope, at any rate, that I shall be able to obtain from the right hon. Gentleman who represents the Local Government Board here to-day an assurance that the authorities of the Local Government Board will do what lies in their power to protect the people I have referred to, who are made to suffer in the way they do because they entertain some conscientious scruples, which, although some persons might scarcely appreciate them, all of us can heartily sympathize with. I beg to move the reduction of the Vote by the sum of £16,500.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

“That a sum, not exceeding £159,456, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1887, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Local Government Board, including various Grants in Aid of Local Taxation.”—(*Mr. Arthur O'Connor.*)

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (*Mr. Ritchie*)

(Tower Hamlets, St. George's): Considering the importance of the subject which has been introduced by the hon. Gentleman, I think it better to reply at once to the remarks which he has made, rather than wait for other Members to take part in the discussion. The hon. Member evidently anticipates that he will only be followed into the Lobby by an exceedingly small number of Members; and I must say that, in my opinion, it would be nothing short of a national disaster if the hon. Gentleman's expectation in this respect was not realized. I cannot conceive anything which would be more likely to inflict injury on the public good than that the impression should go abroad that a considerable section of the House shared the objections to vaccination which the hon. Gentleman has stated. The hon. Gentleman divided his objections into two heads. First of all, he objects altogether to the amount which is spent upon vaccination; and, in the next place, he objects to the particular Vote now under discussion, which Vote is, as he rightly stated, a Vote given by this House to be distributed to the medical vaccination officers as a reward for meritorious successful cases of vaccination. In reference to the general question of vaccination, I should have been glad if the hon. Gentleman had given me some Notice that he desired to enter into so very important a question. But the question is one which lies in so small a compass, that perhaps it is hardly necessary that much Notice should be given. The hon. Member has used some strong language regarding the system of vaccination. He has denounced it as immoral, stupid, and cruel; arguing that it was the cause of the effective poisoning of healthy children, and that it is of no avail for the purpose for which it has been instituted. Now, Sir, I have here a Paper containing extracts from the annual Report of the Medical Officer of the Local Government Board upon vaccination. I shall only trouble the Committee with one or two extracts from that Report, in order to show what, in the opinion of the Medical Officer of the Local Government Board, has been the result of vaccination. The hon. Gentleman alluded to the cases of Birmingham and London, and he stated that, seeing the large number of meritorious cases of vaccination that had occurred, it might be rea-

sonably supposed that vaccination was in a favourable condition in those places; but, nevertheless, that neither Birmingham nor London could compare favourably, so far as small-pox is concerned, with many other towns in which vaccination is not so successfully carried out. Of course, the hon. Gentleman knows very well that the conditions both of London and Birmingham are exceptional. The fact of the greater crowding of the population is perhaps sufficient to account for small-pox when it does occur, being very rife. With reference to the children of London, I should like to quote an extract from the Report of the Medical Officer of the Local Government Board. He says—

"It has been already said that in 1881, among 55,000 children who had not been vaccinated, 782 deaths from small-pox occurred. Among 861,000 children who had been vaccinated there were 125 deaths from small-pox. If the London children under 10 years of age who were unvaccinated had the protection which the current vaccination gives, not 782 deaths would have occurred; but at the outside nine would have died from small-pox. If the 861,000 vaccinated children had died at the rate of the 55,000 unvaccinated children, we should not have been considering 125 deaths from small-pox, but we should have been confronted with an additional 12,000 more deaths from small-pox occurring during the year in the London population under 10 years of age."

The number of deaths that actually occurred from small-pox was not 6,000 or 1,000, but, at the outside, 125; and if there had been no vaccination there would have been, instead of 125 small-pox deaths among the vaccinated children, more than 12,000 deaths occurring from small-pox during the year among children under 10 years of age. Therefore, in spite of what the hon. Member has said, it must be evident to the Committee that if we were to revert to savage times when there was no vaccination, London, Birmingham, and all large towns would show very different results from those to which we are now able, happily, to point in consequence of vaccination. Now, Sir, the hon. Gentleman has spoken about the action of the Local Government Board, and the conscientious objections of parents to vaccination. I will go this far with him, and say, that I have the utmost sympathy with parents who conscientiously object to vaccination; and while I shall certainly feel it my duty to use every

exertion in my power to secure the end for which Parliament has passed these Acts, yet I would be very sorry indeed that the Local Government Board should be made the engine of any unnecessary persecution of parents who entertain conscientious objections to vaccination. The Committee will see that it is absolutely essential we should use every effort in our power to see that the Acts are carried out for the public good. I may say that, with reference to the action of the Local Government Board, they do not require that anything in the nature of persecution should take place. I will give the Committee some extracts from a letter which was sent in September, 1875, by the Local Government Board to the Guardians of the Evesham Union, which letter was subsequently distributed very largely among the Guardians of the various Unions, in order to show what the views of the Local Government Board are with regard to the extent to which pressure should take place in respect of vaccination. The extracts which I propose to read will show the hon. Gentleman that there is no desire on the part of the Local Government Board to go beyond what it is their plain duty to do. The letter says—

"It is distinctly contemplated by Article 16 of the Board's General Order of the 31st of October, 1874, that, independently of any proceedings which may be taken against the person in default, under Section 29 of the Vaccination Act, 1867, the vaccination officer shall be authorized to take proceedings against him if he continue contumacious, at least once also under Section 31 of that Act. Until, therefore, proceedings under the latter section have been taken in a case and a conviction obtained, the Board considered that the general means, which the law provides with a view to insure the vaccination of a child, have not been used. The Board would here observe that, from the information in their possession, it is not clear whether all the means above alluded to have been resorted to in the case of Mr. Hensley. The Board, at the same time, direct me to point out that, by Article 16 of their above-mentioned Order, it is provided that in any case in which a magistrate's order has been obtained, and summary proceedings have been taken under Section 31 of the Vaccination Act, 1867, no further proceedings shall be taken by the vaccination officer without the express instructions of the Guardians."

The hon. Gentleman will see that it is the duty of the Vaccination Officer to take action up to a certain point, and that he cannot take further action without the consent of the Guardians. The letter goes on to say—

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"The intention of this provision is that the Guardians should carefully consider, with regard to each individual case, the effect which a continuance of proceedings is likely to have in procuring the vaccination of the individual child, and in insuring the observance of the law in the Union generally. The Board may further state that it is, on the one hand, undeniable that a repetition of legal proceedings has, in numerous cases, resulted in the vaccination of a child when such vaccination has not been procured by the previous proceedings; and it is therefore important, with a view of securing a proper observance of the law, that parents should be well assured that proceedings in case of non-compliance with its requirements will not be lightly discontinued. On the other hand, the Board are prepared to admit that, when in a particular case repeated prosecutions have failed in their object, it becomes necessary to carefully consider the question whether the continuance of a fruitless contest with the parent may not have a tendency to produce mischievous results, by exciting sympathy with the person prosecuted, and thus creating a more extended operation to the law. The Board entertain no doubt that, in all cases of the kind in question, the Guardians, having before them the preceding observations, will not fail to exercise the discretionary powers confided to them in the manner best calculated to give effect to the policy of the law."

The hon. Gentleman will thus see that the object of the Local Government Board is this—that every proceeding which the Guardians feel they are justified in adopting should be taken so long as they feel convinced that the object and aim of the Vaccination Acts are likely to be secured, but that it is not desirable to make martyrs of those who steadily refuse to carry out the law, and where there is reason to believe that no amount of prosecution would secure the desired result. With reference to the other point raised by the hon. Gentleman as to the extra payment made to the medical officers for successful vaccination, it is perfectly obvious that if what I have stated already is accepted by the Committee as being true, and that it is desirable that effective vaccination should take place—it is obvious that every precaution should be taken that the operation is performed with due care and proper skill. The object which Parliament had in sanctioning these extra payments to the Vaccination Officers was to secure that vaccination should be effected with proper skill, and in a proper manner, and in that way which is best for securing the object we have in view. The hon. Gentleman has spoken of this additional payment as if it were something over and above that

which the Vaccination Officer has any right to calculate upon as payment for the duty performed. But it is perfectly clear that these rewards for meritorious vaccinations do enter into the calculation of medical officers charged with that duty, and that they have considered it a portion of the remuneration which they are entitled to receive. Perhaps the hon. Gentleman is not aware that these extra payments were made on the recommendation of a Select Committee of the House of Commons, which sat on the Vaccination Bill of 1866. A careful examination was also made into the whole question by Mr. Lingens when he was at the Treasury, and he was of opinion that the payment was one which ought to be continued. I hope I have made it sufficiently clear to the hon. Gentleman that, in the first place, as far as our information goes, vaccination is highly beneficial, and ought not to be departed from. In the second place, I hope that I have also made it clear that the arrangement which the Committee is now asked to upset has the sanction of a Select Committee of the House of Commons, has been inquired into, and has been approved by an efficient officer of the Treasury, and is distinctly advantageous to the public. As to the action of the Local Government Board, it is its duty to insist, as far as possible, on the law being carried out. As far as I am concerned, I am extremely anxious to do everything in my power to secure the effective working of the Vaccination Acts. I quite admit that there are persons who are conscientiously opposed to vaccination, and that in certain cases unhappy results have taken place. Whenever a case is laid before me where a suspicion may exist on the part of a parent that his child has suffered or died in consequence of any fault in the mode of vaccination, or in the material used, I shall always consider it my duty to take every step in order to clear up any doubt which may exist on the subject. I believe there would be nothing more prejudicial to vaccination generally than to allow it to go forth that such cases have occurred without any attempt to ascertain the truth of the matter.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.): I admit that the right hon. Gentleman has some ground for complaining that I did not give him Notice

of my intention to bring forward the question; but I think I may say truthfully that the right hon. Gentleman does not appear to have required any Notice of the matter; for I feel that even if the right hon. Gentleman had had notes in his possession he could not have given a much more effective answer to my proposition than he has given. That answer is drawn from the Reports of the Medical Officers; but it is a purely hypothetical answer—namely, that if so-and-so had been the case, then that something else might have been expected to happen. There is nothing more substantial than that in the whole of this Report of the Medical Officer of the Local Government Board; and not only is that the sort of statement we have from the Government Officer, but we have the same answer from other Medical Officers interested in the matter, who reported on the matter, and who number about 1,000. It is quite true that this amount of money is looked upon by the public vaccinators as part of the emolument to be paid to them, as a matter of course, in addition to that which they draw from the rates. But I object to it on the ground that it is part and parcel of a vicious system which is intimately connected with it, and of which it is one of the main springs. The right hon. Gentleman seems to be satisfied himself—and most of the Committee will be satisfied with him—that the vaccination is effective, that it is preventive, or, at any rate, protective. If so, let those who believe in vaccination get vaccinated; if they are vaccinated, and vaccination is a protection, then they are saved. But what right have they to insist that their neighbours, who have conscientious objections to vaccination, should also undergo the operation, although they do not believe in its utility? The right hon. Gentleman spoke of “savage times” before vaccination was instituted. Now, I really believe that the day will come—and I hope it will come soon—when the people of this and other countries will look back with amazement at the horrible fetish which seems to have seized upon some people, and is now sanctioned by the law of the land. With regard to the directions which the Local Government Board have given to the Boards of Guardians, and the letter of instructions which the right hon. Gentleman has quoted, I wish to observe that in reality

these directions are not likely to have anything like direct control over the action of any large number of Boards of Guardians in the country. Many of the Provincial Boards of Guardians are imbued with a great deal of the spirit of Bumbledom; and when their officers go out and give directions to poor people to do this, that, and the other, if it is done with the sanction of the Board of Guardians, it very often happens that however hard the directions may be, and however trying to those who receive them, the Board of Guardians show very little consideration to the feelings of the people, and have no compunction whatever in putting in force, to the very full, what powers they have. I maintain that poor people require some stronger protection than is contained in that Circular Letter, and I had hoped to hear from the right hon. Gentleman that the Local Government Board is prepared to issue something a great deal more stringent to the Local Authorities in order that the people I refer to may be protected. I know it is perfectly true that the legal proceedings taken in some cases have caused parents to get their children vaccinated who otherwise would not have done so; but what expense to the parents' peace of mind, and what misery must these prosecutions have caused? These poor people have been really exposed to one or other of two alternatives—they must submit their children to this rite which they both detest and abominate, or render themselves liable to legal proceedings, which occasion a considerable expenditure of money, and also threaten them in the immediate future with possible restraint and imprisonment. The result of vaccination is certainly not so satisfactory as many people think, and I am satisfied of this—that the Local Government Board, in not restraining the hands of the legal authorities, are causing an amount of misery which is, to a great extent, preventible, and ought at no time to be made excessive.

MR. TAPLING (Leicestershire, Harborough): I have the honour to represent one of the Divisions of Leicestershire, and the Committee will be aware that the town of Leicester is the centre of the anti-vaccination movement. Personally, I am in favour of compulsory vaccination; but I have given a pledge to my constituents that I will vote for

an inquiry into the subject of vaccination if the proposal should be made to the House, and I now throw that out as a suggestion for the Government to take into consideration. I think that an inquiry could only be productive of good. It appears to me that if vaccination is a good thing, it can have nothing to fear from an inquiry; and if it is wrong, then the sooner it is done away with the better. If the inquiry should prove, as I have no doubt it may, that vaccination is a good and beneficial thing, then I think it would have the effect of removing the prejudices which now exist against it in the minds of people who are really conscientious in the view in which they take.

MR. W. A. M'ARTHUR (York, E.R., Buckrose): I do not think it ought to be supposed that every hon. Member who opposes compulsory vaccination in this House does not himself believe in vaccination. I believe in vaccination, and have myself been vaccinated; but I have a strong opinion that Parliament has no right to enforce a practice to which many thousands of people in England have well-defined and strong objections, and who make it almost a part of their religion to resist it. The right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board has intimated that he does not wish to see prosecutions instituted except where it can be shown that such prosecutions would be effective, and would secure obedience to the requirements of the law.

MR. RITCHIE: I do not wish to be misunderstood. What I said was that the Local Government Board put the law in force in the hope that people would obey it; but I added that the Local Government Board would not encourage the Guardians in entering upon a course of persecution with a view of obtaining that which there was every reason to believe they would never obtain. At the same time, the Local Government Board certainly would not consider that they had put in force all the powers vested in them, unless they took steps to ascertain whether a certain amount of pressure would not bring about compliance with the provisions of the law.

MR. W. A. M'ARTHUR: Would the right hon. Gentleman suggest that fresh prosecutions should be entered

into after the first prosecution has failed to bring about a satisfactory result?

MR. RITCHIE: I have already read an extract from the letter of the Local Government Board to the Guardians of the Evesham Union, which states that—

"It is distinctly contemplated by Article 16 of the Board's General Order of the 31st October, 1874, that independently of any proceedings which may be taken against the person in fault under Section 29 of the Vaccination Act, 1867, the vaccination officer shall be authorized to take proceedings against him if he continue contumacious under Section 31 of that Act."

MR. W. A. M'ARTHUR: Then I understand that the feeling of the right hon. Gentleman is this—that if a prosecution has been entered into under the Act, the Board of Guardians shall have authority to take proceedings in further cases where there is a contumacious non-performance of the act of vaccination. Now, I would suggest that the Local Government Board should allow a licence to be taken out by the parents who are prepared to take an affidavit that they have conscientious objections to the performance of vaccination. Many people would be prepared to pay, if necessary, what would virtually be a fine for the non-performance of vaccination; and this would be a much less degrading practice than that which now prevails of dragging people before legal tribunals for the non-performance of a rite to which they have strongly-defined and conscientious objections. I may add that in many cases there is an impression that the children of poor people have not been vaccinated with lymph as pure and as good as that which the children of the rich can procure. I think it would be possible, without clashing to any great extent with the existing law, to obviate what is certainly regarded as a hardship by persons who have conscientious objections to vaccination.

SIR JOSEPH M'KENNA (Monaghan, S.): I have a strong belief in the efficacy of vaccination. I have myself been vaccinated on more than one occasion, and all my children have been vaccinated. Indeed, there are no more strenuous advocates of the principle than the Irish people, and there is no place where vaccination has so very few opponents as in Ireland. The question now before the Committee, however, does not depend upon whether vaccination is good or not, but whether we

ought not to procure, by the exercise of economy, some reduction in this item of £16,500. I may point out that neither in Ireland nor in Scotland has there been any such Supplementary Vote as is represented by this sum of £16,500 for England; and although I should not be prepared to press for the entire disallowance of this grant, still I think it is well worth consideration whether the system of economy, which has succeeded so well in Ireland and Scotland, should not be followed in England also.

MR. MOLLOY (King's Co., Birr): I regret that I cannot agree with my hon. Friend the Member for East Donegal (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) in the proposal he has made, because I believe that vaccination is one of the greatest blessings of modern days. Nor can I agree in the suggestion made by the hon. Member for Yorkshire (Mr. W. A. M'Arthur) that licences should be granted to those heads of families who have an objection to vaccination itself. It should be remembered that there is a second party to that consideration—and that is the general public. Personally, I am strongly in favour of vaccination; and I think that if people were released from the Compulsory Clauses of the Act it might be the means of introducing infectious diseases into the very house in which I live. I have no doubt there is a very great objection, and a conscientious objection, among a great number of the people of this country in regard to vaccination, and I believe that it arises to a great extent from the fact that the lymph which is supplied is impure. Whatever the case may be, there is, undoubtedly, a conscientious objection among a large class of persons in the country to compulsory vaccination; and yet I am of those who are prepared to maintain vaccination even in its compulsory form. I think it would be well to make an effort to convert people who object to it to my way of thinking, and to get them to recognize the extreme value of the principle, the validity of which modern science is confirming. I see no reason why an inquiry should not be made. It is all very well to say that we cannot inquire into the matter because we have already settled it. It must be remembered that at the time it was settled we had the mind of the public with us. Circumstances may have changed since, and public opinion may

have veered round in the matter. There are certainly a large number of people who are conscientiously opposed to compulsory vaccination. Therefore I think that an inquiry may be valuable in converting those who are opposed to us by giving them further proofs of the importance of vaccination. I myself looked into the matter somewhat seriously some years ago, and I became absolutely convinced by the evidence which was placed before me. I believe that others would be similarly convinced if the facts of the case were clearly made known. There is no reason whatever why an inquiry should not take place. The present Government is a Government of Inquiry—a Government of Commissions, and a little Commission more or less is not likely to injure the stability of the Government. It will satisfy a large number of those who have helped to keep the Government in power; and I think it would be a very desirable extension of that policy of Her Majesty's Government which takes the form of the appointment of little Commissions.

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton): The Committee seems unaware that at present the practice prevails of licensing persons who object to vaccination. At the present moment any person who can afford to pay the fines imposed escapes the Vaccination Law. Those persons who pay the fines obtain an immunity, while those who cannot do so are sent to gaol. The law, therefore, is inoperative against the rich, and oppressive against the poor. I have a case in my own mind in which an hon. Member of this House—a very much respected Member—was summoned for the non-vaccination of his child. Probably because he was a Member of this House he was let off with one insignificant fine, and has never been troubled since; whereas another person, who did not occupy the same social position, has been fined more than 30 times, and even sent to gaol. I believe that there is an enormous feeling arising in the country against this system of persecution. I do not think it right to take up the time of the Committee by discussing the merits of vaccination; but, seeing that the operation of the law has been made most oppressive, I shall support the hon. Member for East Donegal (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) if he goes to a division.

Mr. Molloy

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton): I do not exactly understand what the arrangement proposed by the President of the Local Government Board is. Are we to understand that any person who can obtain a certificate—any person who has a conscientious objection to his children being vaccinated, after he has once been fined, is not to be subjected to any further prosecution? I maintain that you destroy the principle of insisting upon vaccination when you say that a person who is able to pay the fine shall not have his child vaccinated. The hon. Member for King's County (Mr. Molloy) supports compulsory vaccination on the ground that small-pox may be introduced into his own establishment; but as he happens to have been vaccinated himself, together with all his family, I do not see how that circumstance ought to influence him.

MR. H. SMITH-WRIGHT (Nottingham, S.): As a Representative of a large Midland town, I wish to say that the question of vaccination is one which excited a great deal of feeling at the time of the last Election. I am, myself, in favour of vaccination; and I felt that I could not altogether give way on the subject in the course of my electioneering campaign. I believe that vaccination is essential in order to secure the good of the country, and I have applied myself to the task of inquiry. A point raised by the hon. Member for East Donegal (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) and the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Bradlaugh) is why those who object to vaccination should not be allowed to be exempted from it. My reply to that is that those who are in favour of vaccination do not claim that vaccination gives complete security. It is very well known that persons who have measles are generally exempt thereafter; but, nevertheless, it is possible to have measles even a second time. It is well known, in the same way, that there may be a second attack of small-pox. Therefore, if we were to prevent any large body of the people of the country from being vaccinated, they would thus constitute a nucleus for the spread of the disease, to some extent, at all events, among those who had been vaccinated. I would ask the hon. Member for East Donegal to look back to the state of things that existed 100 years ago. At that time there was scarcely a Royal Family in

Europe in which one or two of its Members were not marked with small-pox. It was quite the exception in those days for anyone to be free from the marks of small-pox, and anybody who was not marked was considered to be an absolute beauty. Now, we have no wish to recur to that state of things. This is a very grave question, and no doubt there is a great deal of feeling upon it. As the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Bradlaugh) has said, there is one law for the rich and another for the poor, seeing that one is able to pay the fine without much inconvenience, whereas the other is put to great straits, and even compelled to undergo imprisonment. I myself feel the force of that argument, and during the late Election campaign I advocated the making of imprisonment universal, and doing away with fines altogether. The consequence was that for a month the walls of Nottingham were placarded with the announcement that "Mr. Smith-Wright wishes to imprison the working man for not being vaccinated." That is all I got out of my proposal. I feel sure that the Government will give this matter their best attention, and will see that the powers of compulsory vaccination are exercised with every care and with every possible consideration for the feelings of those who object to it.

MR. RITCHIE: A number of suggestions have been thrown out in the course of the discussion on this Vote to which I should like to make a reply. One hon. Member intimated that the Government have thrown out some hope that certificates may be granted to persons who have a conscientious objection to vaccination. I do not know where the hon. Member obtained his information. The granting of a certificate was mentioned, but certainly not by me. As far as the Government are concerned, I am obliged to the hon. Member for the suggestion he has thrown out; but it is not one that could be entertained for a single moment—namely, that a certificate should be given to any person who broke the law. The hon. Member himself will see how impossible it would be for any Government to adopt such a proposal. The hon. Member for King's County (Mr. Molloy), and also the hon. Member for Leicestershire (Mr. Tapling), have suggested that we should grant an inquiry, and the hon. Member for King's County added that

we were essentially a Government of Inquiry, and therefore that it would come well within our duties. No doubt, we are a Government of Inquiry, where inquiry is necessary in order to obtain information which we do not possess; but we are not a Government of Inquiry in order to obtain information which we do possess. If there is one subject on which the Government possess accurate information more than another it is upon the subject of vaccination; and therefore Her Majesty's Ministers could not consent to any Committee of Inquiry into the Vaccination Laws, not because they fear the result of an inquiry, but because, while on the one hand they do not believe the inquiry would have the least effect in removing the objections of those who at present resist the law, on the other hand it might have the effect of implying doubts on the part of the Government which the Government do not possess in the slightest degree. I may add that only two years ago an exhaustive inquiry was made by the Statistical Society, not only into cases arising in this country, but all over the world, and they came to the conclusion that the benefits of vaccination were undoubted. One matter has been mentioned with which I have a considerable amount of sympathy. An hon. Gentleman stated that poor people objected to the lymph which is supplied. I wish it to be understood that the Government have an establishment already in existence where pure lymph can be obtained by medical practitioners, and it may become a question whether or not such establishments should not be extended. If the Government can do anything in that way to destroy the prejudice which undoubtedly does exist in the minds of some people they will be most happy to consider the question.

MR. SHEEHY (Galway, S.): The hon. Member for East Donegal (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) has called attention to the fact that a grant from the public funds of £16,500 appears in this Estimate for the encouragement of vaccination in England. No explanation is given of it; and I would only ask why, if this pecuniary reward is necessary in England for the encouragement of vaccination, a similar reward is not granted to Ireland and Scotland? If it is necessary that this sum should be given to English practitioners for suc-

cessful vaccination in order to prevent the spread of disease, is it not also necessary that something should be given to prevent the spread of disease in Scotland and Ireland? The hon. Member for East Donegal has shown how the grant has jumped from £2,000 a-year to £16,500, and how there has been an increase this year of £900. No explanation has been given by the Government of this increase. As to the merits of vaccination I would not venture to speak; but it strikes me as somewhat extraordinary that we should be told that small-pox can be prevented by vaccination, and yet that small-pox should, nevertheless, be so rife. Why not deal with other zymotic diseases in the same way? Why not require the public to be vaccinated as a preventive against rabies? I think it is a powerful argument in favour of those who entertain conscientious scruples against vaccination that if a man believes in it he has only to provide that he himself and his family shall undergo the ordeal in order to protect himself. Under such circumstances, why should the man who has obtained security for himself object to give full force to the conscientious scruples of another man who entertains conscientious objections to vaccination, and refuses either to be vaccinated himself or allow his children to undergo the operation?

DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid): I have listened with great attention to an extremely interesting debate on this great question of vaccination, and I am certain that the result of the debate has been most satisfactory. I was rather astonished, at the outset, that my hon. Friend the Member for East Donegal (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) should object altogether to vaccination, because I think that anybody who will take the trouble to inquire into the past history of vaccination and the beneficial results which it has brought about—the great and material blessings which it has conferred upon humanity—cannot fail to be struck with the enormous progress it has made and the great success which has attended it. Not only does my hon. Friend object to vaccination as a preventive of small-pox, but he objects to it on the ground that it is a pregnant source of the poisoning of healthy children. Now, Sir, I am perfectly well acquainted with more than one case in

which vaccination certainly did poison healthy children; but the difficulties the people and medical men have to deal with in treating cases of vaccination are two-fold—in the first place, the virus matter must be pure, and must not be used in too strong or too concentrated a form; and, secondly, the child who is to be operated upon must not suffer from any debilitating or constitutional malady. Unfortunately, in dealing with vaccination, many people have arrived at the impression that due care is not taken in selecting the lymph, and that serious complications arise in consequence. Now, anyone who has inquired into the subject must know the serious risk which a child runs who is vaccinated from lymph taken directly from the calf. It is found, however, that when a healthy child has been successfully vaccinated from lymph taken from the calf, the vaccine matter taken from that child will successfully vaccinate any other child in turn, and thus pass on the advantages of vaccination from child to child, so that the same beneficial results may be obtained by a child to whom the lymph has been transmitted even in the 10,000th degree, the result being quite as successful as that which was produced in the case of the child who was vaccinated directly from the calf. I think this fact shows that at the present time there must be faults in dealing with the system of vaccination, and that it does not require medical skill or knowledge to deal with vaccination. It is patent that any child can be successfully vaccinated with lymph taken from another child without being subjected to that source of danger which is incurred by a child directly vaccinated from the calf. My hon. Friend the Member for King's County (Mr. Molloy) says that it would be a very good thing if a Commission were appointed to inquire into the question of vaccination. I quite agree with him, and fully endorse what he has said; but I know perfectly well that in England—it has not been so in Ireland—there is in the present day an outcry against vaccination which has been taken up in a practical form by gentlemen who have formed themselves into an Anti-Vaccination Society—a Society which is even represented at the present day by a journal. The result of this combined effort against vaccination on the part of no inconsider-

able portion of the public has tended to create discontent, and many persons have come to the conclusion that in allowing their children to be vaccinated they may possibly incur a grave risk. In cases where children die while suffering from the effects of vaccination the death is put down to vaccination and nothing else; whereas, in nine cases out of ten, the death occurs from other causes and complications. If, therefore, a Committee or a Commission were appointed, as asked for by my hon. Friend, to inquire into the present state of the question of vaccination, I think it would be doing good service, because vaccination, like every other branch of medical science, is not at a standstill. It is progressive, and vaccination at the present day ought to make some advance upon the system which was in vogue some years ago. But that is not the only point to which I wish to draw the attention of Her Majesty's Government. There is another point which I think will justify me in urging that the appointment of a Commission of Inquiry would be advantageous to the country. It has been found that the child of a father who has been vaccinated without being vaccinated in turn will not get the small-pox in the same virulent form as the child of a non-vaccinated father would be likely to receive it. That points to the value of the system of inoculation, although there may have been a break in it for several generations. Children even of the third and fourth generation have received the benefit of the vaccination undergone by their ancestors, and are certainly not so prone to be attacked with the dreadful malady of small-pox as even children of the second generation. Therefore it is believed that gradually as we go on from generation to generation the receipt for vaccination will become proportionately less. Instead of the great outlay which is now incurred in supplying vaccine lymph and in remunerating the public vaccinators being progressive and getting larger it ought to be gradually growing less. There is no doubt that the system of inoculation practised at the present day has its enemies as well as its friends. The enemies of vaccination have an idea that the world has gone mad in its efforts to extirpate disease by resorting to inoculation. Even "pigoculation" has been adopted for the vaccination of children

for the measles. There can be no doubt that the people of the United Kingdom have acquired many advantages from vaccination, and I sincerely trust that the system will be carried out to the fullest extent. I hope also that the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board will consent to the appointment of a Commission to inquire into the present state of vaccination, and also to ascertain whether the expense already incurred in connection with vaccination may not be cut down. There is another point to which I wish also to call the attention of the right hon. Gentleman. The right hon. Gentleman, in some detail, entered into the benefits of vaccination; but in speaking of those benefits he omitted to mention that in Ireland we are provided with no centre of vaccination whatever. Ireland, be it remembered, contributes to the Imperial taxation, and helps to supply a portion of the amount that is provided in this Estimate for the remuneration of public vaccinators in England; but, at the same time, there is no vaccination depôt in Ireland, and, what is still worse, we have no public vaccinators. Of course, there are in Ireland a great number of dispensary doctors—doctors of dispensary districts—which I believe is a system which does not prevail in England. These doctors are looked upon as public vaccinators; and it was understood to have been suggested by the President of the Local Government Board, the year before last, that that should be their position. Unfortunately, that position has never been recognized, and the certificates which are given by these dispensary doctors in Ireland are not recognized in England as certificates from a public vaccinator. The consequence is that in order to fulfil the functions of a public vaccinator Irish students are required to take out a diploma from the Royal College of Surgeons in London, and even then the certificates which are granted in Ireland are not looked upon in this country as sufficient, because they have not been supplied by a legal public vaccinator. We regard this in Ireland as a standing injustice; and I think we may not unreasonably hope that the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board will take the circumstances of the case into consideration, and either

have public vaccinators appointed in Ireland for the purpose of carrying out there, in the same way as in England, the duties proscribed by the Statute, or else provide that the certificate granted by a dispensary doctor in Ireland shall have the same effect as that granted by a public vaccinator in England.

MR. E. HARRINGTON (Kerry, W.): I wish to explain the vote that I intend to give on the Motion of my hon. Friend the Member for East Donegal (Mr. Arthur O'Connor). Personally, I have a firm belief in vaccination; but I cannot ignore the fact that there are a great number of persons in this country who do not believe in it; therefore, I am of opinion that, as the present Government is a Government of examination and inquiry, they might reasonably allow an inquiry into this very important question. I intend to vote with my hon. Friend; but simply as a matter of courtesy in consequence of the refusal of the Government to grant an inquiry. The reply which was given by the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board to the request which has been made for an inquiry was that the Government of the day declined to grant an inquiry into things that are already known. Nevertheless, in our opinion, the Government have already intimated their intention to inquire into things as perfectly well known and established as the fact that the sun shines at noonday. I may further say that the Government itself has already been vaccinated, and the lymph with which they have been vaccinated as a protective against the rush of Radicalism is the lymph which has been taken from the "three acres and a cow." I shall vote with my hon. Friend the Member for East Donegal, not because I have any doubt as to the value of vaccination, but because I protest against the attitude of the Government in refusing to grant an inquiry.

THE SECRETARY TO THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. Long) (Wilts, Devizes): I may remind the hon. Member that my right hon. Friend the President of the Local Government Board promised in the early part of the evening that arrangements would be made for an issue of certificates from Dublin. Attention has been called to the considerable increase which has taken place in this grant. I may, how-

ever, point out that during the last four years the sum asked has been £15,000. That sum, however, has been invariably exceeded; and, therefore, it has been deemed expedient to ask for the sum which will, in the opinion of the Board, be actually expended. As a matter of fact, it is not anticipated that the annual expenditure this year will involve any increase upon the expenditure of last year; and in asking for a sum which will cover the real expenditure the Government think they are introducing a principle which should deserve the support and encouragement of the Committee.

MR. W. A. MACDONALD (Queen's Co., Ossory): I have been much surprised and disconcerted at the tone which the Government have taken in reference to this matter. There is no doubt whatever that at least a considerable section of intelligent and fairly educated people in this country have a very strong objection to vaccination; and it seems to me no argument to reply to this volume of public opinion—"We know all about the matter already, and we will not sanction any inquiry into it." As long as this volume of public opinion against vaccination exists it must necessarily be met, and the only way to meet it is by an inquiry, which those who object to vaccination will regard as thoroughly impartial. If you converse with people who are opposed to vaccination you will find them invariably assert that evidence which is given in favour of vaccination is tainted evidence—that is, evidence given by the medical practitioners who have an interest in the matter. That is what they say—namely, that the medical practitioners have an interest in upholding the present system, and that that interest depends upon the very Vote which the Committee is now asked to sanction. Now, it seems to me that if a Government inquiry were set on foot by a Commission or otherwise, which would really be of an impartial character, and which would be above the suspicion of unfairness, it would have a very considerable effect in calming the public mind upon this question, and making the path of future Governments both clear and easy. And if, as I think is very likely to be the case, it should be proved that the present system is upon the whole right, and that compulsory vaccination is good for the com-

munity, we should be able to set at rest a question which has been disturbing the peace of the public mind for year after year, leading to continual discussions in this House, resulting in a great many people breaking the law, and placing the Local Government Board in considerable difficulties as to how they may best be able to maintain the law. Under these circumstances, I would most earnestly press upon the Government, from the point of view of settling this question satisfactorily, that they should grant such an inquiry as has been asked for. At the same time, I do not feel so strongly on this matter as to be able to vote with my hon. Friend the Member for East Donegal (Mr. Arthur O'Connor), and therefore I shall not give my vote on this question at all. I am satisfied that his arguments, which I am sure are advanced in the most conscientious spirit, are abundantly sufficient to justify an inquiry.

Question put, and *negatived*.

Original Question again proposed.

Mr. DILLON (Mayo, E.): I wish to call attention to the salaries of two of the Government Secretaries—the Secretary to the Local Government Board and the Secretary to the Board of Trade. The salary of the Parliamentary Secretary to the Local Government Board is, I see, fixed at £1,500 a-year, whereas if we turn back to the salary already voted for the Board of Trade it is fixed at £1,200 a-year. Now, I find that both of these salaries, until last year, stood at £1,500 a-piece, and that they were then reduced to £1,200; and before we proceed any further with the Vote I want a clear explanation from the Government why they are continuing to pay £1,500 to the Parliamentary Secretary to the Local Government Board and only £1,200 a-year to the Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade? I have never heard any hon. Member contend that the Local Government Board has more to do than the Board of Trade. If in a country like England any comparison is to be made, it must be admitted that the Board of Trade is entitled to have its officials more highly paid than those of the Local Government Board. If I am correctly informed, we have here evidence of a very unsavoury job. I am disposed to admit the present Govern-

ment are not responsible for it, and I have no fault to find with them in regard to it. Least of all am I inclined to find fault with the present Parliamentary Secretary. But what has occurred, so far as my information goes, is this. Some time ago it was arranged that the salaries of these two officials—the Secretaries to the Board of Trade and the Local Government Board—should be fixed at £1,200 a-year. But a rather distinguished Gentleman—now representing the Bordesley Division of Birmingham (Mr. Jesse Collings)—whose name was identified with the “three acres and a cow” was appointed to the position of Parliamentary Secretary to the Local Government Board, and he seems to have discovered that £1,200 a-year was not sufficient for the brilliancy of the genius and services he brought to bear in support of Her Majesty's Government; but the President of the Local Government Board at that time was a Cabinet Minister, and a personal friend of the hon. Member, and it is said that through the influence of that Cabinet Minister the original arrangement was broken through, and that the salary of £1,500 a-year was continued to the Secretary to the Local Government Board. Well, the salary of the Secretary to the Board of Trade was reduced in strict accordance with that understanding to £1,200 a-year. There can be no doubt that the Secretary to the Board of Trade was an equally able and accomplished official; but he does not seem to have possessed the influence of the Secretary to the Local Government Board, and therefore his salary remained at £1,200 a-year. Now, Sir, I regard this transaction as most discreditable, and I think that we have a right to ask that the salary of the Secretary to the Local Government Board shall be reduced, so that the remuneration paid to these two officers shall be equal. I think it is highly disrespectful that because the hon. Member for the Bordesley Division of Birmingham (Mr. Jesse Collings) happened to have a personal friend in the Cabinet his salary should have been raised by £300 a-year, whereas that of the Secretary to the Board of Trade should have been left at £1,200. Unless I get a satisfactory explanation of this matter I shall certainly move to reduce the Vote by the sum of £300.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £175,656, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1887, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Local Government Board, including various Grants in Aid of Local Taxation."—(*Mr. Dillon.*)

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (*Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL*) (*Paddington, S.*): I should have hoped that the hon. Member who has brought forward this question would have satisfied himself with facts, and not have drawn, as he has done, upon his imagination. In this particular case he is altogether in error, and the explanation I have to give in regard to it is this. When the Estimate was originally framed by the late Government the salary for the Parliamentary Secretaryship to the Local Government Board was placed at £1,500 a-year, an amount at which it had stood for a long time—I believe ever since the establishment of the Board of 1854. That being so, the actual figures in the Estimate have been altered. But these are the facts of the case. When the late Prime Minister appointed the late Secretary to the Board of Trade and the late Secretary to the Local Government Board he made it a condition that the salaries for both of those Offices should be reduced to £1,200 a-year. The hon. Member for the Bordesley Division of Birmingham (*Mr. Jesse Collings*) was appointed Secretary to the Local Government Board before the arrangement to reduce the salaries was made. This is why the salary of £1,500 was paid to him; but it will not be paid to the present Secretary to the Local Government Board, because the arrangement made by the late Prime Minister is still in force, although I must confess that I am unable to see the advantage which the late Prime Minister aimed at in making these rather small reductions in official salaries. I am not prepared to depart from the decision which the right hon. Gentleman came to; and, therefore, the salaries of these two Parliamentary Secretaries have been reduced to £1,200 a-year. They still remain at £1,200 a-year, and the balance of £300 in each case will be paid into the Exchequer. Of course, the hon. Gentleman will understand that I have absolutely no knowledge whatever of anything which has taken place between the late President

of the Local Government Board, the right hon. Member for West Birmingham (*Mr. Chamberlain*), and the hon. Member for the Bordesley Division of Birmingham (*Mr. Jesse Collings*) as to the salary of the Parliamentary Secretary to the Local Government Board, nor had I thought it any matter of concern to the House. All I have to say is that the arrangement which the late Government made in regard to these two salaries will be carried out; and that the Secretary to the Local Government Board, like the Secretary to the Board of Trade, will only receive a salary of £1,200 a-year. It is not necessary, therefore, to submit the Amendment which the hon. Member for Mayo has proposed.

MR. BORLASE (*Cornwall, St. Austell*): What the noble Lord has stated is entirely correct. When the late Prime Minister asked me to become the Secretary to the Local Government Board he mentioned to me that the salary would be at the rate of £1,200 a-year. I had previously seen statements in the newspapers to the effect that the salaries for the Parliamentary Secretaryships to the Board of Trade and the Local Government Board were to be reduced from £1,500 to £1,200 a-year. Under those conditions, and without making any comment upon them, because I did not think it my place to do so, I accepted the Office. I then found, on going to the Local Government Board, that my Predecessor had been receiving remuneration at the rate of £1,500 a-year. Perhaps I may say that a curious anomaly occurred with regard to myself which I should like particularly to point out to the noble Lord, and that is that I received my salary at the rate of £1,500 a-year up to the last payment, which I only received the other day. Upon that occasion the old rate of payment had been reduced all along the line; and therefore, although I had been receiving a salary at the rate of £1,500 a-year, when it came to the last part of the year during which I had held Office I found that I was only entitled to be paid at the rate of £1,200 a-year. Now, I cannot exaggerate—certainly not in my own estimation—the value of the Offices which I and my Colleague in the representation of Cornwall (*Mr. O. T. D. Acland*) filled. Although the salaries had been reduced, I must say that I trust in future, when the great import-

Mr. Dillon

ance of the Board of Trade is fully considered, and the great, if not equal, importance of the Local Government Board is also borne in mind, this House will, I venture to hope, arrive at the opinion that these two Parliamentary Secretaryships are worthy of the higher salaries which were originally paid to them.

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton): My hon. Friend need not flatter himself that we are going to raise these salaries. I think my hon. Friend the Member for East Mayo (Mr. Dillon) has stated the facts of the case with perfect accuracy. His statement was that when Mr. Jesse Collings was appointed Secretary to the Local Government Board he had £1,500 a-year, and that then Mr. Chamberlain—[*Cries of "Order!"*] I think I am in Order. My hon. Friend the Member for East Mayo complains that the late Prime Minister when he came into Office arranged that the salaries for the Parliamentary Secretary to the Local Government Board and the Secretary to the Board of Trade should be £1,200 instead of £1,500 a-year. Mr. Chamberlain—[*Cries of "Order!"*] Mr. Courtney, I appeal to you as to whether I am not in Order?

THE CHAIRMAN: If the hon. Member is speaking of Members of the last Parliament he is in Order. He would not be in Order in naming Members of the present Parliament.

MR. LABOUCHERE: Well, Sir, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham was very powerful in debate, and he insisted that his follower, the present Member for Bordesley (Mr. Jesse Collings), should have £1,500 per annum, whereas the Secretary to the Board of Trade only received £1,200. When we lost Mr. Jesse Collings, my hon. Friend who took his place was not under such powerful protection, and although he thought he was to receive £1,500 a-year yet he only received £1,200. The statement of the hon. Member for East Mayo (Mr. Dillon) is entirely confirmed as to the fact that the hon. Member for Bordesley received £300 a-year more than the hon. Member for West Cornwall (Mr. Borlase) when he succeeded him.

MR. DILLON: I listened with the utmost attention to the noble Lord the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and I could not gather from his statement any sufficient reason for the difference in the

Estimates; nor did the noble Lord make any attempt to meet my statement that Mr. Jesse Collings was in receipt of £1,500 a year. But when his successor (Mr. Borlase) came into Office the reduction of the salary to £1,200 was allowed to come into force, and the whole loss fell upon that hon. Gentleman. Now, I consider that that was a most discreditable and unfair thing. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham (Mr. J. Chamberlain) should not use his influence to increase the salaries of his particular clique in this House, and I shall certainly go to a division on this question. The noble Lord stated with regard to the present Estimate that this sum of £1,500 a year would not be used, and that a repayment would be made into the Exchequer; but he did not give any satisfactory explanation of the reason why the Estimate is for £1,500 for the Local Government Board, and £1,200 for the Board of Trade. Therefore, I shall move a reduction of the Vote by the sum of £300, not because I have any feeling at all as to those salaries being too large, and still less because I have any objection to the present occupant of the Office, but because it is the only way in which I can raise the question as to the action of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £175,656, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1887, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Local Government Board, including various Grants in Aid of Local Taxation."—(*Mr. Dillon.*)

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.): I do not see why the Chancellor of the Exchequer should not accede to the Motion for the reduction of the Vote, because I understood him to say that the excess would be repaid to the Treasury. I think that the Chancellor of the Exchequer might justly accept the reduction of the Vote. But there is another point which I wish to draw attention to—namely, that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham (Mr. Chamberlain) and the hon. Gentleman the Member for Bordesley (Mr. Jesse Collings) are not in the House at the present time, and I think

it was unfair on the part of the hon. Member for East Mayo (Mr. Dillon) to impute to them what he did in their absence. We were told by the successor of the hon. Member for Bordesley, that he expected to get £1,500 a-year, and that when he came into Office he found that the salary had been reduced. Probably it would have been the same in the case of the hon. Member for Bordesley.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL) (Paddington, S.): I do not exactly understand the course which the hon. Member for East Mayo wishes us to take. The hon. Member says he wishes to go to a division in order to censure the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham (Mr. J. Chamberlain). Does the hon. Member wish us to go to a division in order to censure the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham, or the hon. Member for Bordesley (Mr. Jesse Collings)? I do not think that the Committee by going to a division would convey the smallest censure on either of those Gentlemen; and, again, the conduct of the right hon. Member for West Birmingham and of the hon. Member for Bordesley is not in any way before the Committee. I have stated to the Committee that the present Secretary to the Board of Trade only receives £1,200 a year, and it has been so ever since the hon. Member was appointed. I own that, as the present Secretary to the Board of Trade is being paid at the rate of £1,200 a-year, I fail to see that there was any useful purpose served by asking for an additional sum of £300, and therefore I am perfectly ready to accept the reduction. I wish, however, to guard myself against any responsibility for that reduction, which, as has been pointed out, was made by the late Prime Minister. I therefore express a hope that the hon. Member for East Mayo will not put the Committee to the trouble of dividing on this Vote.

MR. DILLON: I see the force of the noble Lord's objection, and I shall not put the Committee to the trouble of dividing. With regard to a censure on the right hon. Gentlemen the Member for West Birmingham (Mr. J. Chamberlain), I stated that it was only by moving a reduction of the Vote that I could raise the question at all. I am bound

to say, after all that the noble Lord has said, and after what has been said on this side of the Committee, it is clear that the hon. Member for the Bordesley Division of Birmingham (Mr. Jesse Collings) drew £1,500 a-year, and that when another hon. Member took his place a reduction was made. I think this a most disreputable transaction. I believe the intention was to continue the £1,500 a-year to Mr. Jesse Collings as long as he had the place, and to reduce it when another hon. Member came into Office. I have no hesitation in saying that this was a disgraceful transaction.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR (Liverpool, Scotland): I believe the Chancellor of the Exchequer is responsible for the finances of the country. Now the statement of the hon. Member for East Mayo (Mr. Dillon) is that the hon. Member for the Bordesley Division of Birmingham (Mr. Jesse Collings) drew a salary at the rate of £1,500 a-year. Are we to understand that the noble Lord assents to that statement? [Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Yes.] Then I have nothing further to say.

MR. PICKERSGILL (Bethnal Green, S.W.): I desire to draw attention to the inadequate and improper performance of a duty which is imposed upon the Local Government Board. It is an important question involving very closely the interests of my constituents, but even in a greater degree the interests of the right hon. Gentleman whom I see opposite, and generally the interests of hundreds and thousands of the poor ratepayers of this Metropolis. Now, Mr. Courtney, the facts are simply these. We have in London what is called the Metropolitan Common Poor Fund. This is a Fund to which each Union contributes according to its rateable value, and out of this Fund certain charges in connection with poor relief are defrayed.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: I rise to Order. Am I right, Mr. Courtney, in the opinion that the hon. Member is out of Order? The hon. Member is referring to a subject that has nothing to do with the Amendment of the hon. Member for East Mayo, which has not yet been disposed of by the Committee.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Amendment is to reduce the Vote by a certain sum. There is nothing in the Amendment to identify any particular item, and, there-

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fore, the question put covers the point which is being raised by the hon. Member.

MR. PICKERSGILL: The noble Lord, perhaps, has no great acquaintance with the Unions. I was aware that unless I raised this question now I should be shut out from raising a question of great importance to the ratepayers. In districts where the aggregate rating value is large and the poor are few a larger contribution is made to the Common Poor Fund than is drawn from it, the reverse being the case where the rating value is small and the poor are numerous. One of the charges on this Metropolitan Common Poor Fund is the cost of the rations of certain officers. The Local Government Board and the right hon. Gentleman the President (Mr. Ritchie) are concerned in this—that the Legislature, in making the cost of these rations a common charge, empowered the Local Government Board to fix the scale for these rations. My first allegation is that this scale is inadequate. Some hon. Members may have noticed that I have recently put a series of Questions on this subject to the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board. I regret to say the right hon. Gentleman has not been very communicative; but he did inform me of the particulars of the scale fixed for the Board. It appears that the officers are divided into two classes, called principal and subordinate. As regards the rations of the principal officers, an allowance of 12s. per week per head is made by the Board; and as regards subordinate officers, an allowance of 7s. per week per head is made. The other day I asked the right hon. Gentleman what was the average cost of these rations in the Metropolitan Unions. The right hon. Gentleman was either unable or unwilling to supply me with this information, and, under those circumstances, I took the only course which remained open to me—that is to say, I set about obtaining all the information I wanted for myself, and in a few hours I obtained from Mr. Howard, the Clerk to the Bethnal Green Guardians, the information I was asking from the right hon. Gentleman. Now, in Bethnal Green I find that the actual cost of these rations, taking principal and subordinate officers together, is 12s. 8d. per head per week. The amount

allowed by the Local Government Board works out at 7s. 5½d. per head per week. The Local Government Board, in this case at any rate, allows very little more than half the actual cost. I communicated these facts to the right hon. Gentleman as representing the average cost throughout London, and the right hon. Gentleman replied that he had no reason to doubt the general accuracy of my statement. So that, interpreting that as official answers must generally be interpreted, I think it may be taken that the inadequacy of this scale is established. But I may mention to the Committee, however, that I have been also in communication with the Clerk to the Shoreditch Guardians, and, through the courtesy of that gentleman, I find that in Shoreditch the actual cost is 13s. 9d. per head, whereas the allowance works out at 7s. 5d., so that it appears that the difference between the actual cost and the allowance for rations is very nearly as great as the official grant. There is a further point which I wish to mention to the Committee. Mr. Clay, of Shoreditch, who is a gentleman of great experience in these matters, informs me that, although the cost of rations for the principal officers is materially greater than the cost of rations for the subordinate officers, still it is not nearly so great as the difference fixed by the Local Government Board; so that it is clear that we have the evidence of an expert to show that the scale of the Local Government Board is wrongly constructed. But in order to establish and bring home this charge against the Local Government Board, it is not sufficient for me to show merely that the scale is inadequate; I must also show that it is contrary to the intention of the Legislature.

COLONEL HUGHES (Woolwich): I rise to Order. I ask whether the subject to which the hon. Member is drawing attention can be discussed upon the Vote before the Committee, having regard to the fact that the expenditure to which the hon. Member is alluding is entirely defrayed by an expenditure from the rates?

THE CHAIRMAN: I understand the hon. Member to be discussing the question of payment out of the rates by the direction of the Local Government Board, who have framed a scale of allowances.

If that is so, the hon. Member will be in Order in continuing his observations.

COLONEL HUGHES: The Local Government Board control the action of the Guardians in many cases; but there is no single item of the Vote before the Committee which can include the question which the hon. Member is now discussing.

THE CHAIRMAN: That is not the point.

MR. PICKERSGILL: I am not at all surprised at the interruptions by which the hon. and gallant Member opposite endeavours to prevent my exposing this matter. When I was interrupted by the hon. and gallant Member I was at this point—that it was not sufficient for me to show that this scale was inadequate, but that I must also show that it is contrary to the intentions of the Legislature. Now, I must refer to the Metropolitan Poor Act, 1867. Under that Act the salaries of the officers are made common charges, the rations of the officers are excluded. But by the 2nd section of the Metropolitan Poor Act of 1870 it is provided as follows:—namely,

“That the item of salaries of the officers referred to in the ninth section of the Metropolitan Poor Act of 1867 shall include the cost of the rations of the officers according to a scale to be fixed by the Local Government Board.”

Well, Sir, the right hon. Gentleman opposite argues that it is obvious that the cost of the rations is not on all-fours with the salary. Now, I submit that so far from this proposition being obvious, on the contrary I maintain that the cost of the rations is precisely on the same footing with the question of salary. The right hon. Gentleman will, no doubt, tell the Committee that the cost of the rations to be allowed to the Guardians is to be determined according to the scale fixed by the Local Government Board; but my answer to that is that the salaries—the amount of the salary repayable to the Guardians—is a matter to be fixed by the Local Government Board. In both cases a discretion is given to the Local Government Board, but it is a discretion which is to be judicially exercised in both cases alike. I admit that the Local Government Board is not bound to allow the actual cost, but the reasonable cost—not a cost that they might find or take here or there, but the cost taken upon average. Well, I

The Chairman

believe that the right hon. Gentleman will tell us that it would not be in the interest of economy that the Local Government Board should allow any amount which might be demanded in respect of these rations. [“Hear, hear!”] The right hon. Gentleman says “Hear, hear!” but I submit that a statement of that kind is mere idle beating of the air. No one has ever maintained, certainly least of all have I, that the Local Government Board would be justified in allowing a Board of Guardians to maintain its officers on turtle soup and bottles of old port; but what I maintain is that the Local Government Board are required by this Act to provide a reasonable scale—a scale such that a Union exercising fair economy would not exceed, and might charge against the Local Government Board. I say that they have fixed a scale to which the Metropolitan Unions cannot possibly bring down the cost of their officers’ rations. It will be perfectly clear that if the scale is inadequate when it ought to be adequate, it is very unfair upon the poorer districts of London; and that it is unfair to the poorer districts of London I may show by stating a single fact—namely, the cost of the rations in Bethnal Green Union alone is considerably more than £1,000 in excess of the sum which the Local Government Board allows. Well, Sir, I submit that the revision of this scale is most urgently required. I do not know that the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Ritchie), who represents an East End constituency, would be disposed to deny that it is not very astonishing that I should wish, if possible, to relieve the burdens of the poor ratepayers of those places. It is to me a most painful sight—acquainted as I am with painful sights—to see thousands of respectable ratepayers struggling quarter after quarter to keep their heads above water, and to see them from time to time sink into pauperism under the crushing weight of the enormous local imposts which they have to bear. The only question, then, is this, What was the intention of the Legislature in passing this Act? In addressing the Committee I can use arguments which would not be permissible if I were pleading before a Court of Law. I will refer to the statement made by Mr. Goschen at the time he was President of the Local Government Board. Mr. Goschen, who was the author of the

Act of 1870, declared to the House that he introduced a Bill, the object of which was to equalize the rates throughout London as far as possible. When I find that in the parish of St. George's-in-the-East, which the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Ritchie) represents, the poor rate is 3s. 5d. in the pound, whereas in the parish of—

THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member is now travelling beyond the definite question, which is the discretion of the Local Government Board in fixing this scale.

MR. PICKERSGILL: I submit, of course, to your ruling, Mr. Courtney, and point out that if this scale is not revised it will have the effect of making the poor of this Metropolis worse off than they are at present. In conclusion, I simply ask that the President of the Local Government Board should do that which I conceive to be his duty, and to act on the principle of the distinguished man who, when he was President of the Board, was responsible for the Act of 1870.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (MR. RITCHIE) (Tower Hamlets, St. George's): I also would appeal to the hon. Gentleman to consider what, perhaps, may be news to him—namely, that it was the distinguished man he refers to who fixed the scale of rations to which he objects. The argument of the hon. Gentleman was that the Bill of Mr. Goschen had for its object the equalization of the rates throughout London. I can hardly understand that the hon. Member was aware that Mr. Goschen fixed the scale; but that is the case, and, therefore, if his object was to give to the parishes the total amount of the rations of officers, and if these are not paid for by the scale fixed, it is Mr. Goschen who is responsible. I have here Mr. Goschen's circular. [MR. PICKERSGILL: I do not dispute that.] Then if I have not stated the argument of the hon. Member correctly I do not know what his argument is. Well, Sir, Mr. Goschen also said in the same debate it was a portion of the plan that a margin should be left in order to secure economy. Well, now, of course, the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Pickersgill) said, and said very truly, that I, as the Representative of very poor parishes, ought to have some sympathy for the course he was pursuing. I have been

connected with the East End of London perhaps twice as many years as the hon. Gentleman has been months, and, therefore, the Committee may well imagine that I am deeply interested in the condition of affairs in the district to which the hon. Gentleman has referred, and that nothing would be wanting on my part, which I thought I ought properly and justly to do, to mitigate the conditions under which the unfortunate poor lived in the East End of London. But, Sir, we must bear in mind this, that in dealing with questions of this character a scale ought to be fixed which would secure economy in the administration of rates by Local Bodies. What Mr. Goschen did at the time he fixed that scale was to inquire throughout the Unions in the Metropolis what was the minimum it would be proper to fix the scale at. I am not now contending that that scale is sufficient; I am only showing how the scale was fixed. I think it can hardly be contended that the case of rations has arisen between 1870 and the present time. However, what I want to point out to the hon. Gentleman and the Committee is that before the hon. Gentleman called attention to this subject at all I had made it the subject of investigation; and not only have I made this the subject of investigation, but I have for some time been investigating the whole incidence of the Metropolitan Common Poor Law Fund. The hon. Gentleman (Mr. Pickersgill) thinks we ought at once to proceed to fix a higher scale without making any inquiry. I myself do not think that would be a judicious course to adopt. I am making inquiries; I have previously informed the hon. Gentleman that I am making inquiries. When I have satisfied myself as to the exact condition of affairs I shall not hesitate to take such action as my inquiries may show to be right; but it is perfectly impossible for me to say now, without having made any inquiry at all, I can recommend to the House that the scale should be raised. The hon. Gentleman has given figures as to the cost of rations in Bethnal Green and Shoreditch. I have no doubt that the figures he has quoted are substantially correct; but it does not at all follow it would be right to take these figures as the basis everywhere. The average must be taken, and the very minimum of the average must be taken, in order to promote eco-

nomy in the various Unions. However, I do not propose to enter into the question the hon. Gentleman has raised. I have only to state again what I have stated in answer to Questions, that the whole matter is being investigated by me, and that my course of action will be dictated by the result of my inquiries.

Mr. BUXTON (Tower Hamlets, Poplar): I think the Committee generally will have heard with pleasure that the right hon. Gentleman has already instituted an inquiry into the whole question which has been raised by my hon. Friend (Mr. Pickersgill). Knowing as we do the sympathy the right hon. Gentleman has always shown on behalf of the rate-payers of London, and knowing also the immense knowledge he has acquired as a Member of an East End constituency for so long a time, we may safely leave the inquiry into this important matter in his hands. I am sure that the Committee and all those interested in this question will feel that great good will come from the inquiry the right hon. Gentleman is now prosecuting. We hope that in this particular question which my hon. Friend has raised greater equality and greater fairness may be shown between the different districts in London with reference to this Metropolitan Fund. The right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Ritchie) stated that Mr. Goschen had fixed the scale, and that, therefore, the scale must have been a fair one; but I think it is evident from what Mr. Goschen said in the debate which took place at the time of the fixing of the scale, and from the wording of the two Acts themselves, that there was no intention of fixing that scale, or any of the grants from the Common Poor Fund, on the principle of the laws of the Modes and Persians—on the principle that there was never to be any alteration. Mr. Goschen fixed the scale as fairly as possible; I acknowledge he fixed it as fairly as possible, according to the knowledge he then had, for the matter was then an entirely new experiment. Fresh information and light has been thrown on the question from time to time, and, therefore, I do not think we need take Mr. Goschen's proposals or Mr. Goschen's references to the matter as absolutely final and precluding us from making alterations. I trust the whole question of the Common Poor Fund may receive adequate consideration in the next Ses-

Mr. Ritchie

sion. I think the answer the right hon. Gentleman has given is very satisfactory under the present circumstances; and I hope my hon. Friend (Mr. Pickersgill), who has most carefully considered this question, will be satisfied with the answer he has received.

Mr. ISAACS (Newington, Walworth) Mr. Courtney, I am particularly anxious to urge on the attention of the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Ritchie) that it is the poorer parishes or Unions in the Metropolis that are most interested in this question. The hon. Gentleman (Mr. Pickersgill) has pointed out that, in Bethnal Green Union, £1,000 per annum is at stake in this matter—that is to say, that sum represents the difference between the allowance and the actual cost of the rations. Much the same sort of thing prevails in most Unions, and I, as the Representative of one of the poorest Divisions of this Metropolis, respectfully urge upon the President of the Local Government Board the desirability of setting this matter right at the earliest possible moment. I am sure I have only to make this appeal to him to insure that there shall be no unnecessary delay. What has occurred to-night only points to the necessity of considering that far larger question—namely, the equalization of the poor rates throughout the whole of the Metropolis.

Mr. F. S. POWELL (Wigan): I must apologize for endeavouring to engage the attention of the Committee for a few moments, while I refer to a subject in which, as Chairman of the Canal Association, and as Chairman for many years of the Sanitary Department of the Paddington Vestry, I have taken considerable interest. The question which I wish to ask my right hon. Friend (Mr. Ritchie) is, What is the nature of the duties which are imposed upon the Inspector under the Canal Boats Act, 1884? We have already had a discussion in this House with reference to the addition to the staff of Inspectors. I do not wish to enter now upon that large question, but hope I may be allowed to say at least this, that when there is an addition made to the staff of Inspectors we ought to receive some guarantee that his duties are fairly discharged by him, and that they are clearly defined by the Department under which he serves. I should

like to know how the duties of the Inspector under the Canal Boats Act, 1884, have been arranged; in what manner he has been asked to serve the Department, whether he visits different localities along the line of canals, or whether he is resident and receives reports which may be sent to him? I had the honour of giving evidence before the Committee which dealt with this subject, and I confess I felt some doubt at the time as to whether the Inspector, having command over so large a mileage as the canals of this country cover, could devote sufficient attention to any particular point as to render his services so effectual as could be desired. I ventured also, before that Committee, to suggest that there would be one difficulty in connection with this Inspectorship, and that was that an officer, whose duty appeared to me to cause him to travel very much, must incur large expenditure in travelling; but I confess, although I did at that time feel some apprehension on the subject, I was not quite prepared to discover, at so early a stage as the present, that the travelling expenses would amount to £270, an increase, as compared with last year, of £80. I am not at all raising any difficulty as to the change of law. I am not making any objection, and I hope I am not erring in asking the Department to give the Committee some explanation on the point I have mentioned. I believe that some inspection is necessary; I am not hostile to reform, I am only asking the Department in charge to give us some explanation. The entire cost of the Inspector is shown in the Estimate of the present year as no less than £800. That is a serious charge, and one which I hope I may be excused in drawing the attention of the Committee and the Department to. At the same time, I distinctly say that I am not averse to the Inspectorship; I am only asking the Government to give us some explanation as to the working of the new experiment. There is another point to which I desire to refer, but it has relation more to the form of the account than to the account itself. On the 137th page of the Estimate, under the heading "Grants in Aid," there is a charge of £74,000 for "Medical Officers of Health and Inspectors of Nuisances." It certainly does appear to me to be very inconvenient that officers, whose duties and

whose positions in the world are so far remote as those of Medical Officers of Health and Inspectors of Nuisances, should be grouped together in the same sum total in these Estimates. I hope that on future occasions we may know actually the cost of the Medical Officers under the Public Health Act, and also the exact cost of the Inspectors of Nuisances, and I hope also that we shall be informed in this case, as we are in some others, of the number of those officers. I do not grudge the growth of this item; on the contrary, I welcome it; I believe its growth is an indication of a more healthy condition of public feeling on these subjects, but, at the same time, I do hope that in the Estimates presented to the House in future years we shall be informed how many Medical Officers there are, and also how many Inspectors of Nuisances. I trust, too, that in the future the number of these officers will not be less than it is now, but that, on the contrary, the number of both classes of officers will be increased. I shall hail with pleasure rather than with pain any increase of the Vote under this heading. I am very reluctant to intrude upon the attention of the Committee; but I trust that, as I have devoted considerable attention to the points I have raised, I may be pardoned in asking these questions.

THE SECRETARY TO THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. LONG) (Wilts, Devizes): Perhaps I may answer the questions which my hon. Friend (Mr. Powell) has asked. So far as the Department is concerned we are very happy to have the opportunity of answering any questions hon. Gentlemen may put in connection with the Inspectorship of Canals. As regards his duties, the Inspector is directed generally to inspect the condition of boats, and do his utmost to improve what was unquestionably a bad condition of things. It is with great pleasure I can inform my hon. Friend that the Inspector has carried out his work very satisfactorily, The Sanitary Authorities in the different districts through which canals pass have become much more alive to the duty of superintending the condition of canal boats; and I may perhaps point out that in connection with this work the Inspector must of necessity be very careful he does not unnecessarily interfere with the passage of the boats. Of

course, if a boat were stopped several times on one journey, it would cause considerable dissatisfaction. On the whole the work seems to have been satisfactorily done; not only have the Sanitary Authorities become more alive to their duties, but the boats have been greatly improved. The condition of the inmates has been materially improved; there has not been so much herding together as before, and the condition of the young women especially has been greatly changed for the better; many of them, in fact, have been induced to abandon their wandering life and enter domestic service, and so improve their condition. I may also tell my hon. Friend that, notwithstanding the fact that the bargemen have the reputation for using rather strong language at times, our experience, through our Inspectors, goes to show that in hardly a single instance has there been the slightest attempt to resent the Inspector's interference; on the contrary, the bargemen seem to be very much gratified with the efforts of the Inspector to improve their condition. In the opinion of the Department the amount put down for travelling expenses is not excessive; but I can assure my hon. Friend that the point will receive the attention of my right hon. Friend (Mr. Ritchie). As to the grouping together of some of the charges in the Estimate, I think my hon. Friend (Mr. Powell) will find that the officers to whom he referred do not object to the grouping, so far as they are concerned, so long as they receive the money their services entitle them to. But even if they did object, it does not rest with us to separate the charges, but with another Department of the State.

MR. F. S. POWELL: I am anxious to know how many medical officers there are receiving assistance in this manner? It is really a most important point of sanitary administration; and I do hope that on future occasions the charges will be shown separately, and that we shall know exactly the number of Medical Officers and the number of Inspectors of Nuisances.

MR. LONG: If my hon. Friend will let me know exactly what his wishes are, I will take care that an endeavour is made to meet them.

MR. CLANCY (Dublin Co., N.): There is a note at the foot of page 182

which seems to require some explanation. I find there are several officers employed by the Local Government Board who receive double salaries—who hold double offices and receive double salaries. I do not quite understand such a system of carrying on the Public Service. The note to which I refer is as follows:—

“Another Inspector received in addition to his salary, under sub-head A, £829 0s. 8d. from the Vote for the Household of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland as Private Secretary, for himself and clerks.”

I do not understand how a Local Government Board Inspector in England, unless he possesses the qualities of Sir Boyle Roach's bird, can be Private Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland at the same time. No doubt, if all the Noblemen who have filled the Office were like the present holder of the Office and stayed away from his post it would be easy to understand. But the last three holders of the Office of Lord Lieutenant were always at their post; they lived in Ireland, not like the Marquess of Londonderry, in Seaham. I want some explanation as to how it comes to pass that a Local Government Board Inspector in England can also be at the same time Private Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant in Dublin, and receive double salary for this practically impossible work?

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (MR. RITCHIE) (Tower Hamlets, St. George's): The point which the hon. Gentleman has raised is one that is new to me. I will make inquiries into the matter, and if he thinks it necessary to put another question concerning it on Report, possibly I may be in a position to afford him the information he desires.

MR. CLANCY: I will certainly raise the question on Report; and I will also raise on Report, if the right hon. Gentleman is not able to give me an answer now, the whole question of these allowances. I see, by another note at the foot, that one of the Inspectors receives an addition to his salary. £100, I see, is put down as a temporary allowance. I do not understand how an allowance can be temporary when it is every year granted to a man.

MR. RITCHIE: I am now in a position to afford the hon. Gentleman information as to the first question he raised. Mr. Boyle received the amount

quoted as Private Secretary to Earl Spencer. Of course, as he is no longer Private Secretary he does not receive that amount; and I understand that at the time he was receiving it he was not an Inspector.

MR. CLANCY: It is stated that he was one of the Inspectors of the Local Government Board.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.): The discussion on this Vote has taken some time, and I am unwilling to trespass unnecessarily on the attention of the Committee; but I wish to mention a few points in connection with the administration of the Local Government Board, which, though they may appear trivial, do affect in a serious manner a considerable number of persons. The first point I will raise has reference to the accommodation of the aged couples in workhouses. In regard to this point a Question was asked in this House the other day. Since that Question was put, I have been in communication with several of the most intelligent Guardians in this Metropolis, and I am glad to say that the opinion I have always expressed on this subject was confirmed by those gentlemen. They said that whenever any cases of this kind arose in their Unions they endeavoured to secure for these aged couples outdoor relief. The officers of the Metropolitan workhouses are averse to accommodation for old married paupers; they are unwilling to allow the paupers to know their rights under the law, and they are very angry with those who take any steps to inform paupers over 60 years of age what their rights are; and, under these circumstances, they have endeavoured—and endeavoured successfully, as they assure me—to secure outdoor relief for all respectable old couples. Now, I submit to the Local Government Board, whether it would not be advisable for them to draw the attention of the Guardians generally to the desirability, first of all, of avoiding the difficulty, in matters of workhouse administration, of having these married paupers on the premises; secondly, the advisability of avoiding the expense which these paupers entail; and, thirdly, the advantage of giving a small amount of outdoor relief in all cases where these old married couples are respectable people, and where they may be presumed to get assistance from other

quarters if they do get assistance from the rates? The second point I want to urge on the attention of the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Ritchie) is this—that in many of the workhouses in England there are a number of unfortunate people classed as dangerous lunatics, but of such a condition mentally that they require a certain amount of care and attention; they really want a little more than nursing. Their life at present is a very hard one. They are exposed to a great deal of unkindness from the somewhat uncultivated people amongst whom their lot is cast. The classification of lunatics is not by any means perfect. In some cases the crowding of lunatic wards in workhouses is something perfectly hideous; and if authoritative information is wanted on the subject I direct the right hon. Gentleman's attention to page 40 of the last Report of the Lunacy Commissioners in this country, in which he will find special reference made to the scandalous condition of the lunatic wards of the Dudley Workhouse. I only mention it because it has often been reported upon before without any effect. I direct the right hon. Gentleman's attention to the lunacy wards of the Dudley Workhouse; and if he is satisfied that the complaint is well-grounded with regard to that workhouse, perhaps he will think it worth while to communicate with the Lunacy Commissioners with regard to the condition of a considerable number of other workhouses in Great Britain. He will find, if he pursues the subject, that the condition of hopeless lunatics in the English workhouses is often very pitiable, and, to a great extent, depends upon causes which might easily be removed by a proper classification.

MR. RITCHIE: I promise the hon. Gentleman that I will make special inquiries; and if I have reason to believe that the evils of which he complains exist at Dudley Workhouse, I shall certainly take steps to do what I can to put an end to them. The hon. Gentleman is, no doubt, aware that great efforts have been made to put down what was at one time a great evil; and the result is that an improvement has been made. Of course, I cannot say that these evils do not exist; but I will certainly inquire and take such course as is desirable. With reference to old couples living together, no doubt it is perfectly true

that in some cases difficulties have been overcome by the outdoor relief given to aged couples. The hon. Gentleman must know that this question of outdoor relief must be approached in a very careful manner by Poor Law Guardians, and that if the Local Government Board were to encourage the system, the effect might be very injurious. With reference to the provisions made in workhouses for old couples, I do not think the hon. Gentleman is correct in saying that any attempt is made to hide the rights of these old couples from them.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: Will the right hon. Gentleman allow me to explain. I am speaking as a Guardian of some experience in London. When I found the condition of the Chelsea Union pointed out to the Members of the French Ministry as that of a model workhouse, I, as a Guardian of that Union, made it a point to go amongst the old people, and inquire which of them were married, and I was beset by the officials of the workhouse, who deprecated the line I was taking, and who explained that they would find it exceedingly difficult to maintain discipline in the workhouse if the old people knew what their rights were. I need not say that the result of my proceeding was that I did not ingratiate myself with the officers.

MR. RITCHIE: How long is that ago?

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: Eight years ago.

MR. RITCHIE: I think I explained, in answer to a Question put to me the other day by an hon. Member, that a Circular had been sent out to all Boards of Guardians specifying what their duties were in that respect, and calling upon them to perform them. I also stated that in a great many cases where accommodation had been provided aged couples had not availed themselves of it. Of course, it does not at all follow that there may not be exceptions in which accommodation is required and not provided. At the same time, I repeat what I said the other day, that if any instances are brought to my knowledge where the obligations of the law are not fulfilled, I shall consider it my duty to call upon the Guardians to fulfil their obligations under the law. I have the most entire sympathy with the object of the hon. Gentleman (Mr.

Arthur O'Connor), and the object of those who desire that arrangements shall be made for aged couples to live together when they desire to do so. I only repeat what I said then, that if anyone will bring to my knowledge instances in which the law has not been fulfilled, I will make it my duty to call on the Guardians to carry out the law.

DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid): I wish to draw the attention of the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board to an item which amounts to £4,396, for a Chief Inspector of Alkali Works and seven Assistant Inspectors. Looking at the condition of this House in which we are assembled, I should very much like to know what these Inspectors are for?

MR. RITCHIE: The Inspectors are to see that the Alkali Acts are carried out.

DR. TANNER: I see that the Inspectors are appointed under the Alkali Works Regulation Act of 1881, and, that being the case, I presume that the duties of these gentlemen are to see that the Act is carried out. If they do carry out the Act, how is it that we find the stonework of this building peeling off day after day? Looking at the amount of money that we spend on these Inspectors, I think we have a right to look for some result from their labours, especially when we know it can be displayed in connection with the very building in which we are assembled. We have a right, so far as we are brought into immediate contact with that which forms a part of the duty of these gentlemen, to expect that they shall perform their functions with intelligence and circumspection. If, in connection with a building like this, we find such gross and palpable neglect on the part of these Inspectors, no doubt, were we to travel further, we should find that elsewhere the condition of things is much worse. I should like the right hon. Gentlemen to tell me how it is that these Inspectors have not carried out their duty so far as that duty should be brought to bear upon the condition of the exterior of this building?

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR (Liverpool, Scotland): I cannot see how the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board, who is at the head of the Department to whom these Inspectors are responsible for the pro-

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per discharge of their duties, can sit still without attempting to offer a reply when a charge of this kind is made against the subordinates who are mentioned in this Vote.

MR. RITCHIE: I hardly thought that the hon. Gentleman opposite could be serious in connecting the Inspectors under the Alkali Acts with the condition of the stonework of the House of Commons. I failed to see the cause and effect—

DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid): The effect is observable on the structure of this House.

MR. RITCHIE: The Inspectors under the Alkali Acts have to visit alkali works, and see that they obey the provisions of the law. How the fact that the stone peels off the walls of the Houses of Parliament can go to show that these Inspectors have not properly carried out their duties of inspection I fail to see. I say I cannot trace the cause and effect in the condition of the House of Commons and the details of this Vote.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR (Liverpool, Scotland): The right hon. Gentleman forgets that right opposite the House of Commons, on the other side of the river, are situated Messrs. Doulton's extensive pottery works. I remember the Alkali Act being passed, and, if I am not mistaken, it applies to all works, the noxious gases from which are calculated to injuriously affect the health of the population or the condition of property around them. I believe I am right when I state that the effect of Messrs. Doulton's works on all surrounding buildings and on the health of the people in the neighbourhood has been the subject of strong complaint and of controversy for the past 15 years. The late much respected Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Tait, over and over again called attention to the injurious effect of these works upon Lambeth Palace and its inhabitants; and if any Inspector will only take the trouble to examine the outside of this building, he will have no difficulty in satisfying himself that the works in question have a most damaging effect upon the stonework of these Houses. I think my hon. Friend (Dr. Tanner) was amply justified in the observations he made.

MR. MOLLOY (King's Co., Birr): I noticed a gesture of dissent run along

the Benches opposite when my hon. Friend (Dr. Tanner) suggested a connection between the Inspectors under the Alkali Acts and the condition of the stonework of this building. But, as a matter of fact, there is a very strong connection. By a certain section of an old Statute, Messrs. Doulton are permitted to open the flues of their works whilst carrying out certain operations. Salt is used in the furnaces to produce a glaze upon the pottery, and the gases that are evolved pass into the atmosphere, combine with the moisture, and eventually form hydrochloric acid, which settles on the stonework of this House and causes very material injury.

MR. RITCHIE: If the hon. Member (Dr. Tanner) will communicate with me privately on this subject I shall be glad to consider the matter.

MR. MOLLOY (King's Co., Birr): I have mentioned this subject frequently in previous Sessions of Parliament; but, though I have always received the same kind of answer as that just given, nothing has ever been done.

Question put, and agreed to.

(4.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £6,239, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1887, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Office of the Commissioners in Lunacy in England."

MR. MOLLOY (King's Co., Birr): I beg to move the reduction of this Vote by the sum of £9,000, the amount paid to the Lunacy Commissioners in this country, and I do so because I have always looked upon these Commissioners as I look upon them to-day—namely, as a body utterly worthless for the purpose for which they are appointed. The main purpose for which these Commissioners were instituted, as I have pointed out Session after Session, was for the protection of the unfortunate lunatic. Now, let me just in a few words explain how these gentlemen carry out their work. There are, in all, six Commissioners in Lunacy, three lay and three professional. They are under the Act bound to go about the country in couples; therefore, we may say that for the purpose of inspecting the different lunatic asylums of this country there are only three Commissioners. Now, the

duty of these Commissioners is not only to visit and look after the asylums, but to visit and examine the patients separately for the purpose of ascertaining what their condition is, and for the purpose of preventing any misuse of the law—this miserable and detestable Lunacy Law. The number of lunatics in the country is 80,000; so that it comes to this—as the Commissioners must go in couples—that 80,000 lunatics have only the protection which can be given in the time that three men can devote to their interests. Now that, on the face of it, is an absurdity. Year after year I have called attention to the subject, and year after year I am told—“We are about to introduce a Bill—we agree with all you say, and we hope that by next year our measure will be passed into law and the evils you complain of remedied.” How does the matter stand? Three or four Bills have been introduced into the House on the subject. The hon. Member for Swansea (Mr. Dillwyn) has introduced a Bill; the Earl of Selborne introduced another in the House of Lords; but though it passed all its stages in the other House there it rested, and there, I suppose, it will rest until Doomsday unless we can induce the Government to be active in the matter. The Commissioners do not do the work as they ought to perform it; and I complain this year, as I have complained year after year, that, by what means I am unable to tell, in the case of private lunatic asylums, when the Inspectors go to visit the patients the fact of their intended visits is invariably known beforehand to the keepers of these establishments. As it came out in evidence in our Law Courts not long ago, and in evidence before the Select Committee on the question of Lunacy, the fact of an intended visit is known beforehand and preparations are made for it, everything is cleaned and everybody is looking happy and smiling. Such visits are not worth a straw. These Inspectors have under their protection unfortunate people, some of whom we know are incarcerated improperly for private purposes, and are no more lunatics than we are in this House. This was proved in some of the evidence which has recently been given in lunacy cases. Now, what are these private asylums, because it might appear that an inspection and close ex-

amination into the condition of the people in these establishments is not necessary? Well, the Earl of Selborne, in the House of Lords, when speaking on these subjects—I think it was the Earl of Selborne—mentioned the fact that the discharged coachman of one of his friends was then keeping a private asylum. I should be sorry to say that that is the general character of the keepers of these institutions. Far from it. Still, such people do keep them; and, therefore, it will be seen how necessary it is that these institutions should be subject to the closest inspection and examination. Of course, visits to the public asylums are not of such importance, in one sense, because public asylums are under public view, and the difference between public and private institutions of this kind is that whilst in the former the keeping of lunatics is not a question of gain, in the latter it is the reverse. The public asylums are public institutions, the people connected with which are paid by the State; whereas the other class of asylums are private undertakings, the whole aim and object of the keepers being to make a profit out of the patients. I will not go into detail on this point, although it is a very serious matter, and I am very much in earnest with regard to it. I could show, by quotations as to the number of deaths in private asylums and the number in public asylums, and the number of cures in the one class of institutions and in the other—I could give a clear indication, nay, absolute proof, that the interest of the patient is not looked after in the private asylums, but that he is kept there for the purpose of gain. You would get at this indication by comparing the death-rate and the number of cures under the two systems. I have another objection to the Lunacy Commissioners. When the Earl of Selborne introduced his Bill last year, they made some recommendations, which, of course, were received as such recommendations always are received—namely, with respect; but these recommendations were not carried out, and the Chairman or the Head of these Lunacy Commissioners resigned in high dudgeon. Well, I think it would be a good thing if the other Commissioners would follow this example, and we could get rid of them all. This is the way they deal

with the proposed reform of the Lunacy Laws. In their last quarterly Report they complained of the proposed intervention of a County Court Judge, a Stipendiary Magistrate, or two Justices of the Peace, in the matter of the incarceration of a lunatic. At present the law is that two persons, even if unconnected in every shape and form with an individual, can, by procuring a certificate from two medical gentlemen, obtain the incarceration of that individual. So that if I have a grievance against anyone, and can find two medical men who will give me a certificate—not a probability, but certainly not an impossibility, as we know from circumstances which have recently transpired—I can obtain that person's incarceration in a lunatic asylum. An hon. Member opposite is laughing at me; but I tell him that if I can get two medical men to certify to his insanity I can incarcerate him in a lunatic asylum. [*Laughter.*] I beg the hon. Member's pardon; I did not mean anything personal. I was endeavouring to explain what the law is. These Commissioners were appointed for the purpose of protecting the public as well as the lunatics, and the object of the Bill introduced into the House of Lords was to allow of the intervention of a County Court Judge, of a Magistrate, or two Justices of the Peace, in this sense—that before you could obtain the incarceration of a person, the medical certificate was to be certified by a public Local Authority. Then, a second object sought to be obtained by a reform of the Lunacy Laws is power for these Local Authorities to visit and examine the asylums on certain fixed occasions. The Commissioners object to the Local Authority having power to visit and examine lunatics, I think, once in three years. Now, these are the gentlemen who have been appointed to protect the interests of lunatics, and who receive—six of them—£9,000 a-year, or £1,500 each. I assert that when reforms are proposed by Parliament these gentlemen object to them, on the ground that they will give further protection to these unfortunate lunatics. But the very system which they object to is the system in vogue in Scotland at the present time, where it has been found to work exceedingly well. It was because of the experience we had obtained in Scotland that the reforms were introduced in the

measure I have referred to, which passed through all its stages in the House of Lords last Session. I object to these Commissioners, because I think they are useless for the purpose for which they were appointed. As collectors of statistics they are, no doubt, very good indeed; but the collection of statistics is a work which can be very satisfactorily performed by persons paid at a much less rate and possessing much less power than these Commissioners. I should like to see men appointed as Commissioners who would look into the law, inquire into the circumstances of the cases, and understand the wants of these poor people. By no act of the Commissioners has freedom ever been restored to an alleged lunatic. For six or seven years I have taken an interest in this matter, and yet, in that period, I cannot recall a single case in which an alleged lunatic has been freed from his incarceration by any act of the Commissioners. On the contrary, so far as my memory serves me, they have invariably acted as obstacles to the freeing of alleged lunatics from the asylums. Their visits and examinations must be of the most cursory character; because, if you take the private asylums alone, they have not sufficient time to do the work. The inspection of these places alone would more than occupy all the time they have at their disposal. And this question of inspection is a question I call more attention to than anything else, because the public asylums, like public prisons and hospitals, are open to public inspection. That is not the case with private asylums; and it is ridiculous, on the face of it, to suppose that three sets of Commissioners can visit all the persons incarcerated and detect such fraudulent cases as in the course of the debates in the House of Lords were shown to be possible. I hope the Bill which passed through the House of Lords will be introduced in this House next Session by the Government. If it is not introduced, it will be brought forward by a private Member, if not in its entirety, at least in its main features. There is one point in the Bill as introduced into the House of Lords to which I object. My objection to private asylums is based on the single ground that the interests of proprietors is not the protection or cure of a patient, but is that of a common tradesman in the matter. That is a

principle which, I think, is quite enough to put an end to all private asylums in the country; but the proposition which was made in the House of Lords on this matter was one which, to my mind, was utterly ridiculous. They proposed a kind of tontine arrangement; and if it is proposed again, I shall give it my strongest opposition, and I know several hon. Members who will do the same. They proposed in this Bill that no more certificates shall be given for the holding and maintaining of private asylums, but that those who hold certificates at the present time shall be entitled to continue to do so. They begin by asserting, as I assert, that the whole system of private lunatic asylums is wrong in its very essence, and then they compromise the matter by allowing existing institutions to continue. They allow the assigning of a certificate of an asylum just as if it were a public-house. They express an opinion against the continuing of private asylums, and then they allow them to continue with just the same force. If their proposal has any other meaning, it is this, that as the holders of private asylums die out the money interest of the remaining owners shall be increased; and they propose this on the ground that otherwise they would be compelled to pay compensation to the proprietors of the private asylums, if they refused to allow them to continue their trade. Now, to my mind, that is incomprehensible. You grant a certificate to a man to permit him to keep a private asylum. He pays a small fee, but that small fee does not give him any property. It is simply to bring him, so to speak, under the supervision of the Lunacy Commissioners, and to prevent people from keeping asylums without being registered. I object to this provision in the Earl of Selborne's Bill, and I allude to it now because it is sure to be introduced in any future Bill coming from a similar quarter. I object to it altogether, because I say that the certificate is simply a certificate of registration, and that it gives the holder no more right than is possessed by any private individual. To introduce the question of compensation because you put an end to that which is wrong, is carrying the doctrine of compensation to a most ridiculous point. Well, as I have said, I do not wish to detain the Committee by going too fully into this ques-

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tion. I have made my protest against this Vote regularly for the last three years. I make my protest against it again this year. I have gone a little into detail simply for the purpose of drawing attention to a proposal in the proposed legislation which ought not to be accepted—that is to say, the proposal to continue existing private asylums, which we are all agreed are wrong in principle, and also the proposal to grant compensation because you refuse to allow these men holding your certificate to continue a trade which is wrong and which is injurious to the public good. I move to reduce the Vote by £9,000.

THE CHAIRMAN: I would point out to the hon. Member that the sum now asked for is only £6,239.

MR. MOLLOY: Then I move to reduce it by £6,000.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £239, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1887, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Office of the Commissioners in Lunacy in England."—(*Mr. Molloy.*)

MR. W. J. CORBET (Wicklow, E.): I agree with every word that has fallen from my hon. Friend—or with everything but one observation. He complimented the Commissioners as a body for the collection and publication of statistics. I must disagree with my hon. Friend in that matter, and I wish to give some information to the Committee on one or two points in regard to it. In the first place, I want to point out that in the Report which the Commissioners have just issued, and in preceding Reports, there is to be found no account of the cost of maintaining the lunatic poor of England. Now that is a very remarkable fact. I find that in the Reports of the Scotch Commissioners and of the Irish Commissioners there are very complete and admirable tables setting forth in full the details of the expenditure for maintenance, and also setting forth the cost for buildings and every other charge connected with the maintenance of the lunatic poor, and I fail to see how it would be impossible in this country, where finance is supposed to be conducted in so superior a manner, for the English Lunacy Commissioners to give a similar statement of account. There

is another remarkable feature in this Report of the Lunacy Commissioners. They have stated, over and over again, that insanity is not on the increase. They have attempted to show that such is the fact in ways of their own, but I find from this Report that the actual numbers of insane have increased year by year from 36,762 in 1859, to 80,156 in 1885; and yet they go on asserting annually—they have a paragraph for that purpose in their Reports—that there is no increase at all. In their 15th Report, page 75, they say—

“During the 10 years, from 1st January, 1849, to 1st January, 1859, the number of patients in the various asylums of England and Wales has advanced from 14,560 to 22,853.”

And they go on to say—

“The great increase which has taken place in the number of patients in asylums is limited almost entirely to pauper and criminal patients.”

They then enter into figures as to patients in private asylums, and they say—

“The foregoing calculations clearly show that while the number of pauper patients has increased so enormously”—

they admit the enormous increase—

“there has been no augmentation of the private cases.”

Now, I just wish to dwell for a moment on this matter—and perhaps it is a more important one than some hon. Members would imagine. I hold it to be the duty of these Commissioners, so far from minimizing and making light of so grave a matter as the affliction of insanity—it is their duty, I say, as honest servants of the public to let the public know the actual truth. In one of their Reports they attempt to account for the increase under three heads. First, the large number of cases previously unreported and only recently brought under observation; secondly, the increased number of those sent to asylums; and, thirdly, the prolongation of their life which occurred in consequence. Now I admit to the full the justice of the way in which they proceed to explain the increase; but this explanation was given 26 years ago, and the numbers were only then brought up to 22,855, and the solution they gave was in my mind a reasonable one. But then how does the matter stand at the present time, when the number has quadrupled? They give in their 40th Re-

port a Table which completely upsets all their theories of no increase. I will not trouble the Committee by going through all the figures on page 10 of the 40th Report. But in 1859 I find that the number of lunatics in borough and county asylums was 15,844; the number in those asylums to-day is 48,139; the number in registered hospitals was 1,855, the number at the date of their last Report is 3,219; the number in Metropolitan licensed houses in 1859 was 2,551, at present it is 2,426; the number residing with relatives and friends was 5,920, it is now 6,313. The total in 1859 was 36,762, and the gross total, including those in Broadmoor and the Metropolitan District Asylums, is now 80,156. It is then quite plain that in every department, both in the public institutions and in regard to those provided for by their friends, there has been, with trifling exceptions, an enormous increase. Now, with regard to their position, which has been referred to by my hon. Friend the Member for King's County (Mr. Molloy). With reference to the Lunacy Bill, which was read three times in the House of Lords, and a first time in this House, I think it a very remarkable thing that they should have opposed the measure, which I consider would have been a very beneficial one in regard to the insane population of the country. There is one matter to which I desire to refer before I sit down. I allude to a case upon which the Lunacy Commissioners obtained an order from Lord Chancellor Selborne to make a Report—the case of a lady and her daughter, both alleged to be insane, and who were detained in the house of a gardener at Newport, Isle of Wight. The Commissioners endeavoured to execute the Lord Chancellor's order, but were met with determined opposition on the part of the gardener and his wife, who, on two successive days, refused them admission to the house. These people were in consequence summoned before the magistrates, the wife was discharged, but the husband was convicted and fined in a mitigated penalty. The order was subsequently executed; but it was found that the younger lady had been removed, and had left England, and that the mother was in a moribund state, and, it appears, died very soon afterwards. The Commissioners did not say that there were any inquiries further than

this. I shall certainly support the Motion of my hon. Friend for the reduction of this Vote. I desire to draw attention to the Report itself, and to say that it is incomplete. Several times I have brought before the House the fact that these Commissioners do not produce their Report until Parliament is either risen or is about to rise; and now I find, from their preliminary observations in this Report, that they complain rather bitterly of having been forced to bring it out so early as in July, and allude to the fact that the Report is in consequence wanting in some particulars. We all know that Committees of this House sit and take evidence, and print it in the course of a few weeks, producing Reports—in a few months certainly—which are of much greater importance than the Report of these Commissioners; and, therefore, I do not think that they have any just ground of excuse for failing to produce their Report in full within the time specified. Sir, I beg to support the Motion of my hon. Friend.

DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid): No doubt, the Report resulting from any inquiry into the existing state of affairs by the Commissioners in Lunacy is a most valuable and important document. When we look into the state of these unfortunate people, who are afflicted in the greatest degree, and see how dependent they are upon the benevolence of the State, we find many instances which must move the natural feelings of hon. Members to try and promote the comfort of this class. I cannot help saying, from what we have heard this evening, that a complete case has been put before the Committee by my hon. Friend, and I shall have pleasure in supporting his Motion. When we consider that there are 80,000 people in England afflicted with insanity, and when we take into consideration that a large number of these persons are left to the tender mercies of managers and proprietors of asylums, when what we know of these asylums is a disgrace to the humane feelings of the majority of the population, the importance of the subject impresses itself most deeply upon our consideration. Now, it seems to me that the Commissioners in Lunacy, from what we have heard to-night, do not perform their work in a satisfactory manner. For my own part, I cannot

help saying, and I believe many hon. Members will agree with me, that we are, to a certain extent, biased by the expressions which are used in connection with this subject. The history of the past shows us that the insane have been dealt with in a way not at all suited to their condition; and perhaps many Members of this House have read a book which at one time tended more than anything else to bring this matter under the consideration of Parliament. I refer to *Valentine Vox*, a book which I read many years ago. There are many points mentioned in that book which are, practically speaking, true to-day. Of course, we appoint Commissioners to inspect the asylums; but, speaking as a medical man, I know that these Commissioners find very great difficulty in dealing with this part of the work, because we know that a person suffering from what is called dementia may be perfectly sane for a week or a fortnight, and then go off his head again for two or three days, passing from complete sanity to savage mania. In many instances it is very difficult for them to express an opinion in these cases, and the consequence is that, when the Commissioners go down to any of the asylums, they have more or less to act upon the *ipse dixit* of the medical man in charge, which, unfortunately, is not always reliable. As a medical man, I dislike to say anything against the Profession to which I have the honour to belong. In dealing with this subject of private lunatic asylums the element of profit must not be lost sight of; and this is a point which demands the strictest investigation. I think this ought to be seen into more thoroughly than it is at present. I remember a case in point which occurred about four years ago in connection with a private lunatic asylum. The case was not brought forward, because the relatives of the lunatic did not like to make the matter public. The lunatic in question was a professional man who had been a clergyman, and was afflicted with a propensity for the excessive use of alcoholic liquors. He was a man of weak constitution, which brought about the particular form of insanity with which he was afflicted, and he was confined in a private asylum. We know that people who go mad in consequence of drink get worse for a few days after they are deprived of it,

and afterwards, as a rule, improve and recover. Well, this gentleman was confined for about nine or ten months, and a member of his family wished to get him out of the asylum; but, on inquiry, they were told it would be better to wait a little longer. This is the usual answer that is given at private asylums. After a great deal of trouble Commissioners were appointed to visit the asylum. The Commissioners came down, but decided to postpone their examination until the next day. What had been done to this poor man? The fact is, in the meantime, he had been allowed to get hold of some liquor. When the Commissioners came to the asylum they were received with a smirk on the part of the proprietor, and notably on the part of the underlings in charge; they were shown into a room, and there they found this unfortunate man lying on a table with his abdomen quite bare; upon it was a kettle of water; and he informed the Commissioners that he had a fire inside him, and was boiling the kettle to make punch. The Commissioners would not be satisfied with simple investigation; but they went further and inquired into the cause. What happened was that, in the course of a fortnight, the man, whose case was considered as hopeless, became completely well; and, owing to the efforts of his relative, who insisted upon the Commissioners going down again, he was released. But it is not easy to get the Commissions to go down a second time. They are often satisfied with a single visit; and it is a notorious fact that they take the *ipse dixit* of the medical man in charge. Unfortunately, they remind me of the practice of consulting physicians, who, when they are called in to see a case and have announced the determination they have come to, always begin by stating that they completely and entirely agree with the physician in charge; the only difference being that the ordinary consulting physician is always bound to do some little thing, if possible, in the case, because it is expected of him. These Commissioners are bound to send in a Report; and here I must endorse the statement of my hon. Friend the Member for King's County (Mr. Molloy), who referred to the Reports of the Commissioners as a scandal and as utterly worthless as regards the main purpose

for which the Commissioners are appointed—namely, the protection of lunatics. It is for issuing such Reports as these that the Commissioners enjoy large salaries. I trust that this debate will produce some results. I hope that a yearly Report will be issued, setting forth on the face of it the number of private asylums which have been visited by the Commissioners. When we look into the case of private asylums and contrast them, and the way they are managed, with public asylums, we see that the private asylums are not so well cared for as the public asylums. The reason of this is perfectly clear; the statistics at our hand show us that the patients confined in private lunatic asylums live for a long time. Of course they do. Why? Because they are paid for; and we know that in many cases people who are sent to private lunatic asylums are actually paid for after they are dead. That is stated in the Report of the Commissioners; and there have been many instances in recent years. But, although the inmates of private asylums do live for a considerable time, still they do not recover in the same ratio as those in public asylums. This is a matter which ought thoroughly to be investigated by the Commissioners, who ought to add their quota to the knowledge we already possess of this remarkable portion of medical science; and I trust that in future they will attend to their duty in this respect more fully and completely than they have done hitherto.

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. STUART-WORTLEY) (Sheffield, Hallam): I have listened with great attention to the hon. Gentlemen who have brought under the notice of the Committee the serious defects of the present system. It is not the first time that I have listened to their earnest and conscientious pleading, and it is not the first time that I am compelled to refer to the overmastering circumstances which prevent the Government taking in hand legislation to meet the evils of which they speak. Last year I undertook, on the part of Her Majesty's Government then in Office, that they would view with favour all efforts to promote legislation; and, accordingly, I am able to tell hon. Members opposite that the then Lord Chancellor had prepared a measure which he

would have submitted to the House of Lords had that Government remained in Office. The noble and learned Lord who occupied the Woolsack in the time of the last Government did introduce a Bill, which passed the House of Lords and came down to this House; but, owing to untoward circumstances, legislation had to be put a stop to. It is rather hard that the Commissioners should be found fault with, and that a proposal should be made to reduce their salaries, because Parliament has been unable to amend the Lunacy Laws in the direction in which they required amendment. I have had difficulty in making out, from the speeches of hon. Members opposite, whether they wish to increase the number of Commissioners or to have none at all; whether it is wanted to make easy their difficulties, so as to make them able to prevent abuses. I believe that the latter is the true policy, and such would have been the object of the legislation of the House of Lords last Session. The Bill of last Session aimed at the gradual extinction of private asylums; but hon. Members will see that we cannot abolish these all at once, because we have at present no substitute for them, and the only way to extinguish them would be by the establishment of asylums for paying patients. With regard to the question of requiring an order of a magistrate before you detain a lunatic, it is hard to find fault with the Commissioners because they disapproved of this portion of the Bill. I can assure the hon. Member for King's County (Mr. Molloy), and other hon. Gentlemen who take an interest in this subject, that between this and the next Session of Parliament it will occupy my most earnest attention, and that of Her Majesty's Government, and that no time will be lost in asking the assent of Parliament to legislation. I do not propose to deal any further now with the undoubtedly important matters raised by hon. Members opposite. I ask them to be content with the fact that nothing will be left undone for the purpose of securing what they consider to be conducive to the welfare of this class of the afflicted. The hon. Member for Wicklow (Mr. W. J. Corbet) has referred to the Report of the Commissioners. The Commissioners were asked to bring out their Report earlier this year; but they were supplied with no additional staff

and no additional powers for the purpose of acceleration. With regard to this, I may say that the arrangement might possibly have been made more lucid had they been allowed more time in which to bring out their Report. I trust, after this explanation, the hon. Gentleman will not see any necessity to offer serious opposition to the Vote.

MR. CLANCY (Dublin Co., N.): My hon. Friend the Member for the Birr Division of King's County (Mr. Molloy), who moved the Motion for the reduction of this Vote, is not present at this moment; but I am sure we shall be consulting his wishes if we take a division. My hon. Friend has stated to-night that this is the fourth year he has drawn attention to this subject. Notwithstanding this, he is treated in the scantiest manner—in such a manner, in fact, as almost leads one to suppose that the Government doubt the hon. Gentleman's sincerity in bringing the matter forward. Under these circumstances, and considering that the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Stuart-Wortley) gave us no assurance that there will be any legislation tending in the direction pointed out by my hon. Friend, we are bound to go to a division. We shall divide as a practical protest against this system of procrastination. The assurance that this subject will receive the most earnest attention of the Government is of the most stereotyped character. In Ireland, when we hear that the Government are going to give most earnest and serious attention to any matter, we come to the conclusion that they are not going to do anything whatever until they are absolutely compelled. The hon. Gentleman (Mr. Stuart-Wortley) has said that there is other Business before Parliament which prevents legislation on this subject. He must know perfectly well that, even though Irish questions do monopolize the larger share of the time of Parliament, non-contentious legislation—and no one will pretend for a moment that legislation on this subject is other than of a non-contentious character—has in these times a good chance of passing. I will not assume that anyone in this House has any other motive than to benefit this unfortunate class of human beings; secondly, I cannot imagine anyone in this House setting up his views in opposition to those which will be generally conceded to be right; and I am confident that if a Bill were

Mr. Stuart-Wortley

introduced dealing with this subject, and commanding the support of a large number of Members, it would not experience any difficulty in passing through all its stages in the busiest time. This is the fourth time the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Molloy) has drawn attention to this question. I do not know whether he went to a division on previous occasions—probably he did not, and it turns out that his forbearance has been rewarded by nothing being done. I think we are bound to go a step further on this occasion; and, therefore, if I am allowed to do so, I shall insist upon a division being taken.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.): I do not rise for the purpose of offering any opinion on the question of the debate, and for the very reason that I have not heard the whole of the debate; but before going to a division I should like to draw the attention of the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Stuart-Wortley) to one or two points in connection with this Vote. The first point I wish to raise is that of the utter want of attention which the representations of the Commissioners with regard to the employment of paid skilled attendants for imbecile inmates of workhouses have hitherto met with at the hands of Guardians. The other point is that of the necessity of a diet superior to that which is given to ordinary inmates. On these two points the Commissioners have more than once complained that their representations are all in vain. Then I assume that the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Ritchie) will take notice that the Commissioners have remarked upon the unsatisfactory surroundings or circumstances of *post mortem* examinations in the Metropolitan District Asylum at Leavesden. The Commissioners reported that the practice of making *post mortem* examinations was not so general as they believed it might be; and the chief reason why they urged that careful *post mortem* examinations should be held was that they had some ground for suspecting that many of the deceased patients had suffered personal injuries, which escaped observation, such as broken limbs. Broken limbs may often result from ill-treatment by attendants not particularly well qualified for the positions they occupy. The Commissioners go on to compare favourably the state of things in the county and borough

asylums with the circumstances of the management of the Metropolitan Asylums Board. Now that, certainly, is a matter which ought to receive the attention of the proper authorities. The last point to which I desire to ask the attention of the Government is in reference to the Roman Catholic inmates of a number of these lunatic asylums. No one will question that the influence of religion has often a very quieting and salutary effect upon persons suffering from mental disorder. Now, in the Birmingham Asylum there are no less than 50 Catholic patients, who, mad as they may be on certain points, are yet keenly alive to the fact that according to the dictates of their religion they are obliged, if possible, to hear Mass on Sundays and Holidays of Obligation. The Commissioners are of opinion that the absence of facilities for the purpose is a grievance which ought to be remedied. That is not an isolated case. On page 278 of the Commissioners' Report the same representation is made with regard to the Roman Catholic patients in the Newcastle-on-Tyne Asylum. These patients number between 40 and 50, and the Commissioners are of opinion that the ministrations of a priest of their own faith should be obtained for them. I trust the attention of the hon. Gentleman will be directed to this point also.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 67; Noes 123: Majority 56.—(Div. List, No. 19.)

Original Question put, and *agreed to*.

(5.) £29,081, to complete the sum for the Mint, including Coinage.

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.): Upon this Vote I should like to raise the question of the desirability of continuing the circulation of half-sovereigns. We all know that this question was raised, I think, about two years ago in a very unpleasant shape. I cannot recollect the exact amount, but it is a very large one, which it was then stated is lost annually through the depreciation in the value of half-sovereigns. The amount of gold in half-sovereigns circulated in England is exceedingly great; and, in my opinion, the time has come when the Government ought to abolish the circulation of half-sovereigns altogether. I am quite aware that such a

course would meet with considerable opposition from men who consider the half-sovereign a convenient coin.

Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; Committee counted, and 40 Members being found present,

MR. DILLON (resuming): I was pointing out, Mr. Courtney, that by some people the half-sovereign is considered a very useful coin; but that now it has become a very grave question whether, for the sake of the convenience of persons who like the coin, a continuous loss through its circulation should be sustained by the country. Everyone who knows anything about gold coinage knows that the wear and tear of half-sovereigns is exceedingly great as compared with the wear and tear of sovereigns. I should think it is fully double, if not more; and the consequence of this is that a loss of a very considerable amount—I have not ascertained the amount—is sustained every year, and will go on as long as these coins are circulated. What I wish to urge upon the Committee is that, in my opinion, the proper course for the Government to take is to call in half-sovereigns, and to discontinue their circulation. Well, now, when we come to examine the coinage of both countries—I will deal with that of the United States of America and that of Italy, having had some opportunity of studying the coinage of both these countries—we find that the circulation of gold is exceedingly scanty; that, practically, there is no coin such as the half-sovereign circulated in those countries. I am not aware that in the United States any serious inconvenience arises from the non-circulation of gold. The circulation of gold is almost entirely confined to the 20-dollar piece, which is worth rather over £4. On account of its size this coin circulates very little, and therefore the loss through wear and tear is exceedingly slight. Of course, I know that in the United States paper money takes the place of gold. The tendency of civilization is to increase largely the circulation of paper money and decrease the circulation of gold. It may be said that the point I have raised is but a small branch of the great question of currency. But it still is one worthy of consideration: it is well to consider whether the circulation of

gold to such an extent as is witnessed in this country, an extent which does not exist in any other country, should be any longer continued, especially when regard is had to the fact that such a circulation leads to perpetual waste and loss. As I have said, and as hon. Members are no doubt aware, in the United States of America the place of gold is enormously taken by paper. My experience, and it is somewhat considerable, is that no inconvenience arises from this fact. Indeed, I believe that besides the loss in wear and tear, which is prevented by the great substitution of paper for gold, the convenience to individuals, as well as to the State, is very great. I recognize that it would not be proper to raise the large question of paper currency at this particular time, and in so informal a manner; and, therefore, I will simply say that in view of the growing scarcity of gold, and of the difficult questions which have arisen out of that scarcity, the Government are bound, without entirely revolutionizing the currency system of England, to consider what newer methods they can adopt to stem the waste of gold in this country. I believe no substantial inconvenience would be inflicted on the public of England if the coinage of half-sovereigns was entirely stopped, and those that are at present in circulation called in and melted down, and a silver currency substituted for them. I know perfectly well that such a measure as this will have a very small effect indeed in meeting the difficulties which are known to exist on account of the scarcity of gold; but, so far as it goes, to will help, temporarily, at all events, to relieve the pressure in this direction: it will take in at least £10,000,000 sterling of gold, and throw it on the market—perhaps more; I have only made a rough guess—and in the replacement a considerable quantity of silver will be absorbed. While the continuous fall of silver is inflicting great hardship on individuals, and I believe leading to widespread difficulties in trade, even while the Committee which has been appointed to inquire into these matters is sitting, I do not think so small a matter as this ought to be neglected by the Government, if it will, as I think it will, check the downward tendency of silver in the market.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL)

Mr. Dillon

(Paddington, S.): Mr. Courtney, I was not aware that this subject was to have been brought forward to-night. The hon. Member opposite (Mr. Dillon) must know that he has raised a question which is of very large and wide range, and, in some sense, very unfathomable and mysterious; and it is not due to any want of courtesy to him at all if I ask the hon. Member to excuse me from attempting to follow him with any amount of elaboration into the suggestions which he has made. I must frankly admit that I do not feel myself able at the present time to deal with the questions he has raised. These are questions which must before very long come before the House of Commons for very serious consideration. I imagine that the hon. Gentleman has combined, to some extent, two questions which ought to be kept distinct and separate. He has combined the question of the quantity of light gold coin which is at present in circulation, and he has raised the much larger question as to whether it is advisable that we should continue to coin small gold coins. As to the question of the quantity of light coins in circulation, I hope that the Revenue will be in a sufficiently satisfactory state to allow of its being dealt with next year; but the question as to whether it is politic or prudent to circulate, or to withdraw from circulation, small gold coins is a matter on which I am not able at the present time to arrive at a definite conclusion. The hon. Member suggests that we should discontinue the coinage of half-sovereigns, in order, if I understand him right, that we should, so far as it goes, rehabilitate the value of silver. But the hon. Member himself admits that the effect of such a course will be extremely small, and can only act as a very slight palliative upon the depreciation of silver in the market. I admit, however, that this question of the withdrawal of half-sovereigns is one well worthy of consideration, and I am not at present aware of any great or overwhelming objection to it; but, at the same time, I should be sorry to-night to express a definite opinion with regard to it. No doubt, it is quite open to argument that our currency arrangements are not, from one point of view, considered strictly with a view to economy of gold, and to economy in the use of gold. But, on the other hand, I submit to the hon. Member that

what may be called our extravagance in the use of gold adds indirectly to English credit. It may be extravagant for us to use gold so very freely; but, on the other hand, I am not prepared to deny that our being able to afford to use gold so freely may be in itself a source of credit to this country. Then the hon. Member must recollect, when he advocates a greater use of paper money, as in the United States, how strong in England is the force of custom and of habit. For very many years—in fact, since the time of Lord Liverpool—the people of this country, who are singularly influenced by habit and custom, and who in questions of this kind are marvellously conservative, have been accustomed to a gold coinage, and to a free use of gold in all ordinary commercial and trading transactions; and it is quite possible that the greatest imaginable mischief to all classes might arise from any very sudden or violent interference by the Government, or the Legislature, with what has come to be, perhaps, a deep-rooted and almost ineradicable habit on the part of the people of this country. I only make these remarks in order to show to the hon. Member that the subjects he has raised are far, indeed, from being absent from my mind. The moment the exigencies of Parliament allow me to do so, it is my hope and intention to devote close and careful study to these questions; but I trust the hon. Gentleman will not expect me to commit myself to any particular opinion on the questions he has raised, but will be content with the assurance that these questions are receiving the most careful attention of the Government. A certain portion of the subject, that with regard to the excessive use of gold in our currency bearing upon the depreciation of silver, is obviously a matter which must come under the consideration of the Royal Commission which the Government have appointed. That Commission will, I trust, investigate the matter with as much expedition as its nature will admit of; but before it reports it obviously will be impossible for the Government to take any definite action.

MR. DILLON: The answer of the noble Lord the Chancellor of the Exchequer is entirely satisfactory to me. I did not expect for a moment that he would stop the circulation of half-sovereigns without consideration. Perhaps

it is as well that I should say I only alluded incidentally to the greater question of currency reform, and that I admitted that the question I raised was a small one, but that I thought it was well worthy the attention of the noble Lord. The noble Lord, I think, slightly misunderstood me. I did not say the stoppage of the coinage of half-sovereigns would have any great effect on the silver, or bullion market. My intention certainly was to convey that if you were to take in all the gold which is now circulating in the shape of half-sovereigns and replace it by silver, and do all this in one year, if it could be done, it would act as a sort of check upon the depreciation in the value of silver.

MR. CONWAY (Leitrim, N.): I beg to point out that the loss on the coinage of gold is estimated at £2,000, and that on the coinage of silver £500. I trust the Chancellor of the Exchequer will see his way to adopt the circulation of silver to a greater extent than now obtains. There is one question I should like to ask, and it has reference to steel coinage. The late Professor Jevons recommended that steel ought to be employed for the manufacture of smaller coins, instead of bronze. If rust could be prevented, it is quite clear that such a coinage would be very picturesque and advantageous. I should like to elicit from the noble Lord the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether the authorities have any intention of carrying into effect this recommendation of the late Professor Jevons?

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: This question has not been before me, and really I am not sufficiently acquainted with it to pronounce an opinion upon it.

MR. CAINE (Barrow-in-Furness): It seems to me that the £400 put down under Sub-head G. for Brokerage is not a proper expenditure. I see no reason whatever why the Deputy Master of the Mint should not go into the silver market himself, and do his own buying, and thus save this amount for brokerage. I trust we shall receive some explanation upon this point.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.): I think anyone who is accustomed to transact business in London in articles of produce coming from abroad is pretty well aware that it is the custom in almost every branch of business to employ

brokers. It may be, and no doubt it is, true that any individual who goes into the London Market can, without any difficulty, get any reasonable quantity of either gold or silver bullion; but as a matter of economy—and I understand the hon. Gentleman raises the question entirely on that ground—I should say, from my own personal experience of business in London, that the Government are wise in following the custom of the trade, and that probably the £400 a-year which is spent in this way is more than saved by the employment of a broker. By buying bullion ourselves we might save the broker's commission; but I am confident we should have to pay fully its equivalent, and probably more, in the extra price asked us.

MR. JORDAN (Clare, W.): The usage in ordinary trade is, I think, that brokerage is paid by the seller, and not by the buyer. That has been my experience in the sale and purchase of American produce. That being so, I do not see why, in this case, the brokerage should be charged to the buyer instead of to the seller.

MR. A. BLANE (Armagh, S.): I see that the loss on the coinage of silver is put down at £500, and that on the coinage of gold at £2,000. The loss on gold is charged for, while that on silver is not. Gold is supposed to be the money of rich men, and yet they get the weight of gold back. Silver is the money of poor men, and for any deficiency they are charged. I think we ought to receive some explanation on this point.

MR. JACKSON: I think I can explain to the hon. Member the practice with regard to gold coinage. Gold coins are issued free of charge in exchange for bullion.

MR. A. BLANE: But will the hon. Gentleman explain how it is that silver is charged for and gold is not? If the hon. Gentleman does not give us a satisfactory explanation I am afraid I shall have to move to reduce the Vote.

MR. JACKSON: If the hon. Gentleman means to reduce the Vote, perhaps he will kindly put his question in a form in which the Government can understand it?

MR. A. BLANE: It is quite easy. A man brings a certain weight of gold to the Mint, and gets the same weight back. If he brings silver he is charged for it.

MR. JACKSON: The coinage of silver is charged for, and it arises from the fact that silver is not a legal tender in this country, and gold is. The coinage of this country is a gold coinage, and silver is merely a token coinage.

MR. CAINE: Perhaps the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury will say whether any Commission is charged on gold when it is purchased?

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: No.

MR. CAINE: Is there nothing paid to brokers?

MR. JACKSON: I imagine there would be if you had to go into the Market to buy gold; in that case you would leave to pay brokerage on gold just as on silver. I take it, however, that the £400 is charged as brokerage on the purchase of silver only.

MR. CAINE: The whole tendency among men of business in London is to get rid of brokerage, and I cannot accept as satisfactory the explanation given by the hon. Gentleman. I shall not divide the Committee on the present occasion; but if this amount appears in next year's Estimates I shall repeat the question, and most certainly take a division.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: The hon. Gentleman (Mr. Caine) advocates the abolition of brokerage; but, in connection with the purchase of silver, the position of the Government does not differ from that of private firms. The Government goes into the Market just as other purchasers do, and has to employ and pay brokers in the ordinary way. If an individual wanting silver did not employ brokers he would have to add to his own expenses, so there would be very little difference in the long run. If we abolished this brokerage, and expect the Master of the Mint to go into the market whenever he wants silver, he would have to add to his own establishment in order to provide that the purchases of silver should be properly and economically made. Obviously, it must be a saving to the Government to employ men to purchase silver who are properly qualified; it must be more economical to employ persons who are connected with that special business than to add to our own establishment men unaccustomed possibly to the Market, and who at times would not be employed at all. I put it to the hon. Gen-

tleman, as a man of business, whether he really thinks it is extravagant of the Government to do what every private firm finds it advantageous to do?

MR. CAINE: I can assure the noble Lord it is not the custom of firms in London to employ brokers. I myself am a merchant in produce in the City of London, and I never dream of paying brokers. This silver is consigned to the dealer in silver by the owners of the silver, and you pay him brokerage. The Deputy Master of the Mint is not at all overworked; he is a large dealer in this produce; and why should he not go to Market and buy from the man who has silver to sell? As a matter of fact, two commissions are paid for every pound of this silver that is purchased by the Mint. This £400 is an unnecessary charge, and if the matter is properly looked into, there will be no difficulty in obviating the charge in future.

MR. DIXON-HARTLAND (Middlesex, Uxbridge): May I ask if the same amount of silver is bought every year, because £400 has been regularly charged for years past? It is a notable fact that silver is a great glut in the Market. There is a great amount in the banks; indeed, managers find the greatest difficulty in getting rid of it. I should like to know why £400 is charged regularly every year for buying this silver, when probably no such sum is ever spent?

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: I promise the hon. Member for Uxbridge (Mr. Dixon-Hartland), and hon. Gentlemen generally, that I will take the earliest possible opportunity of discussing the question with the Master of the Mint, in order to inform myself more fully upon it.

MR. BIGGAR (Cavan, W.): On the question of brokerage I should say that if the Master of the Mint is really a judge of the value of silver he ought to buy silver himself; but if he does not understand silver, and has not time to watch the fluctuations of the Market, a broker is a very proper man to employ. As a man of business, my experience in that a person who only goes occasionally into the Market, and who does not carefully study the Market, is very likely to make injudicious bargains, and may, in consequence, very easily lose £400.

MR. CRILLY (Mayo, N.): Notwithstanding the comments made from the

Treasury Bench, I do not quite see why we should give way on this matter all at once. I do not recognize the force of the remarks that have been made by the Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson), or by the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Lord Randolph Churchill). I agree with the hon. Gentleman the Member for Barrow-in-Furness (Mr. Caine) that two brokerages are paid, and that the Deputy Master of the Mint, who receives £1,500 a year, ought, when necessary, to purchase the silver himself. But if it is found that the Deputy Master of the Mint cannot buy silver owing to the pressure of other duties, the "Master and Worker" of the Department, who happens to be the Chancellor of the Exchequer, might do some practical and actual work, and thus allow the Deputy Master sufficient time to go to market, and purchase the silver for which £400 is now paid to brokers. I know that formerly a very large business was done on the Liverpool Cotton Exchange by brokers; but it gradually dawned on the Lancashire manufacturers that they could make their own purchases, and save brokerage. They thus saved a great deal, and this public Department could do the same if they acted as the Lancashire manufacturers did. This £400 might be absolutely saved if the Gentleman to whom £1,500 a-year was paid bought the silver himself; and if he could not do the work, why not bring into requisition the services of the "Master and Worker?"

MR. P. O'BRIEN (Monaghan, N.): The question raised by the hon. Gentleman the Member for East Mayo (Mr. Dillon) is, as the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Lord Randolph Churchill) admitted, one of wide and large range; but I do not think the Committee will agree with the noble Lord in considering it very mysterious. I do not think it would be very mysterious in its operation. The effect of withdrawing half-sovereigns from circulation would, I am sure, be very beneficial in many respects; and therefore the suggestion of my hon. Friend deserves the consideration of the Government. But, Mr. Courtney, it strikes me that the charge of £2,500 for loss of gold and silver withdrawn from circulation is worthy of some consideration.

Mr. Crilly

MR. MOLLOY: If there is a loss of £2,000 on the gold coinage, the whole of the sum ought to be recovered from the "sweep." I should like to know how it comes to pass that there is this heavy loss upon gold coinage, and only a portion of it is obtained from the "sweep?"

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: The hon. Member puts to me a technical question which I am quite unable to answer; and I do not think that if he remains in the House 50 years he will ever find a Chancellor of the Exchequer ready to answer off-hand questions of this kind. I do not know whether he has ever been to the Mint. I went there not many years ago, and I was informed that a considerable amount of gold was lost in coinage, in waste of one kind or another; but that from time to time a very careful "sweep" was made by the workmen, in which a great portion of the gold lost in the process of manufacture was recovered. Whether the recovery from the "sweep" balances the loss on coinage I am not quite prepared to say.

MR. MOLLOY: I admit the question is rather intricate, and my intention was simply to draw the noble Lord's attention to it. I assert, however, from my knowledge of these matters, that there ought not to be any loss on the coinage of gold. The whole of the loss in coinage, within a fraction, ought to be recovered from the "sweep."

MR. J. ROWLANDS (Finsbury, E.): Perhaps the noble Lord the Chancellor of the Exchequer can tell us what becomes of the "sweep"?

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Obviously, what is recovered by the *employés* in the "sweep" is used in subsequent manufacture.

MR. J. ROWLANDS: As I have had some practical experience in this matter, perhaps the noble Lord will excuse me if I say that the *employés* do not use up the "sweep." The "sweep" is sold; someone purchases it; and I think it should be shown on the *Estimates* exactly how much it realizes.

AN HON. MEMBER: I think the noble Lord was perfectly correct in saying that no Chancellor of the Exchequer during the next 50 years will be able to answer every question of this character off-hand.

As a matter of fact, the "sweep" is sold.

Vote agreed to.

(6.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £5,796, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1887, for the Salaries and Expenses of the National Debt Office."

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.): The question I wish to raise is, whether it is advisable in the public interest that Sir Rivers Wilson, the Comptroller of the National Debt, should also occupy the position of Director of a private financial undertaking? Sir Rivers Wilson, as Comptroller of the National Debt, is paid a salary of £1,500 a-year, and in addition he has been appointed a Director of the Suez Canal, with a salary of £500 a-year. He was not satisfied with his lot, and therefore gave his name to a private financial undertaking. The attention of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone), then Prime Minister, was called to the subject, and the result was that Sir Rivers Wilson resigned his private appointment. I find, however, that Sir Rivers Wilson has still continued to be a Director of the British and Foreign Life and Fire Insurance Company. I have no doubt he is paid for his services as a Director of this Company; his salary may not be a large one; but, nevertheless, a very large principle is involved. The late Prime Minister undertook to consider the general question of the connection of permanent Civil servants with private undertakings. The right hon. Gentleman did not come to a conclusion; but the late Chancellor of the Exchequer—the present Member for South Edinburgh (Mr. Childers)—considered the question another year, and ended by saying he was afraid he could not lay down any rule, but must leave the matter to the discretion of the Heads of Offices. It does seem to me that, of all officers of the Government, the Comptroller of the National Debt ought not to embark in private enterprises. It seems to me the principle that he ought not to do so was conceded when he was obliged to resign the appointment he had at one time ac-

cepted. I will not detain the Committee longer; but I hope the Chancellor of the Exchequer will give his serious attention to the matter, and that he will deem it right to direct, or to request, Sir Rivers Wilson to give up the Directorship of the private Company, and be content with the two appointments he holds under the Government.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL) (Paddington, S.): In reply to the hon. Gentleman (Sir George Campbell) all I have to say is that Sir Rivers Wilson is a most valuable public servant, one of the most valuable this country possesses. I have no knowledge whatever of the circumstances to which the hon. Gentleman alludes. The great charge the hon. Member brings against Sir Rivers Wilson is that he is a Director of an Insurance Company, the name of which I recognize as being that of one of the most respectable Insurance Companies in this country. I can see no reason, on my present information, why Sir Rivers Wilson should not be a Director of this Company; and if that is all the hon. Member has to urge against Sir Rivers Wilson I really cannot undertake to interfere.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL: I regret that the Chancellor of the Exchequer does not see any objection to Sir Rivers Wilson holding an appointment in a private undertaking at the same time that he is the Comptroller of the National Debt. I beg to move the reduction of this Vote by £500.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £5,296, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1887, for the Salaries and Expenses of the National Debt Office."—*(Sir George Campbell.)*

MR. BIGGAR (Cavan, W.): The noble Lord stated that Sir Rivers Wilson is a very able official, and the Director of a most respectable Assurance Company; but that, I think, is to a very large extent begging the question. The question seems to me to be whether public officials shall hold appointments in private Companies, outside their position as officials of the Government. There is, at the present time, a considerable amount of agitation among a certain class of people against

public officials being Directors of Supply Associations. I certainly think the Government officials should be paid a reasonable salary for their services, and that they should not exceed the duties of their Office; and, more than that, I think that gentlemen holding Office under Government should not be allowed to sell the use of their names as "guinea pigs" to public Companies which are wanted, simply because they have Offices under Government. I assent to all the noble Lord has said in favour of Sir Rivers Wilson; but I entirely dissent from the position he has taken up, that there is no objection to Government officials becoming members of private firms. After the remark of the noble Lord, that Sir Rivers Wilson could become the Director of a respectable Assurance Company if he thought fit, it is probable that many other officials will become members of Assurance Companies of shady character, and by that means may carry ruin to a large number of people. I venture to hope that the noble Lord will reconsider this question, and give a firm decision, not only on the merits of this particular case, but with regard to the position of Government officials generally in matters of this kind.

MR. SHEEHY (Galway, S.): I shall be inclined to vote for the Motion of the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy (Sir George Campbell). I think that the noble Lord has made a very indiscreet defence of Sir Rivers Wilson; because, as the hon. Member for West Cavan has said, there are other officials who may be led by it into similar employments.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL: I have a strong opinion in these matters derived from a long official career. I was in hope that I should have received from the noble Lord a more conciliatory answer. I remember the case of the high official in the National Debt Office which was settled by the late Prime Minister, the official having to resign an employment which he held. I appeal to the noble Lord to reconsider this matter. The words which the noble Lord has uttered are words which, coming from him, are most dangerous words, because not only has he excused, but he has justified, the conduct of Sir Rivers Wilson. As far as anything he said is concerned, Sir Rivers Wilson might have represented half-a-dozen

Companies, or received any number of appointments; and unless I receive a more satisfactory answer from the noble Lord it will be my duty to divide the Committee.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: I have not the slightest objection to the hon. Gentleman dividing the Committee. The hon. Gentleman's idea of a conciliatory reply is, that I should deprecate the conduct of Sir Rivers Wilson. If the hon. Gentleman supposes that I am going to depreciate the characters of Government officials for the purpose of conciliating Gentlemen opposite he is mistaken.

MR. P. McDONALD (Sligo, N.): I wish to add my protest to that of the hon. Gentleman (Sir George Campbell) against the holding of private appointments by public officials, a practice which tends to giving credit to many Companies that are unsound, and to ruin the subscribers. I say that this principle is a wrong one altogether. It is the complaint generally of the trading community that they are injured by the extension of so-called co-operative stores. Therefore, I protest against the principle in question, and if any hon. Member will second me I am quite prepared to divide against the Vote.

MR. ARTHUR WILLIAMS (Glamorgan, S.): It is extremely unfortunate that the noble Lord the Chancellor of the Exchequer should adopt this line. We all have, I am sure, great respect for the official in question. I think the hon. Gentleman who brought the subject forward has discharged a very grave duty in showing that an official like Sir Rivers Wilson, a man in high position, is occupying his time in the service of a private Company. It is desirable that a fact of that kind should be brought under the notice of this House; because if this is done by men in his position, and is countenanced by Her Majesty's Government, we shall find it done by minor officials, and great inconvenience will result. Therefore, I hope that it may be recognized by the Government that officials, either in high or minor positions in the Public Service, are not entitled to accept other employment.

MR. GEDGE (Stockport): The hon. Member who has just spoken seems to lay down the principle that a servant of the Crown is obliged to give his whole service to the Crown. Is it really to be

the case that the servants of the Crown are to be slaves, who are not at liberty to do anything else but their public duty; and are they not to be allowed to occupy their spare time? Is Mr. Matthew Arnold, the Inspector of Schools, not to be allowed spare time in which to write those poems which we all admire? No one does his work better than Sir A. Stephenson, the Solicitor to the Treasury, and there is no reason why he should not be a Director of the Economic Life Office. But is he to be told he is not to give his spare time to any occupation he thinks fit that is of an honourable character? If it is said that, because Sir Rivers Wilson is a member of an old established Insurance Company, some other gentlemen in the Service may become members of Fishery Companies, I reply, let the matter be dealt with when it comes up. I say, let us hear no more of this subject in connection with Sir Rivers Wilson; but let us accept with gratitude the services he has performed with so much credit to the country.

MR. CAINE (Barrow-in-Furness): I am quite sure, from my experience in these matters, that no one can be a Director of the Alliance Insurance Company without giving some hours a day twice a week during the greater portion of the year. Now, that would be given at a time when a public servant ought to be in his office. In this way, the services of Sir Rivers Wilson would be required just at the middle of the day, when we should expect to find him in his place. We know, of course, that he would not take any appointment that was not conformable with the discharge of his duty; but a principle is involved in this matter, and I should like to know whether the Chancellor of the Exchequer would approve of the Secretary to the Admiralty becoming Director of a shipbuilding firm on the Thames? The question of the employment of public servants as Directors of Companies is a very important one, and I trust that the hon. Gentleman the Member for Kirkcaldy will divide the Committee upon it.

MR. HOWELL (Bethnal Green, N.E.): I protest against the Chancellor of the Exchequer calling in question the conduct of those who object to servants of the Crown undertaking private business when they ought to be devoting their time to the public business for which they are paid. The position we take up

is one of principle; the question has been raised long enough; and all I can say is, that unless the Chancellor of the Exchequer can give us some idea that the Government will take it into consideration, we, on this side of the House, shall do our best to force the hand of the Government upon the question. The practice has been complained of over and over again. The hon. Gentleman who has just spoken (Mr. Caine) has referred to a matter which comes home rather closely—namely, that of a man being associated with private undertakings similar to that for which he is paid by the Government. It seems to me that a public servant ought to devote his whole time to the work for which the country pay him; and I think it would be of greater advantage to the country if Mr. Matthew Arnold were to devote more time to the work for which he is paid. I altogether dissent from the principle that a man in the Public Service should be allowed to devote any portion of the time for which he is paid to other employment.

MR. BIGGAR: I believe that hon. Members who oppose this Vote will not take any exception to the particular Insurance Company with which Sir Rivers Wilson is connected. But I protest against the argument of the hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Gedge), who said that we ought not always to criticize the action of Government officials when they become members of what I may call shady Companies, or when they are deficient in the duty which they owe to the State. There are public Companies which are presumably solvent, and beyond criticism possibly; but that is not the question. I think we ought to go on the general principle, and consider whether or not these gentlemen should be allowed to become directors of trading Companies, and, at the same time, public servants. First of all, it appears that these gentlemen give, on several days a week, some hours to the work of the Insurance Company, and ignore their public duty. ["No, no!"] Well, it seems to be so. And, in the next place, as in the case of Mr. Matthew Arnold, we find that poems are written in business time. There is the fact to be considered that a man may write good or bad poetry, and it does not much matter; but when a public servant becomes a member of an Insurance Company, a great many people may

suffer by the fact that his name has been lent to an unsound concern. It is a much more dangerous thing for a public servant to become a Director of a Company than it is for him to write poems, or occupy his time with similar work. I hope the hon. Gentleman will divide the Committee on this question, in order to show that this House requires that public servants should give their whole time to the performance of their duties, and have nothing to do with business speculations.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL: I wish to say one word of protest against the doctrine laid down by the hon. Gentleman below the Gangway opposite (Mr. Gedge)—that a public servant is only bound to give a modicum of his time to the Public Service. I think that is a most dangerous doctrine, for this reason especially—that the money which he receives as salary is a fixed quantity, and that which he makes from his other position is a variable quantity; and, therefore, as the means of increasing it, he is likely to devote more time to the latter than to his public duties. I have many years of official experience; and I think the doctrine propounded by the hon. Member for Stockport, with the sanction of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, is most dangerous.

MR. HARRIS (Galway, E.): There are many grave evils connected with the practice of public men becoming members and Directors of public Companies. Had it not been for the fact that the late Mr. Sadler was a Lord of the Treasury, he would not have been able to swindle the public to the enormous extent that he did. I see no reason why we should consider public officials as any better than other people, but rather the other way, as being less occupied. I have been in their society, and am able to speak with some knowledge in this matter. I think the question under discussion is one of much importance in the interest of the people; and if the hon. Gentleman goes to a division I shall certainly vote with him.

MR. A. BLANE (Armagh, S.): I do not think that this Committee would act justly if they did not apply to the heads of Departments the same rule as they apply to subordinates. It is of no use saying, as the Chancellor of the Exchequer has said in effect, that because a man is respectable he should be allowed to do what other people are not allowed

to do. I protest against that doctrine, and shall therefore vote for the Amendment of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Kirkcaldy (Sir George Campbell).

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 73; Noes 139: Majority 66.—(Div List, No. 20.)

Original Question put, and *agreed to*.

(7.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £25,303, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1887, connected with the Patents, Designs, and Trade Marks Act."

MR. MOLLOY (King's Co., Birr): I do not wish to discuss this Vote in any sense; but I desire to put a question to the Government upon it. I should like to know whether it would not be possible to have an index of foreign patents prepared for reference in our Library? Such an index would be of the greatest value. Another suggestion I would make—and it is one which I made on a former occasion—is that a museum of patent models should be established in England similar to those which are to be found in almost every other country of the world.

THE SECRETARY TO THE BOARD OF TRADE (Baron HENRY DE WORMS) (Liverpool, East Toxteth): In reply to the hon. Member I have to say that the index he refers to is being proceeded with, and that I trust it will be completed in a very short time. The other suggestion the hon. Member makes is a very good one, and will receive favourable consideration.

MR. P. McDONALD (Sligo, N.): I wish to call the attention of the Committee to a very great want existing in this Kingdom, and I would trouble hon. Members with a few words of explanation thereupon. I would contrast the American trade mark system, and some portions of the Continental system, with our own. In America, I believe, the system is that the trade mark, when submitted to the Registry Department, is not recorded until it is properly and duly examined; and when it is found to clash with an existing trade mark it is refused admission on the index. The same thing applies, and perhaps still more strongly, in the matter of patents.

A different system exists in England. I believe, as far as I am aware, that any person can bring forward a patent or trade mark, present it to the Department, and have it indexed, without taking into consideration whether or not it clashes with any pre-existing patent or trade mark; and the consequence of that system is that the trader who has a pre-existing patent or trade mark is put in a position of being obliged to bring an action at law against the subsequent patentee, or person registering, to defend his right. The result is that long and tedious law suits occur, often to the serious detriment, and even to the ruin, of one or other of the parties. We have in this country frequent instances of the unsatisfactory result of this system; and we had in Ireland, quite recently, a case in point which accentuates the necessity of having some change in the law. I would, therefore, beg to draw the attention of the noble Lord the President of the Board of Trade (Lord Stanley of Preston) to the necessity of introducing an examination system combined with the indexing, and of ordering that the indexing alone shall not be sufficient. He should have an examination system combined with the present process, so that immediately a person presented an invention clashing with one already registered, it would be rejected, and the party presenting it told that he had no right to any protection in regard to it. I beg to call the attention of the Department to this question, as I believe the system I propose would tend greatly to the advantage of the trading interests of the country. It would be a reform which I believe to be very urgently called for.

MR. TOMLINSON (Preston): It is a matter for regret that hon. Gentlemen should address themselves to subjects with which they do not appear to have made themselves fully acquainted. Those who know anything about trade marks are aware that they cannot be admitted on the register without previous examination.

MR. P. McDONALD: I have confident personal knowledge to the contrary.

MR. TOMLINSON: This is not the time to go deeply into the question of the laws relating to patents and trade marks. The hon. Gentleman seemed to confine his observations to trade marks; and I wish to point out that the law, as

established by the existing Acts, prevents two trade marks of a similar design being registered with respect to the same class of goods.

MR. M. J. KENNY (Tyrone, Mid): On a point of detail, I should like to know how it is that there are two items in the Vote relating to indexing? How can this double charge be made for the same thing; and will the hon. Gentleman opposite (Baron Henry De Worms) explain what is the meaning of this item of £4,000, which is a considerable increase upon the charge for last year?

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR (Liverpool, Scotland): I am sorry that the hon. Member for Preston (Mr. Tomlinson) should have thought it right to say what he did to my hon. Friend sitting near me (Mr. P. McDonald). He says my hon. Friend addressed himself to a subject of which he knows nothing. Well, I have sat with the hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Tomlinson) for four years in this House, and I must say that during the whole of that period the hon. Member has never seemed to me to know anything, except how to block a Bill, and how to fill up those interstices in debates which talkers against time know so well how to avail themselves of. ["Oh, oh!"] In reply to the interruption of hon. Members, I would point out that I myself never talk against time. My hon. Friend says he has had experience of trade marks being granted without proper investigation; and I would recommend to the hon. Gentleman, the champion blocker, this important fact for his consideration—that, at the present moment, the noble Lord the President of the Board of Trade (Lord Stanley of Preston) is engaged in a consideration of a Bill for re-arranging the whole of the law of trade marks, and a Bill is to be brought in next year. If trade marks are in the happy condition the hon. Member (Mr. Tomlinson) supposes them to be in, there would be no occasion whatever for the introduction of the Bill the noble Lord is engaged upon.

MR. TUIE (Westmeath, N.): I believe the present cost of obtaining a patent is too high, and that it operates very harshly against the working class of this country. The total cost is much more in England than in any other country. I would ask the Government to do what they can to reduce the cost,

so as to enable our intelligent artizans and labouring classes to patent their inventions.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir RICHARD WEBSTER) (Isle of Wight): Perhaps it would be convenient that I should say a word or two at this point on the three questions which have been raised. First, as to the examination of patents and trade marks. Perhaps I ought to point out to hon. Members that the question of the examination of patents and the question of the examination of trade marks are distinct. As to the examination into the validity of letters patent before a patent is granted, I need not remind the House that that is a subject which has occupied the minds of those who have studied the Patent Law for the past 15 or 20 years. Rightly or wrongly it has been considered neither possible nor desirable, in the interest of inventors, to attempt to make examinations as to novelty. The whole matter was carefully considered prior to the passing of the Act of Parliament of 1883. I must remind the Committee that the matter is dealt with in Section 7 of the Act, under which there is an examination and report as to the nature of an invention; and if the application, specification, or drawings have not been prepared in the prescribed manner, or if the title does not sufficiently describe the subject-matter of the invention, the application may be refused. That, the Committee will see, is an examination into what I may call the validity of the patent, to find whether, on the face of it, the subject-matter has been properly described. Then I would remind the Committee that when there is an opposition the matter is governed by Section 11, which provides that there may be such opposition on the ground that the applicant has obtained the invention from the opponent, or from the person who is his legal representative, or on the ground that the invention has been patented in this country on an application of prior date. The Committee will observe that, the subject-matter being advertised in the case of important inventions, it is pretty well known whether or not any important patent intrudes upon the rights of prior patentees. Where the owner of a previous patent opposes it, it rests with the Law Officer to decide whether or not a patent is to be granted.

Mr. Tuite

The suggestion of the hon. Member opposite would be that, in the interest of every inventor, there should be an examination as to the validity of every patent, to see whether or not the patent should go on. The subject has been most carefully considered, and those who have studied the working of the Patent Law have come to the conclusion that unless such an examination were thorough, so that the State could guarantee the validity of the patent, it would be of no real value to the patentee. I do not wish to repeat the names of the eminent men who have expressed opinions upon this matter. Some of them are no longer with us, though others, I am happy to say, are still living. Sir William Siemens, who came to this country for the sake of the Patent Laws, having started originally with the idea that an examination would be desirable, at last came round to the opposite view, and sat on a Committee to consider this question, which reported that it was not desirable that there should be such examination. The cost of an efficient examination would be very great indeed; and the desire, of course, is to reduce the cost to inventors of obtaining patents. I do not think that anyone who is conversant with the daily working of the Patent Office, and of the Patent Laws, will be of opinion, especially now that there are much larger powers of amendment than before the passing of the last Patent Act, that it would be desirable, in the interests of the patentees, to attempt a system of examination. I do not know that I need say anything further on that question. With regard to the cost of indexing, I may be allowed to tell the Committee—though it is scarcely within my province, but as I happen to have had the matter brought prominently under my notice I may be permitted to say a word or two with regard to it—I may be allowed to tell the Committee that the main cost of the increase of indexing is the increase of work thrown on the officials of the Patent Office. It has been already pointed out that the matter of indexing is of one great importance to patentees, and especially to those who are bringing out patents for improvements. It would be astonishing to Members, on inquiring into this subject, to find how frequently it happens that inventors, who think they have hit upon a per-

fectly original idea, find on making investigation that the same thing has been invented before. Indexing is a most difficult process; and, owing to the large increase which has taken place in the number of patents since the passing of the last Act, it has been necessary to incur great expense in the matter. But a large increase has taken place on the other side of the account. There is a countervailing balance; therefore, the patentees who pay the fees have a right to be considered. With regard to the cost of obtaining the patent being too high, that was a matter which was considered prior to 1883. The initial cost was largely reduced. In the first instance it is only £4—£1 on application for a provisional protection, and £3 on completion of specification. There is no further payment until the end of four years. Practically speaking, therefore, every useful invention can get protection for four years for £4; and there are few inventions indeed which cannot be developed, and tried, and tested in four years. And when a man has got an invention which is so useful that it is worth while to obtain a monopoly for it, then, at the end of four years, he can continue the patent. The sum charged is not at present considered too large; but whether a reduction is possible and desirable, I am sure those who have control over the Patent Office will be very glad to consider. So far as the interests of working men inventors are concerned, I do not think there have been anything like the complaints as to the high cost of patents since the passing of the Patent Act that there were previously. Certainly, the endeavour of those who have had the framing of the laws has been to put it in the power of those working men who have been fortunate enough to hit upon an original invention to obtain a patent for it on the most moderate terms, and then to secure their right at the least possible expense. I am not aware that any other question has been raised upon which I can afford the Committee any information; but I think I can say that, as to the examination of trade marks, the Comptroller does not allow two trade marks of a similar kind to be put on the same class of goods. All these matters have been lately under the consideration of the Patent Office and the Board of Trade; and I do not think there

is any question of weight which has been overlooked, and on which every effort has not been made to make the Act work as successfully as possible.

MR. P. McDONALD: My remarks were in the direction of improving the law as to trade marks. I did not intend so much to address myself in the course of my observations to the question of patents, inasmuch as I am more concerned in the one than the other. I am pleased to find that the observations of the hon. and learned Gentleman have fully borne out the necessity that exists for effecting some change in the law; and that, indirectly, has been a complete answer to the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Tomlinson), who has earned the reputation of champion blocker of the House.

MR. CONWAY (Leitrim, N.): It must be satisfactory to hon. Members to hear from the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General that there is likely soon to be a consolidated index of patents. As to cost, I would point out that the total income from patents is £86,980, whilst the cost of the Department is £53,000, leaving a profit of £34,000. It appears to me, therefore, that having £34,000 at their command they may very well see their way to reducing the charge, and to extending the initial period of protection. I think the Department ought to take that matter into consideration. Looking at the Annual Report of the Patent Office, there appears to me to be one feature of it that demands the attention of the House. Here is a paragraph stating that during the year certain hardships arose under Sections 8 and 9 of the Act, owing to applicants not having complied with the statutory requirements; and as to the production of an amending Act, enabling the Comptroller to allow sufficient time for the completing of specifications. The time allowed is too short, and it will, no doubt, be wise to make arrangements for meeting the complaints of inventors. We all know how great are the complaints of inventors. We hear tell of their exceedingly sensitive natures; and one can well understand the feelings of anxiety of a man who submits a specification to the Patent Office, and the worry and the care which he must endure, owing to the over-methodical and circumlocutory system adopted by the authorities. The

feelings of inventors ought to be considered by those engaged in the Departments; and I trust that this paragraph in the Report to which I call attention will meet with consideration from the Attorney General, and that the time for putting in specifications after application has been made will be extended.

MR. HARRIS (Galway, E.): I should like to ask whether facilities could not be given to working men to enable them to take out a patent without the intervention of a lawyer? I myself thought I had an invention worth patenting; but I found that I should have to go to a lawyer, and give him something like £30 to begin with, in order to take out a patent. I thought that too much to pay for an experiment. I, therefore, ask whether arrangements could not be made to enable a working man to go to the office and take out his patent without the intervention of a lawyer, or the trouble and annoyance of having to obtain legal assistance?

DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid): I was led to understand by the hon. and learned Gentleman on the Treasury Bench (the Attorney General) that since this new Patent Law had been brought in the number of applicants for the protection afforded by Letters Patent had greatly increased. Well, Sir, in looking into the statistics, we find that the number of applicants has increased, but that the number of patents which have been taken out have not increased; on the contrary, that there have been more heart-burnings over this question than over many others. ["Oh, oh!"] Yes, than over many others that arise here every night. [*Laughter.*] Hon. Gentlemen opposite may laugh, but perhaps they are not inventors. Well, Sir, there is one point to be noticed in connection with this Estimate, and that is that there is a considerable expenditure of public money involved for which there is no return whatsoever—I mean the amount paid in salaries to the examining staff. They receive somewhere between £14,000 and £15,000 a-year, and that is altogether exclusive of the payment of writers and others in the same Department. There is no proportion between the numbers of these officials and the numbers of the applications. The number of applications shows that the amount paid in this Department is not far from £1 for each application,

Mr. Conway

which is actually the initial fee which has to be paid by those who apply for patents. The initial fee may, therefore, be said to be spent in examination and preliminary specification. We may thus put aside this £1 per application as spent without advantage to anyone concerned. The Committee which has been appointed to deal with this question has shown that the method is of practical advantage. Though it has given general satisfaction in its working, still it is a fact that the reduction of fees which was made was mainly clamoured for on the initial stage. If the number of patents applied for is to be taken as a criterion of the value of the Act there can be no question about that value, for its success in this respect exceeded the most sanguine anticipation of its promoters. In the first year the number of applications was no less than three times what it had been in the preceding year. In the year just passed there were only 16,101; though in the first year there were 17,110. That is a falling-off of 1,000; and it is to be accounted for by the fact that there was an accumulation just before the Act was passed. Of course, when a reform is made in a Department of this sort, naturally enough the applicants will wish to take advantage of it, and will wait until it is completed. The applicants, therefore, waited until the reform took place, when they were able to take practical advantage of it. It will be highly satisfactory if the quality of this enormous number of inventions could be readily tested. Unfortunately, we are told that that is not possible. However, there is a rough test afforded, and that is by the number of applications that are allowed to lapse at the first stage. With respect to this number of applications, there are a few statistics which have been furnished that I should like hon. Members to learn. The Patent Office has, with a delightful amount of candour, lately published a full list of applicants for patents since the year 1884, and which have become void in consequence of complete specifications not having been lodged within ten months of the date of application. This list numbers 7,013, and the addition of applications voided for other reasons brings the total to 7,064, or 41 per cent of all the applications made in a year. Though there have been such a con-

siderable number of applications made in order to take advantage of the new Patent Law, still, practically speaking, though the applications have been made, you must take into account the number of people who have lost their patents by letting the whole thing lapse. The number of patents voided under the old law was 35 per cent; and, putting the two figures side by side, we have the result that there has been a greater percentage during the period to which I have drawn special attention. It is a little surprising that the percentage should be increased, and that the fee of £1 should yield no less than three-fifths of all the applications for patents—that is to say, that the inventors of two-fifths of the inventions for which patents are applied do not consider them worth £3 a-piece nine months after they have taken the first steps to protect them. This is an important point, and possibly the hon. and learned Gentleman opposite will deem it worthy of his consideration. It used to be said, under the former law, that it was the heavy fees and the initial stages which killed the patents; but that argument cannot be advanced now. It would not be true. It is admitted that the taking out of patents is not now confined to such important matters as it was in days gone by—in fact, that many smaller minor inventions are now worth patenting which formerly were not deemed of sufficient value—in consequence of the lowering of the charges. We cannot walk down any street of importance without seeing many shops in which are exposed for sale small patented articles which formerly you could not have obtained. ["Order!"] I was talking about the examiners and the amount paid to them, and from that we come to argue on the price of patents; and it is clearly discernible, even to the most superficial inquirer, that owing to the lowering of the price of patents many minor articles are patented. A man will nowadays take out a patent for a cork-screw, though, in days gone by, he would not have thought it worth his while to do so. We now find patents taken out not for one, but for dozens of minor articles, such as cork-screws. It is worthy of consideration how you can best give information of all these small patents to future inventors. It is important that we should have an index; because, if

the patents were destroyed, we should have no record of what had been previously detected. Besides, an index is necessary, so that future inventors may be able to see what has already been patented, and may be able to guard themselves from the risk of having their patents interfered with by the owner of an abandoned application, and that the owners of the abandoned applications themselves may be able to relinquish their first claims, and substitute fresh applications based on a fuller knowledge of the machine or implement they may have invented. It would also be well worth considering whether the destruction of all provisional specifications would not in itself be an advantage. In that case, the examining staff would not have to be relied upon to see that an inventor did not introduce fresh matter into his specification, which he had probably obtained from a rival. Of course, the examination of applications has succeeded to a degree, and it certainly is a matter which should be inquired into. Inventors themselves, especially those of the poorer class, like it, because they believe that, after their specification has once been taken into consideration, it is safe from subsequent attack, and that, whether or not, they have secured an indefeasible right to their inventions. They have, at all events, obtained a right not to be impugned except by legal proceedings. [*Cries of "Divide!" and "Question!"*] If I have not explained myself intelligently, I will endeavour to do so at greater length. What I wanted to show was that the examining staff receive a large amount of money, and that, unfortunately, the benefit the people who take out inventions derive from the operations of these gentlemen is not altogether commensurate to this amount of money. The results are not altogether satisfactory. The existence of the examination has induced a great many inventors to rely upon themselves and upon the officials for the proper drafting of their specifications, without the intervention of a patent agent. That is a very great mistake, and is to be deprecated as likely to work to the disadvantage of persons who may wish to obtain patents in the future. I hope this matter will receive the deliberate and mature consideration of the noble Lord the Presi-

dent of the Board of Trade (Lord Stanley of Preston).

MR. A. BLANE (Armagh, S.): I would draw the attention of the Committee to the fact that a patent can be had in the United States of America for less than it can be obtained in this country; and I look upon that fact, and the impetus it gives to American industries, as one of the reasons of depression of trade here. I have been many times in the United States Patent Office, and I never saw a policeman there; but in this Vote I see a large sum charged for police. I do not see why we should have this charge in the Estimates. In Washington the police do their duty outside, and certainly not inside, the Patent Office. As I object to this item, I shall move to reduce the Vote by the amount for the Police.

THE CHAIRMAN: I did not catch the amount by which the hon. Gentleman wishes to reduce the Vote.

MR. A. BLANE: £400.

Motion made, and Question,

"That a sum, not exceeding £24,903, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1887, connected with the Patents, Designs, and Trade Marks Act,"—(*Mr. Alexander Blane*),

—put, and *negatived*.

Original Question again proposed.

MR. CONWAY: I should like the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General to answer the question I raised as to an extension of time being allowed between the date of the application and the date of delivery of specifications.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir RICHARD WEBSTER) (Isle of Wight): The time under the old Act was six months. It has been extended to nine months, and that limit of time has been found to be quite sufficient. The cases the hon. Gentleman referred to were exceptional cases of delay. There is ample time now for the authorities to consider the applications, and it is considered that nine months is quite long enough for complete specifications to be kept out of the Patent Office. To increase the time would only be to give an opportunity to some inventors to put into the specifications more than was thought of at the time the patent was applied for.

Original Question put, and *agreed to*.

(8.) £11,190, to complete the sum for the Paymaster General's Office.

(9.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £4,014, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1887, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Establishments under the Public Works Loan Commissioners."

MR. MARJORIBANKS (Berwickshire): I wish to elicit the opinion of the Government on two points in connection with this Vote, and they both refer to the functions of the Public Works Loan Commissioners as to advances for harbour improvement. It will be in the recollection of the Committee that some years ago a Committee of the House sat and recommended that large grants should be made for harbour works in the country. Later on, in 1861, Mr. Milner Gibson, in conjunction with the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone), as an alternative to such a policy of grants, passed a Bill—the Harbours and Passing Tolls Bill—to enable the Loan Commissioners to make advances for harbour works, by way of loan, at a low rate of interest—3½ per cent. That rate of interest prevailed until 1868, when Lord Iddeleigh placed these loans on the same footing as other loans granted by the Public Works Loan Commissioners. I believe that to have been a breach of faith with the House and the country; because these loans, at a low rate of interest, were distinctly given as an alternative to grants. I want to know if the present Government will do anything in the way of restoring the advantages which Harbour Authorities had all through the country for obtaining money at a low rate of interest when the security is good? I do not ask that where the security is bad they should have these advantages, but where the security is good. I do contend that, for purposes of improvement, the Harbour Authorities should have the advantage of State credit, and should be able to get money from the Public Works Loan Commissioners at the lowest possible rate of interest, which would not cause loss to the State. My second point is this—the Public Works Loan Commissioners are, undoubtedly, very capable of judging

what the value of a security is; but I entirely deny that they are a Body who are at all fit to judge of the policy of particular harbour works, or are a Body at all fit to inspect such works whilst they are in process of construction. I wish to know whether Her Majesty's present Government are inclined to adopt the suggestion of the Committee I had the honour to preside over during the last Parliament but one, which recommended that this power of deciding as to the policy of any future harbour works, and this power of superintending any work whilst in course of construction, should be taken out of the hands of the Public Works Loan Commissioners, who are not qualified to discharge those functions, and put into the hands of a Department capable of exercising them?

MR. ANDERSON (Elgin and Nairn): Before the noble Lord the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Lord Randolph Churchill) answers the question, I desire to ask him whether his attention has been called by the Secretary to the Board of Trade to the very strict terms enjoined upon the Harbour Commissioners in advancing money in respect of harbour works at Lossiemouth, on the North-East Coast of Scotland? I had the honour to attend on a deputation the other day which waited on the Secretary to the Board of Trade (Baron Henry De Worms) in regard to this matter. It was represented to him that the Commissioners insist that, in the event of a loan being granted, their charge shall be a first charge upon the works, and the result was the suspension of negotiations for the loan. I placed the facts before the Secretary to the Board of Trade; and he stated that, in his opinion, this was a case where a concession ought to be made by the Commissioners in regard to the rule of their advances, and that he would make a representation on the point to the noble Lord the Chancellor of the Exchequer. I only now desire to know whether the noble Lord takes the same view of the case that the Secretary to the Board of Trade took, because it is a most important matter, as affecting this harbour and the improvements that are contemplated with regard to it.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Lord Randolph Churchill) (Paddington, S.): If I understand the

hon. Gentleman rightly, he is inclined to blame the Board of Trade, because they will not allow public money to be advanced for purposes of harbour construction in Scotland on other security than a first charge. Is that so?

MR. ANDERSON: The case I laid before the hon. Member (Baron Henry De Worms) is that the Commissioners insist on this advance coming before every other charge.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: I think the Commissioners were justified in that. I am afraid I could not, for a moment, approve of the advance of public money on any other terms save as a first charge. The right hon. Member (Mr. Marjoribanks) has asked two questions of the Government, to one of which I am sure I can give an answer in the affirmative. I would say that the money of the State should certainly be advanced for purposes of harbour accommodation in England at such a rate of interest as would not involve a loss to the Exchequer. I have no objection to make to the right hon. Gentleman's proposition in that respect, and I am sure there is none on the part of the Board of Trade. I think it quite possible that former Governments have been rather lethargic in coming to the assistance of the localities in respect to the development of harbour accommodation. It is within my knowledge that the right hon. Gentleman has rendered great service to the House and the public by bringing this matter of harbour accommodation before Parliament; and his formula that the Government should advance money for the purpose of carrying out important public improvements at the lowest possible rate of interest is one which I shall be glad to adopt. The right hon. Member's other question was, whether the Government would be prepared to remove these decisions as to the value of harbours from the Public Works Loan Commissioners and place them in the hands of a Government Department? That is a question which I cannot speak upon at present. We have had no time to examine the Report to which the hon. Member refers; but I undertake, if the action of the Commissioners is shown to have been improperly taken, and that the action of a Government Department would be more satisfactory, to give the matter consideration.

Mr. BIGGAR (Cavan, W.): I think the noble Lord is certainly right in saying that he will not consent to lend public money except upon perfectly good security—that is to say, a first charge upon the works. I believe the noble Lord will be perfectly right, on those conditions, to lend money for the completion of harbours.

Question put, and *agreed to*.

(10.) £8,326, to complete the sum for the Record Office.

(11.) £22,211, to complete the sum for the Registrar General's Office, England.

(12.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £241,424, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1887, for Stationery, Printing, and Paper, Binding, and Printed Books for the several Departments of Government in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and some Dependencies, and for the two Houses of Parliament, and for the Salaries and Expenses of the Establishment of the Stationery Office, and the cost of Stationery Office Publications, and of the Gazette Offices; and for sundry Miscellaneous Services, including a Grant in Aid of the publication of Parliamentary Debates."

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR (Liverpool, Scotland): Mr. Courtney, you will remember that last night I was called to Order by you on my endeavouring to raise some discussion upon a Vote then before the Committee with regard to the reporting of Parliamentary debates, and that I was referred to this Vote as the Vote on which my observations should be made. In the first place, then, there is a very extraordinary discrepancy between two items of this Vote—that is to say, the charge for printing Parliamentary Papers, binding, &c., amounts to no less a sum than £80,000; whereas the charge for the preparation and publication of Parliamentary debates and records is only £5,580. I venture to say that if these sums were reversed—that if £80,000 were spent upon Parliamentary debates and records, and £5,580 on printing Parliamentary Papers, we should make a much better bargain than we have under the present arrangement. I wish to press this most earnestly on the attention of the Government. At present we have a system of Parliamentary reporting which has no

example in the whole world, or in the history of mankind. Up to a short time ago *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates* were entirely made up of extracts taken from the daily papers. I suppose that when hon. Gentlemen took up *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates* and wanted to find out the opinions expressed by Ministers on previous occasions, they were under the impression that they were reading some carefully compiled official report of what Ministers had said—they were under the impression that they were reading an original report specially taken for *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates*. Well, Sir, the fact was the reverse of this; it was simply a cutting from the report of a newspaper supposed to give a good report, and passed off as an official report of the words of the Minister. Some time ago a change was made in this matter; Mr. Hansard was given a certain sum so that he might employ a reporting staff of his own. A compromise was arrived at of a very peculiar character. *Hansard* at present reports only a certain portion of the proceedings of this House. If I am rightly informed, *Hansard* reports only discussions in Committee. The moment the Speaker leaves the Chair *Hansard* commences to report; the moment he resumes the Chair *Hansard* ceases to report. Well, Sir, I wish to call the attention of the Committee to the extraordinary consequences of this arrangement. We have the whole debate in Committee reported, and, on Report, we have none of the debate reported; everything said in Committee is reported *verbatim* in the first person. ["No, no!"] I can assure the hon. Gentleman who says "No!" that I speak with accurate and precise information on the question. You have, for instance, a certain clause discussed in Committee reported *verbatim*; you turn to the Report stage and you find, instead of a report *verbatim et literatim*, either a very partial mention of the clause, or, perhaps, no mention of it at all. The result of all this is that *Hansard's* reports at the present moment are most disproportionate. You have a system of the most careful and accurate reporting of the least important stage of a Bill, and you have a most scanty, vague, and often unintelligible record of the more important stage of a Bill. In more recent years reporting in the daily papers has undergone a revolutionary

change. I hope the noble Lord the Chancellor of the Exchequer will not think that I am making an unfair personal allusion; the gentleman who wrote to me on this subject says that if you were to try to develop the career of the noble Lord from his speeches in *Hansard* you would find more than one *hiatus* in the series. I am sure that the position of the noble Lord will make every word he utters interesting and important to Parliamentary historians in this country; but if you take the last six years, in which the noble Lord has taken a very prominent part in the debates in this House, you will find very little of his speeches reported. On the other hand, if you were to trace the Parliamentary career of Mr. Disraeli, you could do so with very great advantage, and almost completely, through *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates*. Mr. Disraeli spoke for the first time on the 7th of December, 1837; he made his maiden speech on that occasion. He was a man who made a position for himself in literature; but I suppose that no one is considered a great man who speaks in this House for the first time. And yet, if you turn to *The Morning Chronicle* and one or two more daily papers of the time, you will find the same report of his speech as if he had occupied the position of Sir Robert Peel or Sir James Graham. That, I think, was one of the most historical speeches ever delivered in this House—the speech of a man who was to become Prime Minister. But had Mr. Disraeli been present to make his speech in 1886 he would have been dismissed in three lines, and the loss would be ours, for in his case the world would have been debarred from turning to the words which were uttered at the commencement of the career of a very distinguished statesman. Well, Sir, I think that either we ought to have complete official Parliamentary reports, or that we ought to allow Mr. Hansard to stick to his old plan of making out his reports from the newspapers. What can be more absurd than that you should have one part of a discussion collated from the daily papers, and another portion of the same discussion taken *verbatim* by Mr. Hansard's staff? I am strengthened in my demand by this fact—that, as I believe, England at the present moment is the only country in the world

with Representative Institutions that has not an official Parliamentary report. They have it in France, in Germany, and in every foreign country; and, further, all the Colonies—every country with Parliamentary Institutions has an official Parliamentary report, except the one which has been described as the mother of Parliaments. I maintain that every word spoken by a Member of this House is of sufficient importance to be recorded for future reference; but I say, for myself, that I regard the present system of Parliamentary reporting as so grotesque that I never open the reports sent to me by Mr. Hansard. I do not see the good of a system under which a speech made in the earlier part of the evening is very imperfectly reported, and a speech made later in the evening reported by Mr. Hansard in full. For these reasons I hope that the Chancellor of the Exchequer will pay some attention to the serious defects of this system, and make a change which is as much needed in the interest of this House as in the interest of the historical records of the country.

Mr. CLANCY (Dublin Co., N.): I would add to the remarks of my hon. Friend who has just spoken that such a record as he has indicated would probably be continued with advantage, and appreciated by Members of the House and the Government, whomsoever they might be. I understand that the custom of some hon. Members is to write speeches and commit them to the printer, which they never deliver in this House. I dare say that a good many Members of the House write their speeches and deliver them, not for the benefit of the House, but of their constituents. If this form were established, probably many hon. Members would avail themselves of the system, and deliver their manuscripts to the official reporters, and thereby save the time of the House. I would like to draw the attention of the Committee to two or three other matters in connection with this Vote. In the first place, the Chancellor of the Exchequer last night made what I think was a fair offer in reference to a question put to him about the supply of Parliamentary Papers to free libraries and mechanics' institutes. He said that any Parliamentary Papers required by them would be supplied free of cost. But I would remind the noble

Lord that his promise is somewhat illusory; because it would be very difficult for anyone who does not see the Papers themselves to determine what Papers such institutions would require, or what Papers would interest the Members. I would, therefore, ask the noble Lord, in addition, to have a printed list of these publications, with a description of their contents, in order that the institutions referred to might know exactly what Papers they want. A more serious matter in connection with this Vote are certain paragraphs in the last Report of the Committee of Public Accounts. I refer to this particularly, because I am astonished that such indifference is displayed on both sides of the House with regard to the Report of the Committee and the remarks of the Comptroller and Auditor General. I have seen Reports connected with large sums of money, in connection with which the Comptroller and Auditor General makes some most important remarks. The Committee of Public Accounts takes evidence with reference to these matters, and also makes recommendations with regard to them; and yet, time after time, Votes have been taken in this House without a single observation being made upon them. Now, there are two or three observations in the Report to which I think the attention of the Committee might be very properly directed for a few minutes. The Comptroller and Auditor General called the attention of the Committee of Public Accounts to the fact that complete and satisfactory vouchers as to the contents of packages of stores were not forthcoming. This is certainly a matter which deserves the attention of the Treasury. He went on to say that there could be no difficulty in a list of stores being furnished to the Departments. But the recommendations of this officer are treated with contempt; they are passed by year after year. It is essentially a bad example to those who have the spending of public money to hold out the prospect to the Heads of Departments that whatever they may do no action will be taken in the Committee of this House simply because the Vote may happen to be taken at half-past 12 o'clock, when there is no time for proper discussion. I think if this occasion were seized for the purpose of entering another practical protest against this system, which has been described by the

Mr. Clancy

Committee on Public Accounts, of supplying inaccurate, incomplete, and unsatisfactory vouchers, it might tend to stop the practice. I would take this opportunity also of drawing attention to one other matter, and that is the extraordinary increase of the cost of the establishment of the Stationery Office. I find by a Report of the Comptroller, issued in 1881, that the cost of the establishment at that time was £14,575; but it was estimated that in future the establishment would only cost £10,327. I think the Committee will be rather surprised to find that, instead of this saving of from about £4,600 being effected, there is actually an increase from £14,515, in 1881, to £23,000 for the year 1886-7. In view of this increase, I venture to think that the public at large have very just reason for complaint that the expectation of this promised reduction has not been realized. I understand that certain contracts expired in 1886, and that it was recommended, in 1881, that those contracts should not be renewed. I should like to ask the Secretary to the Treasury what arrangements are going to be made with reference to this matter, and whether the test of open competition will be applied not only in this case, but to every branch of Government printing both in England and Ireland? I should like to understand why it is that Messrs. Thom are the only persons in Dublin who are supposed to be capable of printing for the Government? They seem to have a sort of immunity from attack which certainly requires consideration. No matter how they execute their printing, no matter what prices they charge, they seem to hold their ground at all times, and the principle of public competition is in their case entirely disregarded. I venture to bring these matters before the attention of the Government, and hope to receive from them some satisfactory assurance, failing which I shall feel it my duty to move a reduction of this Vote.

MR. HENNIKER HEATON (Canterbury): I wish to say a word with regard to the utter uselessness of *Hansard* in its present form. In regard to the reports of Parliamentary debates I think it would be best if these were issued the morning after the speeches were delivered. They would then have a special interest for hon. Members, and they

would be likely to yield a larger return than they appear to yield at the present time. Hon. Members would then have an opportunity of correcting them before they were published in a permanent form. In the South Australian Assembly their report is printed in connection with the large newspapers, and is issued by those newspapers as a special supplement. Recently I have frequently seen leading Members of the Government and Opposition consulting the admirable compilations of the debates now issued by *The Times* newspaper. Hon. Members on both sides of the House have agreed that for the purpose of reference *Hansard's Debates* are utterly useless both for this Parliament and the last Parliament. A few days ago hon. Members had the example of the late Chancellor of the Exchequer and Members of the Government, referring to this compilation of *The Times*, and quoting speeches delivered in the course of the previous week. I do not know who is in charge of *Hansard's* compilations; but I should be sorry to see this Vote passed without an appeal being made to the Government to carry out the suggestion I offer. Either we must abolish this Vote in view of the ample compilations given by *The Times*, or we should have *Hansard* issued in a form which would enable hon. Members to receive the report the morning after the speeches were delivered. It is an enormous sum to pay for the debates in their present form; and, having some knowledge of the matter, I trust my observations will have weight with the Committee.

SIR JOSEPH BAILEY (Hereford): So far as the supply of Parliamentary Papers is concerned, I venture to say there is not one Member of this House who reads a tenth part of the Papers sent to him. The supply of these Papers is absolutely and entirely useless. As an illustration, I will take one Paper only of those issued yesterday morning. It had reference to certain changes in the currency of Cyprus. Well, Sir, the Government at home received an enormous number of letters from its officials on this subject. Letters were sent to and from Malta to this country in great numbers; the whole of these are printed and laid out in a form which is very costly, and, after all, useless so far as the majority of hon. Members are con-

cerned. I venture to think that the contents of this Paper could have been put into a single page. Of course, it is important that when the Government is to be attacked on a question of foreign policy all the Correspondence should be before us; but I think it would be sufficient to lay it on the Table in manuscript. It would thus be available to everyone, though I do not suppose half-a-dozen Members would read it. It could be read quite as well in manuscript as in print, an enormous amount of money would be saved to the country annually, and no hon. Member would be a bit the worse for the change. I hope the Government will use their best efforts to control the great extravagance in Parliamentary printing.

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton): I do not agree with the views of my hon. Friend the Member for the Scotland Division of Liverpool (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) so much to-day as I generally do. It may be that future generations, or future historians, will regret they have lost any words which have dropped from our lips; but the present generation bear up exceedingly well against it. I am sorry to say that, so far as the public is concerned, we may be said to be throwing pearls before swine. My hon. Friend has said that the reports in the newspapers are shorter now than they used to be some years ago. This is the reason why—I am not speaking of *The Times*, but of the other London newspapers. Some years ago, when there was a debate of any importance, there was a greater demand for the newspapers containing reports of the discussion, and it was necessary to print an additional number of copies. I do not think that at present any penny paper in London does print an additional number of copies, unless the paper contains some speech like that of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) on the second reading of the Home Rule Bill. But on ordinary occasions there are no additional copies of the paper printed, simply because the public do not want them. For that reason, also, the reports are reduced. A newspaper only has a certain amount of space, and it has to fill its space up with that which is required or wished for by its readers; and they, it is sad to think, seem to prefer other things to our speeches. Now, Sir,

with regard to *Hansard's* reports. We pay for *Hansard's* reports a lump sum of £4,500. We take 120 copies at £5 5s. each—that is, £630—which brings the total to £5,130. It is perfectly true, as my hon. Friend (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) said, that we give this sum to *Hansard* because some years ago, when the arrangement was made, the Press did not print so many copies as at present, the newspapers had to go to press at an earlier hour than now; and the result was, speaking generally, the newspapers were unable to publish any report of the proceedings after half-past 12 o'clock at night, or, if they were, the report was of the most meagre description. At the present time that is not the case. I have here some of *The Times'* reports. *The Times* draws no line at half-past 12 o'clock; the reports of *The Times* after half-past 12 are conducted on precisely the same scale as before half-past 12. If hon. Gentlemen care to inquire what has taken place during the last year or two, they will find very important speeches delivered as late as 2 o'clock have been reported in *The Times*. I take one instance. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Sheffield (Mr. Mundella), then the Vice President of the Council, brought in the Welsh Education Bill after 2 o'clock; and the right hon. Gentleman's speech was reported, I think, *verbatim*, in *The Times*. There are several other instances of the same kind. Besides, when the House sits too late for the proceedings to be reported in the first edition, *The Times* inserts the conclusion of its report in the second edition, and also prints it on the following day. Well, with regard to *Hansard*, *Hansard* does itself report, as my hon. Friend says, Committee stages, because they are not reported very fully in *The Times*, and it puts on its own reporters after 12.30 at night. Other speeches, I think, it takes absolutely from *The Times*, the report in *The Times* being the longest one published.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR: It takes many reports from the country papers.

MR. LABOUCHERE: Sometimes they may take speeches from country papers. I suppose that is when the Member arranges for himself to be reported; when he sends his speech first to a country paper, and then up to the Gallery. I may point out that any hon.

Gentleman can be reported *verbatim* if his constituents are anxious to read his speeches. A gentleman in the Gallery has issued a circular, a perfectly legitimate circular, offering, for a small retaining fee and so much per column, to furnish *verbatim* reports of his speeches to any Member of the House. I do not, in the least, complain of these gentlemen in the Gallery; I only mention this in order to show that anyone who is anxious to have *verbatim* reports of his speeches for his own constituents or himself, or the world in general, can obtain them for a very little outlay. Now it seems to me that, looking at these facts, looking at the fact that *Hansard* does take reports from *The Times*, except when the House is in Committee, he might take the reports from *The Times* after half-past 12 o'clock. *The Times'* report really seems to me quite long enough—in it are given all the principal speeches, and the main features of the other speeches. Besides, I must point out to my hon. Friend the immense amount of space which would be occupied if every word spoken in the House were reported. We may take it that a column of *The Times* represents 20 minutes' speaking. I have made a calculation when a Gentleman has been reported—in 20 minutes, or a little less, a column of *The Times* is spoken. The House sits, on an average, from 5 o'clock in the afternoon to 1 o'clock in the morning; the consequence would be that, besides the other columns which are occupied with questions and answers, we should have six pages of report. Now, that would be too much even for *The Times*; but it would be impossible and useless for other newspapers. I think that this £5,100 is wasted; I do not think it is desirable that we should pay this money to *Hansard* in order to get these re-copies, for practically they are re-copies, from other papers, issued to the public, too, one month or so after the speeches have been delivered in the House. Now, as the hon. Member for Canterbury (Mr. Henniker Heaton) pointed out, there is a weekly publication of *The Times'* reports, which is issued, I think, on Mondays. I think the price is 25s. for the Session. These reports I have generally seen quoted by hon. Gentlemen on this side of the House. It seems to me that, instead of enhancing this

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payment of £5,000 to *Hansard*, we should content ourselves with these reports of *The Times*, and that we ought to encourage *The Times* to report Members who speak at a late hour a little more fully by saying that we will take a considerable number of copies of their weekly publication. If we took, for instance, 1,000 copies, that would cost a little over £1,000. Take 2,000 copies if you like; that would cost a little over £2,000. A copy might then be given to each Member of the House. There is no particular reason for inundating us with Blue Books. The hon. Baronet the Member for Hereford (Sir Joseph Bailey) said he did not read one-tenth of the Parliamentary Papers. I do not read one-fiftieth part of them, and I hope I never shall. But these debates are of greater importance than many Blue Books; and if we are supplied with Blue Books it seems reasonable we should be supplied with a weekly record of what takes place in this House. That would take 670 copies. The rest of the copies might be distributed—I see you now take 120 copies; I presume you want them for the Public Offices—amongst the Public Offices and the public libraries and mechanics' institutes of the country. I would, therefore, venture to suggest to the Government to take into consideration the expediency, both on financial and many other grounds, of putting an end to the arrangement with *Hansard*, and of resting satisfied with the report in *The Times*. Instead of spending £5,000, as now for *Hansard*, we might spend about £2,000, which would insure that at the end of each week each Member of the House would be supplied with a record of what transpired in the week, and that a certain number of copies would be sent to mechanics' institutes, public libraries, and other similar establishments.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.): The hon. Gentleman the Member for the Scotland Division of Liverpool (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) has raised the question of the printing contracts, and I think he very properly laid stress upon the desirability of submitting the work to public competition. The printing contracts expire at the end of this year, and the new contracts have been submitted to public competition. Fresh contracts have been accepted, with the result that a very

large expenditure has been saved. The new contracts are for 10 years. They come into force on the 1st of January, 1887; and, compared with the prices paid in 1880, they show a saving of over £15,000 a-year in printing alone. In addition to that, there must be added £4,300 saved yearly on the paper, which has hitherto been provided by the contractors, but which will in future be provided by the Stationery Office. I ought to say that, in addition to that, special contracts have been made for printing Provisional Orders, Bills before the House, and matters of that description, and also the printing for the Foreign Office. With regard to the first, the contract which has been made shows a saving of £1,000 a-year; and with respect to the latter, a saving of £1,500 a-year has been effected. I ought to say also that an arrangement has been made for the sale of the Government publications. This contract was also submitted to public competition, and has been let to the highest bidder. By this contract we shall derive an income of between £3,000 and £4,000 a-year. These contracts have, according to the Rules of the House, been laid on the Table. The hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) spoke about the cost of *Hansard*. I believe the minimum price paid to *Hansard* is £3,000 a-year for six volumes, and £500 for each additional volume. That is the most recent arrangement which has been made. So far as the printing of the House is concerned, I may say it has been subjected to very close examination. My immediate Predecessor (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) took very great interest in the matter, and I believe the general opinion is that it has been put upon a very satisfactory basis.

MR. LABOUCHERE: After the explanation, or rather non-explanation, of this Vote by the hon. Gentleman, after the statement that both the hon. Gentleman and his immediate Predecessor regard the present arrangement as satisfactory, I must move to reduce the Vote, in order to enable those Members who do not take that Utopian view to express it. *Hansard* is an absolute waste of at least £3,000 per annum. We can get the same thing, as I have already pointed out, and as the hon. Gentleman the Member for the Scotland Division of Liverpool (Mr. T. P. O'Connor)

knows perfectly well, for £2,000, and have, in addition, nearly 2,000 copies of the report to distribute among museums and free libraries and mechanics' institutes. I cannot understand how anyone knowing what *Hansard* is, knowing what a compilation it is, can assent to the expenditure of this large sum of money. *Hansard* picks up the reports of speeches here, there, and everywhere, and reprints them a month afterwards. It is a publication which hardly anyone reads, except those who want to quote from it; and, therefore, to say that the arrangement is the most satisfactory we can make, and that we are to continue it for ever, does not seem to me to accord with plain common sense. I, therefore, beg to move the reduction of the Vote by the sum of £5,150.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £236,274, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1887, for Stationery, Printing, and Paper, Binding, and Printed Books for the several Departments of Government in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and some Dependencies, and for the two Houses of Parliament, and for the Salaries and Expenses of the Establishment of the Stationery Office, and the cost of Stationery Office Publications, and of the Gazette Offices; and for Sundry Miscellaneous Services, including a Grant in Aid of the publication of Parliamentary Debates."—(Mr. Labouchere.)

MR. HENNIKER HEATON: As *Hansard* is admitted to be obsolete, and that *The Times* publication has taken its place, I think the hon. Gentleman who has charge of this Vote might give us an assurance that some alteration will be made in the publication of *Hansard*. I think it would meet the views of hon. Members if the hon. Gentleman gave us the assurance that *Hansard* will be published, if not daily, certainly weekly—that, in fact, it will become what the Americans call a "live paper."

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR: I should like to put the Committee in possession of a few facts which I think will clearly prove to the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) and the hon. Member for Canterbury (Mr. Henniker Heaton) that they are making an entirely impossible demand. The publication of *Hansard* is certainly too much delayed; but, surely, hon. Gentlemen know the reason why. *Hansard* is obliged to send

every Member a proof of his speech; he gives each Member three or four days in which to correct his proof, and he is not able to go to press until the time during which a Member has the right to read his proof has elapsed. They might go to press the day after a debate, so far as I am concerned, because I never take the trouble of opening the proof. But my hon. Friend (Mr. Labouchere) misunderstands the reason why I do that. I object to *Hansard's* report at present, because it is a mixture of incompatibles—in one part it gives information at full length, in another part it gives information in an abbreviated form. I say that is an absurd arrangement, which deprives *Hansard* of the value it otherwise would have. My hon. Friend, who is himself an experienced journalist, says we should get the reports supplied from *The Times*. I do not wish to say anything against *The Times*; its weekly reports are very excellent; but, at the same time, they are not as good as those in *Hansard*, and for this reason. It very often happens you find in a Provincial paper a better report of a particular speech than you find in *The Times*, and this report *Hansard* uses. I do not know whether there is a daily paper or not in Northampton; but I am perfectly sure that valuable as are the hon. Gentleman's remarks, and interesting as they evidently must be to everybody, you will find in the newspapers of Northampton a rather fuller and better report of his speeches—[Mr. LABOUCHERE: No.]—than you find in the columns of *The Times*. Then I must say my hon. Friend does not do his duty by the Northampton Press, or the Northampton Press does not do its duty to the hon. Member for Northampton. If I were to deliver a speech in this House I think I should have a much better chance of finding a good report in one of the Liverpool papers than in *The Times* newspaper. *Hansard* gets the best report wherever he can find it; if he can find a good report of the speech of the hon. Member for Northampton in a Northampton paper he extracts it. Look at the position my hon. Friend would put us in. All the London Members, all Ministers and ex-Ministers, would be sure of good reports, because *The Times* gives them good reports; but the unfortunate Gentlemen who represent Provincial constituencies, who have some

Mr. Labouchere

chance now of cutting a very decent figure, because *Hansard* takes the trouble of going to Provincial newspapers in order to find the best reports, would receive very scant fare indeed. I do not think *Hansard* is everything it should be; but I think we should be taking a step entirely in the wrong direction if we deprived him of the sum he now receives. I shall, reluctantly, be obliged on this occasion to go into the Lobby against my hon. Friend (Mr. Labouchere).

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 30; Noes 176: Majority 146.—(Div. List, No. 21.)

Original Question again proposed.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR: I had some twinges of conscience on finding myself in the Lobby for the purpose of helping to keep up here an increase of public expenditure, and I wish to say just one thing—namely, that if my hon. Friend (Mr. Labouchere) had proposed to reduce the amount of the Printed Paper Account I should have been very glad to go into the Lobby with him. I agree with the hon. Baronet (Sir Joseph Bailey) when he said that the supply of Blue Books ought to be largely reduced, and I hope that some step will be taken in that direction before long. I understand it is the fact that not only do some hon. Members never read their Blue Books, but that they actually sell them for a certain sum per annum to the booksellers. ["Oh, oh!"] I understand that to be the case; but I do not pronounce any opinion upon such conduct. I may say that I myself have received circulars from law stationers, offering me as much as £6 if I would sell my Blue Books to them. I have not hitherto closed with any of these offers; but I think it very possible that other hon. Members of a more mercantile turn of mind may have done so, looking upon it as a recognized perquisite of hon. Members to turn these Papers to account. I pronounce no opinion upon this proceeding; but I certainly consider it a monstrous thing that the country should be asked to spend £80,000 for stationery, a large portion of it being devoted to the supply of books which, as I say, may subsequently be sold for one-third of their value to some enterprising law stationer or bookseller. I would not, at this hour of the morning (1 o'clock), put

the Committee to the trouble of a division; but I would say that the first opportunity I have, after to-night, of taking action in this matter, I shall move to have it reduced by one-half, and to have some stop put to this enormous and terrible burden upon the taxpayer.

COLONEL NOLAN (Galway, N.): I also have a proposal to make; but mine would not lead to the imposition of a very heavy burden upon the taxpayer, unless it were combined with that of my hon. Friend the Member for the Scotland Division of Liverpool (Mr. T. P. O'Connor). I think it a great pity that Members should not be supplied with a copy of the proceedings of the House. In all other Assemblies, unless I am very much mistaken, the Members are supplied with copies of the report of the proceedings of their branch of the Legislature; and I, therefore, think that we should have either copies of *Hansard's Debates*, or of *The Times'* reports, purchased and circulated amongst us. That could be done without extra expense if you suppressed the distribution of a certain number of Blue Books. In my own case, fully three-fourths of the Blue Books which I receive are quite useless to me, and I think that many other Members of the House will agree with me as to the uselessness of some of these publications. I think it would be a very good Member indeed who read even a fourth of the Blue Books sent to him; and I am, therefore, not ashamed of myself for not wading through all this official matter. It seems to me that it is essential that Members should be supplied with the proceedings of the House; I do not think they should be expected to pay a single shilling out of their own pockets for this purpose; and therefore I would urge upon the Government to seriously consider whether these reports should not be supplied. A copy of *Hansard* would be £5 5s.; but a copy of *The Times'* reports would only be £1 5s.; and either of them would be more useful to us than the enormous supply of Blue Books we receive. I hope the Government will take this matter into their consideration.

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.): On this Vote of £80,000 there is a point to which I should like to call the attention of the hon. Gentleman who is now in charge of the Estimates (Mr. Jackson). I do not wish to discuss the matter to-night; but

I would just draw attention to the fact that an enormous sum is set down here, and that we are furnished with no details with regard to it. We do not know how much is spent on note paper, how much on printing, and so forth. This is a very slovenly way of making out the Estimate. We ought to know the details, and we ought to have information as to what public officer is responsible for the contracts. I have noticed in this House of late an immense falling-off in the quality of the note paper. I do not complain of that quality; but I should like to know if a less price is paid for the paper than formerly? Would the hon. Member (Mr. Jackson) tell us who is responsible for the contract? I wish to give Notice to the hon. Gentleman that there is a very important question under this Vote to which I wish to draw especial attention—namely, the Brehon Laws Report, and the manner in which it is edited. I have not the papers with me just now to enable me to go into the question; and I therefore think it would be better to reserve my observations on the subject until we reach the Report. I beg to give Notice that on the Report I will call attention to this matter. I consider it desirable to raise a question as to these Brehon Laws, as I look upon the whole thing as a job.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.): I would point out that a large number of Papers are issued only on demand. There are many Papers relating to Ireland which are only to be obtained by a Member when he takes the trouble to ask for them. No doubt an enormous number of volumes of Papers are issued without being asked for, and Members never take the trouble to read them. What I would suggest is that all Papers should be made Papers only obtainable on demand, so that if an hon. Member wanted to read the Papers relating to a certain subject he would be obliged to take the trouble to go to the Vote Office to obtain what he required. In this way a great saving might be effected.

Original Question put, and agreed to.

Resolutions to be reported.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £10,043, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending

Mr. Dillon

on the 31st day of March 1887, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Office of Her Majesty's Woods, Forests, and Land Revenues, and of the Office of Land Revenue Records and Inrolments."

Mr. DILLON (Mayo, E.): I should like the hon. Member opposite (Mr. Jackson) to make me some reply to the observations I have just addressed to him.

THE CHAIRMAN: There is a new Vote before the Committee—namely, £10,043, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Office of Her Majesty's Woods, Forests, and Land Revenues, and of the Office of Land Revenue Records and Inrolments.

Mr. DILLON: I move to report Progress.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(Mr. Dillon.)

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL) (Paddington, S.): If it is the wish of the Committee to break off work at this hour it will not be the desire of the Government to offer opposition; but the hour is early. ["Oh, oh!"] I would remind hon. Gentlemen that Progress to-night has not been very great. We have only succeeded in obtaining 12 Votes, although yesterday, beginning as late as 9 o'clock, we got 16. However, I merely point out the fact that progress to night has been slow, and that, in my opinion, the hour is not sufficiently late for us to stop work; but if it is the wish of the Committee that we should stop, the Government will agree to report Progress, only hoping that the Committee will be inclined to assist us next week by sitting to a later hour and making more rapid progress.

Mr. DILLWYN (Swansea, Town): I think we ought to correct the impression which appears to be gaining ground that the hour (1.15 A.M.) is very early to be leaving off. Of late years it seems to be assumed that we are to go on with the Estimates to a much later hour than that which we have reached—it is assumed that there is some unwritten rule or law that requires us to do so. But I would point out that that is not the old practice. It used to be the reverse some years ago; we used to think 12 or half-past 12 quite late enough for work

of this kind, even when the Committee was not Committee of Supply. When I first came into the House that used to be the practice. We used to take Supply up to 12 or half-past 12, and then adjourn. I have referred to the authority we all look to on these matters—namely, to *Hansard*, and I have come across some of the old debates which occurred on Motions for the Adjournment. The very first volume I opened was the one containing the debates on July 25, 1855. I find that on the Civil Service Estimates, when Progress was reported, Lord Palmerston said he would not ask the House to take a Vote which would lead to discussion at that time of night—namely, shortly after midnight. The noble Lord opposite (Lord Randolph Churchill), in assenting to the adjournment, expresses a hope that we may sit later in the future. I merely wish to call attention to the new practice which seems to be coming into vogue, and to point out what used to be the old practice.

MR. TOMLINSON (Preston): The wish on this side of the House is that we should sit later. After to-night we have two days' rest before us.

Question put, and agreed to.

Resolutions to be reported upon *Monday* next.

Committee also report Progress; to sit again upon *Monday* next.

SUPPLY.—REPORT.

Resolutions [9th September] reported.

MR. CLANCY (Dublin Co., N.): Perhaps the hon. Member the Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson) has been able to fulfil the undertaking which he gave last night with regard to the insertion of advertisements in certain newspapers. I complained that, although Government advertisements in Ireland were given to Castle newspapers, they were, as a rule, denied to the Nationalist newspapers. In a letter I received from Ireland to-day I am informed that *The Morning News* of Belfast, which is one of the leading newspapers of the town, and which represents not only the Nationalist Party in Belfast, but in the whole of Ulster, is denied any share whatever in the Government advertisements. Other papers, such as *The Northern Whig*, which, as is indicated by its name, is an Orange organ, and *The*

Belfast News Letter, receive all the advertisements. I believe it is the fact that the most widely circulated Nationalist newspapers—weekly newspapers—published in Dublin, never get a single one of these advertisements. That is an unfortunate circumstance, and it is disadvantageous to the Government, who desire to have their advertisements widely circulated, because the Nationalist papers circulate amongst the farmers, and are read by the vast majority of the people. *The Daily Express*, which is one of the papers receiving the Government advertisements, is a paper which contains all information relating to Civil Service examinations, Land Commissions, and whatever else the Government have to do with; but the farmers never see a copy of it. I shall certainly move the reduction of this Vote unless I receive an assurance that fair play will take place in this matter.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.): In accordance with my promise to the hon. Member last night, I sent this morning for a list of the newspapers in Ireland to which these advertisements are given. I have here a list which I have received from the authorities, who assure me that, of course, they never take into account the politics of a newspaper in giving out their advertisements. [*Laughter.*] Hon. Gentlemen, I hope, will give me credit for good faith in this matter. The Civil Service Commissioners assure me that they never take into account the politics of these newspapers. At the same time, I have to say, in answer to the hon. Member, that I propose to go through a list of newspapers, and that if I find there are some which are widely circulated, which are read more than others, and through the medium of which our advertisements would receive a wider circulation, I shall endeavour to treat them fairly by giving them an adequate share of the advertisements. I suppose *The Freeman's Journal* may be taken to represent more or less the Nationalist side of the question.

MR. CLANCY: Is that the only one which receives the advertisements?

MR. JACKSON: I am afraid I cannot answer that question, as my knowledge of Irish newspapers is not very extensive. This is my list:—*The Belfast Northern Whig*, *The Belfast News Letter*, *The Cork Constitution*, *The Cork Exa-*

miner, The Dublin Daily Express, The Dublin Morning and Evening Mail, The Dublin Freeman's Journal, The Irish Times, The Londonderry Sentinel, The Tyrone Constitutional, The Waterford News, and The Galway Vindicator. I think the hon. Member will see that I have endeavoured, in the short space of time at my command, to carry out the promise I made him.

MR. CLANCY: The House will, perhaps, allow me to say that I consider the assurance of the hon. Gentleman satisfactory so far as it goes. I understand, however, that the list mentioned by the hon. Gentleman contains absolutely only one newspaper representing the Nationalist Party in Ireland. [An hon. MEMBER: No; two.] Well, then, two. I understand from the hon. Member that the present list, which contains only two Nationalist papers, will be revised, and that a fair proportion of the Nationalist newspapers will, in the future, get a share of the Government advertisements in Ireland. If this be the assurance of the hon. Gentleman, I will not press a Motion for the rejection of the Vote.

COLONEL NOLAN (Galway, N.): I point out that in Dublin, where the population is Nationalist, advertisements are given to two daily papers which are Conservative, and also to *The Freeman's Journal*; but in regard to Belfast the tendency of the Government officials is precisely the reverse; the advertisements are given to two daily papers there because the majority of the population is Conservative, and the Nationalist morning paper is left out.

First Fifteen Resolutions *agreed to.*

Sixteenth Resolution read a second time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House doth agree with the Committee in the said Resolution."—*(Mr. Jackson.)*

MR. M. J. KENNY (Tyrone, Mid): Perhaps the noble Lord the First Lord of the Admiralty will be in a position to reply to my Question with reference to the widow of a sailor which I put to him yesterday?

THE FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY (Lord GEORGE HAMILTON) (Middlesex, Ealing): I find that the case the hon. Member referred to has been before

the Admiralty on previous occasions, and it is quite clear that the rules and regulations relating to pensions do not apply to it. It is a case in which I should have been glad to show consideration if it had been possible. The man in question met with an accident whilst he was employed by the Admiralty. He died some time afterwards from typhoid fever; and there is little, if any, connection between his death and the accident alluded to. Unless death can be proved to be directly and immediately caused by the accident, no pension can be given to his wife and family. The rule is strict, and the Department insists in these cases, which, unfortunately, are not of unfrequent occurrence, that the Regulation should be observed. Therefore, I am unable, although I should have been glad if it had been in my power, to accede to the wish of the hon. Member for Mid Tyrone.

MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W., and Sligo, S.): I can assure the noble Lord that I should not have troubled him had I not convinced myself that the case is one that demanded a more favourable reply. The noble Lord informed us that in some cases the letter of the rule had been relaxed when the case demanded the concession. But, Sir, I do think this is a case in which there has been no relaxation of the letter of the rule; indeed, I am certain that it is so. This man was an Irishman who spent the prime and vigour of life in the service of the Queen. During 20 years in that service he met with two accidents; the second accident, which aggravated the effect of the first, occurred six months before his death. The man died of typhoid fever; but the medical man stated that the typhoid process was materially assisted by the injury he had received; in short, this gentleman made it as plain as it could be made that if the injury had not been received the result would not have been as stated. I say, Sir, it is a miserable quibble to put forward that the Act does not entitle the widow of this man, who had a long-service and a good-conduct medal, to a pension. Such, however, is the miserable spirit of this system that I protest against the Vote being taken, and inform the noble Lord that until this matter is redressed I shall divide against every similar Vote as long as I am a Member of this House.

Mr. Jackson

Question put.

The House divided :—Ayes 129 ; Noes 50 : Majority 79.—(Div. List, No. 22.)

DISTURBANCES AT BELFAST INQUIRY BILL.—[BILL 35.]

(*Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, Mr. Attorney General for Ireland, Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland.*)

COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (*Sir Michael Hicks-Beach*) (Bristol, W.): Sir, I wish to state to the House very shortly what is the result of the consideration given to this subject by the Government. The House will recollect that before we came into Office our Predecessors had appointed a Commission of three Gentlemen to inquire into the disturbances at Belfast. We had no reason to find fault with the composition of that Commission, except that it seemed desirable that there should be upon the Commission a Gentleman having experience of the management of police. That addition was made. Then we found there was a very general desire that, in order to make the inquiry complete, Parliament should be asked to confer certain powers upon the Commission which it did not at the time possess, and accordingly this Bill was introduced for that purpose. In the course of the debate on the second reading of the Bill, it appeared from statements made in various quarters of the House that there was a feeling that the construction of the Commission was not quite what might be desired, and also that a Commission vested with the powers proposed to be conferred by this Bill should be strengthened in what is called the judicial element. Well, Sir, I promised to consider these points, and I am able to state to the House that there is reason to suppose that we may be able to obtain the services of Mr. Justice Day, a man of great judicial experience, as Chairman of this Commission. If that proposal should commend itself to the House, we should be prepared, of course, to proceed with the Bill; if, on the other hand, it should not so commend itself, there is no desire on our part to press it upon the House, and least of all would I put forward the name of Mr. Justice Day if I thought

it would be made the subject of criticism on the floor of this House upon any ground of partiality or personal feeling. Having made this brief statement, I venture to hope that the Bill may commend itself to hon. Members on both sides of the House.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."—(*Sir Michael Hicks-Beach.*)

MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W., and Sligo, S.): Mr. Speaker, the announcement made by the Chief Secretary for Ireland as to the proposed alteration of the Belfast Commission has taken us, of course, entirely by surprise. The right hon. Gentleman makes an announcement of a very important character, and wants us to agree to it at once. I submit to him that we ought to have time to consider whether the Chairmanship of Mr. Justice Day will, in our opinion, militate against the object we have in view. We shall certainly have to consider the matter, and I ask the right hon. Gentleman to allow us to give our decision on Monday.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: I did not say that Mr. Justice Day would be appointed to the Commission, but that I had reason to believe he would be willing to give his services. With regard to the proposal of the hon. Member, I hope he will allow the Speaker to leave the Chair, and then we will at once move to report Progress. I wish it clearly to be understood that we will not proceed with this Bill as a contested measure, and that if hon. Members cannot bring themselves to accept the proposal we make the Bill will not be pressed.

MR. SEXTON: Sir, I wish to point out that if you leave the Chair now it would be impossible for us on Monday to state our reasons for objection. On the other hand, it would be open to us to do so if the debate were adjourned till Monday.

SIR JAMES CORRY (Armagh, Mid): Sir, I heartily approve the announcement made by the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, and therefore hope this Bill will be allowed to proceed.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.): Sir, I was perfectly satisfied with the original announcement of the right hon. Gentleman; but I think that

the Commission should command the confidence, not of the people of Great Britain alone, but of the Catholic element in Belfast. I am not in a position to say whether or not the appointment of Mr. Justice Day will go in the direction I have indicated. I am quite unwilling to suppose that it will not; but we cannot shut out the religious question in this matter; and unless the presence of Mr. Justice Day will strengthen the Commission in the sense of commanding the confidence of the Catholics, I think it would be very much better that the Commission should stand as it is.

Question put, and *agreed to*.

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Motion made, and Question, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again,"—(*Sir Michael Hicks-Beach*,)—put, and *agreed to*.

Committee report Progress; to sit again upon *Monday* next.

MOTIONS.

EXPIRING LAWS CONTINUANCE BILL.

On Motion of Sir Herbert Maxwell, Bill to continue various Expiring Laws, *ordered* to be brought in by Sir Herbert Maxwell and Mr. Jackson.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 46.]

TENANTS' RELIEF (IRELAND) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Parnell, Bill for the temporary relief of Agricultural Tenants in Ireland, for the admission of certain Leaseholders to the Land Act of 1881; and for other purposes, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Parnell, Mr. Sexton, Mr. Dillon, Mr. T. P. O'Connor, Mr. Pinkerton, and Mr. Mahony.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 47.]

House adjourned at Two o'clock till Monday next.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Monday, 13th September, 1886.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILL—*Second Reading*—Secret Service (Repeal) (15).

SECRET SERVICE (REPEAL) BILL.

(*The Marquess of Salisbury*.)

(No. 15.) SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

Mr. T. W. Russell

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (*The Marquess of Salisbury*), in moving that the Bill be read a second time, said, that it was one to repeal a Statute passed many years ago for the regulation of the expenditure of a Secret Service Fund, which was fixed by the Statute at a sum of £10,000 a-year. There was a discussion raised in the House of Commons during the last Session, and the distribution of the Fund by the Parliamentary Secretary was much commented upon. It was supposed that the money was used for purposes not suitable to the Secret Service. On investigation it was discovered that that was not now the case, and that as far as it could not be used for the Secret Service it was devoted to the payment of messengers, and so on. But, upon the whole, it had been thought desirable that the Statute, in respect to which many very unnecessary suspicions had been raised, should be repealed, and that a necessary sum should be placed under the control of Parliament by an Estimate in each year, like the Civil Service Estimates. There had been no opposition to the Bill in the other House, and he trusted that it would not meet with any in their Lordships' House.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2^d."
—(*The Marquess of Salisbury*.)

Motion *agreed to*; Bill read 2^d accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on *Thursday* next.

House adjourned at half past Four o'clock, to *Thursday* next,
Two o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Monday, 13th September, 1886.

MINUTES.]—SUPPLY—*considered in Committee* — CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES; CLASS II. — SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS; Votes 25 to 35, inclusive; 37, 40, and 42; CLASS III. — LAW AND JUSTICE, Vote 21.

Resolutions [September 10] *reported*.

PUBLIC BILL — *Committee* — *Report* — *Third Reading*—Submarine Telegraph Act (1886) •
Amendment [45], and *passed*.

QUESTIONS.

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—
COURT OF BANKRUPTCY—MR. C. H.
JAMES, LATE OFFICIAL ASSIGNEE.

MR. P. McDONALD (Sligo, N.) asked Mr. Attorney General for Ireland, Does it appear by the books of Mr. C. H. James, late Official Assignee of the Court of Bankruptcy in Ireland, that he received as per centages in the year 1868 the sum of £3,104, and that he only returned in the Parliamentary Return of that year £2,320; that in the following year he received £3,011, and only returned £2,616, thereby suppressing in the two years £1,189; does it further appear that these suppressions continued undetected down to the date of his dismissal; does it appear that many of the sums and undivided balances of long standing found due by him by the Treasury Remembrancer were suppressed by the said late Official Assignee from the annual Parliamentary Returns; and, were these Returns, as required by the statute, certified to Parliament as being correct by the Chief Registrar of the Court; and, if so, what steps the Government mean to take to render these officers amenable for their conduct?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (MR. HOLMES) (Dublin University): There was no book kept in the office of Mr. James containing an account of the percentages received by him in the years 1868 and 1869. I am, however, informed that after Mr. James left Ireland his son brought from his father's house, and handed to the principal assistant in the office, a book in which such an account was entered. This, with all the other books in the office, was handed over to the Treasury investigators; but it was not returned by them, and cannot now be found. I am, therefore, unable to answer the first part of the Question. It appears that many of the sums and undivided balances of long standing found by the Treasury Remembrancer to be due by Mr. James were suppressed by him from his annual Parliamentary Returns. These Returns were certified to Parliament by the Chief Registrar; but I am informed that this officer did not conceive that by such certificate he was vouching the accuracy of the Returns, but merely

that they were the Returns required to be made by the Statute. This was the view taken long before the present Chief Registrar came into office in 1872, and I am of opinion it is in accordance with the terms of the Act.

LABOURERS (IRELAND) ACT—SLIGO
UNION—INQUIRY UNDER
THE ACT.

MR. P. McDONALD (Sligo, N.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the elected Guardians of Clifony North, Clifony South, Lisadell West, and of other divisions of the Sligo Union, received notice to attend the inquiry held on the 30th of August at Sligo Workhouse by the Local Government Inspector, Captain Sampson, into the necessity of erecting labourers' cottages in certain divisions of that union; whether it is mandatory on the Inspector to send such notice 14 days before to all parties interested—namely, the occupiers, the labourers who have made application, and to the sanitary authorities of the union, as well as to the landlords and *ex-officio* Guardians; and, whether, if such due notice has not been given, the Government will cause another inquiry to be held, so as to give the labourers an opportunity of making good their case, in order that the cottages which may be approved of shall be erected before the ensuing winter?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH) (Bristol, W.), in reply, said, he was informed that the course of procedure indicated by the hon. Member was not that required by the Act. It was the practice of the Local Government Board to give notice of a pending inquiry, and the Board of Guardians were, at the same time, informed by letter that if they were prepared to offer any evidence in support of their case they might do so. It was not necessary for the Inspector conducting the inquiry to give any further notice. On the occasion referred to the usual notices were given; and he understood a small number of the Guardians attended, and stated that the proposed cottages could not be erected. The Local Government Board proposed to consult their legal adviser as to what should be done in the case, and the Guardians will be directed in the matter.

THE HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE—RE-
TURNS OF COST AND RECEIPTS
FOR THE SEVERAL DIVISIONS.

MR. TOMLINSON (Preston) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether Her Majesty's Government would object to make an amended Return, pursuant to s. 38 of "The Supreme Court of Judicature Act, 1875" (38 & 39 *Vict.* c. 77), so as to show separately, in respect to each Division of the High Court of Justice, the actual cost of the administration of Justice in such Division and the amount of the stamps and fees received from suitors and applicants in the same Division?

THE SECRETARY (MR. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.): I am afraid I cannot adopt this suggestion. There would be great difficulty in giving separate accounts of the receipts and expenditure in the several Divisions of the High Court. Many of the administrative departments of the Court perform services for all the Divisions; and it would be almost impossible to accurately separate in each case the receipts and expenditure properly applicable to each Division.

MR. TOMLINSON asked if any approximation could be arrived at?

MR. JACKSON said, he would consider the matter.

PURCHASE OF LAND (IRELAND) ACT,
1855, SEC. 23—PURCHASERS OF GLEBE
LANDS.

MR. M. J. KENNY (Tyrone, Mid) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he can state how many applications have been made by purchasers of glebe lands in Ireland pursuant of the 23rd section of the Purchase of Land (Ireland) Act, 1855, to the Irish Land Commission, and if he can state the principal sum upon which the reduced rate of interest therein specified is now payable; if he can state the amount of outstanding purchase-money and interest now in arrears on account of glebe lands; if he is aware that sub-section 3 of section 23 of the above Act, which necessitates the payment in full of all interest on simple mortgage debts and all instalments due upon debts secured by an "instalment mortgage" before an order for the redemption of the rate of interest on the amount remaining due can be made, renders it impossible for the greater

portion of glebe purchasers to avail themselves of the advantages provided in the Act; if the Church surplus money, voted by Parliament for the relief of ordinary tenants under "The Arrears of Rent (Ireland) Act, 1882," was derived in part from the payments of glebe purchasers who have themselves received no corresponding relief; and, whether Her Majesty's Government is prepared to give effect to the claims of the glebe purchasers by cancelling all sums outstanding and over six months in arrears, and thus allowing them to partake of the benefit of reduced annual payments provided by Parliament?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH) (Bristol, W.): Seven hundred and forty applications have been received from instalment mortgagors for the advantages provided by the 23rd section; but in 85 of these cases the necessary conditions as to payment of arrears had not been complied with. In 1,132 cases the interest on "simple mortgages" has been reduced from 4 to 3½ per cent. In 362 cases of this kind the reduction has been postponed on account of the non-payment of arrears as required by the Act. The principal sum on which the reduced rate of interest is now payable is £300,213. The total arrear on March 31 last was £40,963. It is a mistake to suppose that, as alleged in the Question, the conditions laid down by the Act render it impossible for the greater portion of glebe purchasers to avail themselves of its advantages. The records of the Land Commission show that 597 out of 2,834, or about one in five of the glebe purchasers, are so affected. The sum borrowed under the Arrears Act was secured on the Church revenue, which is only to a small extent derived from payments by purchasers under the Church Act. The proposal to cancel arrears due by the glebe purchasers would not, I think, be fair to those who have paid their instalments; but I have already promised to look into this question after the end of the Session, and I will certainly endeavour to do so.

MIDLAND GREAT WESTERN RAILWAY
(IRELAND)—POOR HARVESTMEN.

MR. J. F. X. O'BRIEN (Mayo, S.) asked the Secretary to the Board of Trade, If he will use whatever influence or authority he possesses with the Mid

land Great Western Railway (Ireland) Company to induce them to make better provision for the poor harvestmen carried on their line, and for traffic accommodation for fairs, markets, &c.?

THE SECRETARY (Baron HENRY DE WORMS) (Liverpool, East Toxteth): The form in which the hon. Member has asked his Question seems to show that he is aware that the Board of Trade have no authority to intervene in the conduct and management of the traffic, which is a matter for which the Railway Company is responsible. I have little doubt, however, that a proper representation made to the Company would meet with due attention.

WAR OFFICE—THE FIRST ARMY CORPS.

MAJOR GENERAL GOLDSWORTHY (Hammersmith) asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether the First Army Corps is complete in every particular, and ready for service; if not, whether he will arrange for its being placed on a proper footing?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): During my short term of Office last year I gave my serious attention to the condition of our two First Army Corps, and I have now before me the Reports of the Departmental Committees which I then appointed to examine into the subject. The Intelligence Department is now engaged in collating these Reports, and in pointing out the deficiencies which exist. I think that with my present knowledge it would be inexpedient to make any definite statement in reply to the hon. and gallant Member's Question.

LAW AND JUSTICE (ENGLAND AND WALES) — THE MAGISTRATES OF DARTFORD—SEVERE SENTENCES.

MR. SHIRLEY (Yorkshire, W.R., Doncaster) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether his attention has been called to another severe sentence awarded by the Dartford magistrates in the case of a cripple named Phillips who, on Saturday September 4th, was awarded a month's hard labour for destroying his clothes; whether he is aware that one of the Dartford magistrates, who is of Her Majesty's counsel, has frequently pro-

tested against the severity of his colleagues in dealing with the cases which come before them; and, whether the Government propose to take any steps in the matter?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): I have obtained a Report from the Dartford Justices with regard to this case. I am told that the Justices added "hard labour" to the sentence with the intention and belief that the Prison Authorities, acting on the advice of the medical officer, would put the prisoner to such labour only as was compatible with his physical state. I think the medical officer's discretion can well be trusted in such a matter. I am informed by the learned Queen's Counsel referred to that it is not the case that he has frequently protested against the severity of his colleagues, though he has had occasion to differ from them on questions of costs and points of law. The question of re-constituting the Bench rests with the Lord Chancellor; but I am aware of no reason for calling his attention to the matter.

EXCISE DEPARTMENT—INLAND REVENUE OFFICERS.

MR. TOMLINSON (Preston) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether Her Majesty's Government are taking, or contemplate taking, any steps with a view to giving further consideration to the grievances of the Inland Revenue Officers of the Excise Department?

THE SECRETARY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.): The case of the Excise officers has been fully considered by the present Chancellor of the Exchequer and myself. We have personally gone into all the questions raised by the officers, and have come to the deliberate conclusion that the Service has received fair and liberal consideration, and that no substantial ground for complaint exists.

LABOURERS' (IRELAND) ACT — THE KILMALLOCK GUARDIANS—INQUIRY UNDER THE ACT.

MR. FINUCANE (Limerick, E.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether Mr. Posnett, Local Government Board Arbitrator under the Labourers' Act, held an inquiry in Kilmallock Union on the 3rd of last August;

if so, has he sent his draft award yet to the said Union; and, if not, for what reason; and, will he be directed to do so immediately, so as to enable the Kilmallock Guardians to proceed at once with the erection of the labourers' cottages?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH) (Bristol, W.) in reply, said, Mr. Posnett's Report in this case had not yet been received; but attention had been called to the matter.

LUNACY LAWS—LEGISLATION.

MR. W. J. CORBET (Wicklow, E.) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, What are the intentions of Government with reference to the amendment of the Lunacy Laws; and, whether the Bill of last Session, which passed the Lords and was read a first time in this House, will be proceeded with next year; and, if so, whether it will be extended to Ireland?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): I have nothing to add to the statements made by the Under Secretary of State for the Home Department during the discussion on the Estimates on Friday last—namely, that it was the intention of the Government to proceed with legislation on the subject. It will be a matter for consideration whether this legislation shall extend to Ireland and Scotland.

RAILWAYS (IRELAND)—PARSONS-TOWN AND PORTUMNA BRIDGE RAILWAY.

MR. HARRIS (Galway, E.) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether the Parsonstown and Portumna Bridge Railway is now derelict; that everything removable and of value is being taken away, such as timber, cut stone, iron rails, &c.; and, whether the Government Loan Commissioners had charge of it for five years, and at the expiration of that time they removed the five caretakers engaged in its protection, and allowed the station house, sheds, and rails to be made objects of plunder; and, if so, will the Government do anything to protect all that remains of the property, with a view to its future utilisation?

THE SECRETARY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.): The hon. Member's information as to the present state of this

unfortunate line is, no doubt, more complete than mine. The Loan Commissioners held it as mortgagees in possession for five years, and during that time preserved it from dilapidation in the hope of obtaining a purchaser; but, in 1883, failing all their attempts at selling it, they withdrew from possession. They do not consider themselves justified in spending any money upon it unless in some reasonable hope of a return. May I suggest that the hon. Member should help us to some arrangement for taking up and working the undertaking.

MR. HARRIS: Do I understand the hon. Gentleman to say that the railway is to be left there derelict without anybody taking care of it?

MR. JACKSON: I am afraid, if we can find no purchaser, there is no other means of disposing of it.

INDIA (NORTH-WEST PROVINCES)—NAYAT ALI KHAN.

SIR THOMAS ESMONDE (Dublin Co., S.) asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether Nayat Ali Khan, brother of the Nawab of Maler Kotla in the Punjab, was deprived in the year 1872 by the Indian Government of judicial and police powers within his own Jaghires; whether Nayat Ali Khan was divested of these powers during his minority and without his consent or knowledge; whether that Jaghirdars do exercise judicial and police powers within their own Jaghires; and, whether Mr. Kavanagh memorialised the Indian Government and the Secretary of State for India on behalf of Nayat Ali Khan, and upon what grounds were the memorials rejected?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JOHN GOSER) (Chatham): Prior to 1872, by an old barbarous usage, each descendant of the original Nawab of Kotla exercised semi-independent powers in the jagirs which fell to his lot. The result was, as might be expected, perpetual conflict of authority and continual disputes and hostility between the various members of the family. To put an end to this state of things the Government of India, in 1872, centred all jurisdiction, criminal and civil, in the hands of the Head of the State alone. Nayat Ali Khan, at that time a boy of 12, was liberally provided for, and it was arranged that he should, on coming of age, exercise such police and civil

Mr. Finucane

powers as his brother the Nawab might delegate to him. In 1882 Mr. Kavanagh memorialized the Secretary of State, and was advised that his client should address himself to the Government of India. It appeared afterwards that this course had been adopted by Nayat Ali Khan; but his Memorial had been rejected for the reasons of State above-mentioned, which were fully explained to him.

THE CIVIL SERVICE—THE PLAYFAIR SCHEME.

SIR GUYER HUNTER (Hackney, Central) (for Mr. PULESTON) (Devonport) asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether any conclusion has been arrived at with reference to the reconsideration of the Playfair Scheme of the Civil Service; and, if so, whether it can be stated to the House?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL) (Paddington, S.): The operation of the Playfair Scheme has long been the subject of controversy, and various classes of public servants have, from time to time, found cause to object to its operation, and have enlisted more or less sympathy in the House of Commons with their complaints. The Government are of opinion that the time has arrived when the operation of this Scheme may be usefully and comprehensively inquired into. But they are also of opinion that it may conveniently form part of the general inquiry with reference to the whole of the Civil Service Establishments, which they have decided immediately to initiate. I may, therefore, be permitted to take this opportunity of stating to the House that the Government have determined to appoint a Royal Commission to investigate the Public Departments of the State, more particularly with regard to their clerical establishments. I will lay on the Table of the House this evening a Minute of the Treasury which sets forth at some length the grounds for the initiation of this most important inquiry. Perhaps the House will allow me to quote two paragraphs from the Minute, which will give the House fully and clearly the Reference to the Commission—

"The Commission will inquire into the number, salaries, hours of labour, superannuation, costs of the staff, and the administration, regulation, and organization of the said offices.

They will state whether, in their opinion, the work of the different Offices is efficiently and economically performed, whether it can be simplified, whether the method of procedure can be improved, and whether the system of control is deficient or unnecessarily elaborate. As 10 years have now elapsed since the adoption of the Playfair Commission, the time has come when the working of the Scheme may with advantage be reviewed. The Commission will, therefore, report whether the Scheme has been fairly tried, whether its provisions have met the requirements of the Service and deserve confirmation, and whether any modifications are needed to give complete development. Lastly, they will examine the non-effective charge of the Civil Service, and advise whether the present pension scale and regulations are equitable alike to the State and to its servants."

I am also in a position to state the names of the Commissioners. They will be Sir Matthew White Ridley (Chairman), Earl Brownlow, Lord Lingen, Lord Rothschild, the Right Hon. G. Selater-Booth, M.P., the Right Hon. Henry H. Fowler, M.P., Mr. Charles Lewis, M.P., Mr. Arthur O'Connor, M.P., Mr. Peter Rylands, M.P., Sir Edward Guinness, Mr. J. Cleghorn (Director of the North-Eastern Railway), Mr. A. S. Harvey (Secretary to Messrs. Glyn, Mills, and Co.), Mr. A. B. Mitford, C.B. (late Assistant Commissioner of Public Works), and Mr. Walpole (Permanent Assistant Under Secretary at the India Office), who will be Secretary to the Commission.

ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY — DISTRICT INSPECTOR TILLY.

MR. COX (Clare, E.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether District Inspector Tilly of the Royal Irish Constabulary, at present stationed in Cavan, has served for 25 years in the rank of District Inspector; whether he has for three years in King's County, and nearly three years in county Cavan, discharged the duties of County Inspector in the absence of the County Inspectors of those counties; whether, in November last, it having come to Mr. Tilly's turn to be promoted to the rank of County Inspector, he received the following certificate, signed by the Inspector General of Constabulary, Deputy Inspector General, and the Commandant of the Royal Irish Constabulary Depot:—"An officer whose character, private and official, is above reproach;" whether, instead of receiving his promotion, he was in-

1. *What is the main purpose of the study?*
 2. *What are the research objectives?*
 3. *What is the research methodology?*
 4. *What are the findings of the study?*
 5. *What are the conclusions of the study?*
 6. *What are the limitations of the study?*
 7. *What are the implications of the study?*
 8. *What are the future research directions?*
 9. *What are the contributions of the study?*
 10. *What are the key words of the study?*

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THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
DO hereby certify that
the following is a true and correct
copy of the original as the same
appears in the records of the
Department of the Interior, Bureau of
Land Management, at Washington, D. C.
this 10th day of January, 1964.
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
BUREAU OF LAND MANAGEMENT
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20250

There is no other person of that name in the vicinity of the
 town and I have no other information of
 interest.

1. The first step is to identify the problem or question that needs to be answered. This involves understanding the context and the specific information required.

THE UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY,
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20548
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY
BUREAU OF THE MINT
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20548
TELEPHONE 204-5400
FACSIMILE 204-6221
MAIL ROOM 204-6222
RECORDS MANAGEMENT 204-6223
TRAINING 204-6224
GENERAL INVESTIGATIVE DIVISION
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FACSIMILE 204-6221
MAIL ROOM 204-6222
RECORDS MANAGEMENT 204-6223
TRAINING 204-6224

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THIS IS THE FIRST OF TWO PAGES
OF THE REPORT OF THE
COMMISSIONER OF THE GENERAL LAND OFFICE

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Mr. Jones said that the work will be finished in 1934. The completion was expected to be presented in the summer, which would be the completion of the work. The work was being done in the South Pacific.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE BY DOWNS

W. E. McFARLANE, Fernanago, S.
 or Mr. McFARLANE, Town, S. and
 the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieut.

tenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been directed to the series of outrages alleged to have been committed by "the Castlewellaan Conservative Flute Band" on its way from Rathfriland to Castlewellaan on Saturday the 28th August last; whether the members of the band remained for some time on the public street of Rathfriland, adjacent to the police barrack and in the presence of the police, cheering for "the Shankhill Lewis," "the Islandmen," "Harland and Haslett," and groaning for "Morley's Murderers;" whether the same party indulged in cursing the Pope and in firing off revolvers at frequent intervals on the public road leading from Rathfriland to Castlewellaan; whether complaints have been made that revolver shots had been fired by members of this band at Catholic houses in Letailian and Dromena, and at the Roman Catholic Church of Kilcor; and that several persons on and near the county road had very narrow escapes from the bullets so fired; and, what steps have been taken by the authorities to bring the offenders to justice?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. HOLMES) (Dublin University) (who replied) said: I have received Reports in reference to the matters referred to in the Question of the hon. Member which are not in accordance with all the statements contained therein; but as I will probably consider it necessary to direct legal proceedings, I do not think it would be right to discuss the details.

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS (IRELAND)—POLLING PLACES IN THE NORTH MONAGHAN DIVISION.

MR. P. O'BRIEN (Monaghan, N.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he is aware that the Parliamentary electors, numbering over 500, of Tullycorbett district, comprising 33 townlands of the North Monaghan Parliamentary Division, are obliged to travel to record their votes in the town of Monaghan, distances of from 8 to 10 miles, without either rail or tramway accommodation; and, whether he will take the necessary steps to cause an additional polling station to be held at Tullycorbett, where there is a commodious National School which would serve the purpose, and which would be

within five miles of the most remote parts of the district?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. HOLMES) (Dublin University) (who replied) said, the facts were as stated. As to the last portion of the Question, the late Law Advisers had advised that the Lord Lieutenant had no jurisdiction to add a new polling station by varying the order. He was consulted on the subject, and had concurred in that opinion.

ARMY (INDIA)—THE TROOPS AT QUETTA.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.) asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether there has been, and is, very excessive sickness among the Troops at Quetta; whether, before constructing the Railways to the Quetta District, Her Majesty's Government took steps to satisfy themselves that the climate of the Country at and about Quetta was favourable for the location of European and Native Troops, and with what result; whether, for barracks and offices, large sums have been spent at Quetta, which now proves to be unhealthy; whether there is any reason to suppose that healthy sites may be found; and, what is now proposed to be done?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JOHN GORST) (Chatham): Sir, during the 10 years, 1874 to 1883, there was no excessive sickness at Quetta; but in 1884, which was a year of abnormal sickness throughout India, there was. The Returns for 1885 have not yet been received. Her Majesty's Government occupied Quetta and made the railways on political rather than sanitary grounds. Quetta had already been occupied in the first Afghan War, and no special inquiry into the climate was therefore necessary. Large sums have been spent at Quetta on barracks and offices. In consequence of the abnormal sickness of 1884, the Bombay Sanitary Commissioner was sent to visit Quetta in 1885. This Report is now under the consideration of the Government of India, and until it is received at the India Office, I am unable to answer the further Questions.

POST OFFICE—TELEGRAPHIC COMMUNICATION WITH AUSTRALIA.

SIR SAMUEL WILSON (Portsmouth) asked the Secretary of State for the Colo-

nies, Whether, in view of the unsatisfactory state of the existing telegraphic communication between this Country and Australia, the Government will consider the question of an alternative route through Canada, with a cable from Vancouver City, the terminus of the Canadian Pacific Railway, to Australia?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. E. STANHOPE) (Lincolnshire, Horncastle): The subject of a telegraphic line from Vancouver to Australia has been brought under our notice by the Government of the Dominion, and I have promised to give it careful consideration. The expense involved appears, however, to be very great; and until the opinion of the Australasian Colonies upon it has been ascertained Her Majesty's Government will not be in a position to form any judgment as to the scheme.

ARMY—CHARGES AGAINST THE ORDNANCE DEPARTMENT.

MAJOR RASCH (Essex, S.E.) asked Mr. Attorney General, Whether his attention has been called to a statement by Colonel Hope, in a letter published in *The Times* of 9th September—

"That the Attorney General has been deceived and misled by some one presumably in the incriminated Department; "

and, whether he is able to give any explanation of the matter?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir RICHARD WEBSTER) (Isle of Wight): I must refer the hon. and gallant Member to my letter which appeared in *The Times* of Friday, the 10th, in reply to that of Colonel Hope of the 9th instant, and I can give no explanation of the matter, except to repeat that there is not the slightest foundation for the statement from Colonel Hope's letter quoted in the Question of the hon. and gallant Member.

MR. E. ROBERTSON (Dundee) asked the Secretary of State for War the following Question, which stood on the Paper in the name of Captain Selwyn:—Whether his attention has been called to a letter from Colonel Hope, V.C., in *The Times* of 9th September; and, whether it is a fact, as stated in that letter by Colonel Hope—

"That he made charges in the statement that he submitted to the Secretary of State for War, and that in some cases he gave names, dates, and full details?"

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster):

Sir Samuel Wilson

Does the hon. Gentleman ask the Question at the request of the hon. and gallant Member?

MR. E. ROBERTSON: No, Sir.

MR. W. H. SMITH: I do not know what the practice of the House is; but I am quite in the hands of the House.

MR. SPEAKER: It is quite unusual, according to the practice of the House, in the absence and without the sanction of the hon. and gallant Member, to put the Question.

WAR DEPARTMENT—GUNS—THE ORD- NANCE SPECIAL COMMITTEE.

SIR HENRY TYLER (Great Yarmouth) asked the Secretary of State for War, When he will be prepared to state on the authority of the Ordnance Special Committee with Associated Members, the factor of safety as between the calculated bursting strain on the one hand, and the calculated strain with service charges on the other hand, of the guns that burst on board the three of Her Majesty's Ships *Active*, *Thunderer*, and *Collingwood*; and, when he expects to be able to quote the opinion of the same Committee as to whether "jamming" of the shot in the increasing twist of the rifling would not be sufficient to account for each of those failures?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): With reference to the factor of safety in the *Active's* and the *Collingwood's* guns, it is stated in the Ordnance Committee's Report of 1883 that the factor of safety between the service pressure and the bursting pressure should be four—that is, that the maximum working pressure should be one-fourth of the bursting pressure, arrived at by a formula in use at that date, and the service charges of these two guns were regulated by the recommendation of the same Committee to give this factor. The factor of safety on the *Thunderer's* gun has not been gone into by the Ordnance Committee; but, calculated on the same basis as the factor just given, is also four. It is to be noted that the method of calculation referred to by the hon. and gallant Member is now obsolete, and that all recent calculations of strength bring out the relation between the service pressures and the pressure which would strain the gun beyond its limit of elasticity. With reference to the second portion of the hon. and gallant Member's Question, the

accident to the *Active's* gun was referred to a special Committee, who reported that they were clear that the burst did not arise from jamming; and the specially-constituted Ordnance Committee subsequently concurred in that view. The specially-constituted Ordnance Committee have also assigned causes entirely unconnected with jamming for the accident to the *Collingwood's* gun. The case of the *Thunderer's* gun was not laid before the specially-constituted Ordnance Committee; but it formed the subject of an inquiry conducted by two special Committees, the Reports of which were presented to both Houses of Parliament. Both Committees agreed in attributing the accident to a cause quite distinct from jamming. It should be noted that in the *Active's* and the *Collingwood's* guns the forward portion of the bore where the burst occurred was rifled with the uniform twist, and, therefore, the accidents could not be attributable to the jamming of the shots in the increasing twist.

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—THE BARBAVILLA PRISONERS.

MR. TUIE (Westmeath, N.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether, during the trials of the prisoners charged with conspiracy to murder at Barbavilla, in the county of Westmeath, on the police being cross-examined as to the facilities afforded the M'Keons, the chief Crown witnesses, to meet and confer, privately or otherwise, before the second information was made by the younger M'Keon, Judge Lawson made use of the following observation:—

“‘To insinuate,’ said he, ‘that the M'Keons had interviews while in the hands of the police, is to insinuate that the very sources of justice are polluted, and he scouted the insinuation as an impossibility;’”

whether, since the trials, Constable Fitzgerald, a man of exemplary character in the Constabulary force, has made the following statement, which he offers to affirm upon oath:—

“On a morning immediately after young M'Keon was brought from Clonmel to witnesses depôt, business brought me at an early hour from another part of the city towards the depôt. I came up to old M'Keon and Head Constable Lynch, who were standing about ten or fifteen yards from the depôt. We spoke to each other, and the conversation turned on the Barbavilla case. Lynch said Pat (meaning M'Keon, then present) was trying to help him with it. He

then said he had M'Keon's son there, but could get nothing out of him. Old M'Keon then said ‘When I have a talk with him it will be all right,’ or, ‘Let me have a talk with him and it will be all right.’ I asked Lynch if he meant to do so, when he clearly gave me to understand that he did. In fact, old M'Keon said he had come up from Castlepollard expressly for the purpose with him (Lynch). In a very few minutes after this I saw both father and son together in a room in the upper part of the building.

“MAURICE FITZGERALD, Sergeant;”

whether it was subsequent to the above interview that the younger M'Keon made his third deposition of the 17th of July, in which he swore to the formation of the conspiracy at the house of the widow Fagan; whether in the deposition of the 17th May he made no allusion to it, and on the 27th June he merely said—

“I was at the house of the widow Fagan the Friday week before the murder;”

whether it was upon the holding of this meeting the whole case against the prisoners hinged; whether he is aware that one of the jurors who convicted the prisoners made the following statement, in a letter addressed to the Rev. John Curry, of Collinstown, in the county of Westmeath, which letter has been published in *The Freeman's Journal*:—

“I have no hesitation in stating that I would have acquitted the prisoners if it had been proved on their behalf that the M'Keons had an opportunity of communicating with one another while in the hands of the police;”

whether it was proved at the trials that the M'Keons were men of disreputable character; and, whether, having regard to the above facts, and to the evidence offered by the Rev. John Curry, establishing the innocence of the prisoners, he will cause a sworn inquiry into the means by which the convictions were obtained?

MR. T. D. SULLIVAN (Westmeath, S.): Arising, Sir, out of that Question, I beg to ask the right hon. Baronet the Chief Secretary for Ireland, If he is aware that after the trials and sentences on the prisoners were carried out, Patrick Cole, one of the principal witnesses for the Crown, made a declaration in the presence of a number of witnesses, stating that the evidence given by him on the trials was false?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (MR. HOLMES) (Dublin University) (who replied) said: I have no report of what Mr. Justice Lawson said

during the trial; but I am informed that he made some such observation as that quoted when, in reply to a question put by him, Head Constable Lynch stated that the M'Keons had no opportunity of meeting before young M'Keon made a certain statement to the constable in Clonmel. He could hardly, however, have conveyed that they had not at any time had opportunities of communicating, as it was shown that such opportunities existed after a certain period. I have read in a letter of the Rev. John Curry that Sergeant Fitzgerald made the statement referred to; but I have not been able to learn anything more about it, beyond that it is not consistent with other matters reported to me. It was proved at the trial that young M'Keon's character was bad; but nothing disreputable was alleged, as far as I am aware, against the old man. It is the duty of the Lord Lieutenant to consider any application made to him for the remission of punishment, and to inquire into the circumstances on which it is based. This duty he will always be ready to perform; but he has no power to direct any kind of sworn inquiry. In answer to the further Question put by the hon. Member opposite (Mr. T. D. Sullivan), I have only to say that on the first trial the man Cole was not examined at all. He was examined on the second trial, and I believe it is a fact that he subsequently made a statement that there was no truth in his evidence.

MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W., and Sligo, S.) asked if the right hon. and learned Gentleman was aware that Sergeant Fitzgerald was in the police force?

MR. HOLMES replied, that Sergeant Fitzgerald was in the police force.

MR. SEXTON: Has Sergeant Fitzgerald himself been asked?

MR. HOLMES: My recollection is that he was asked; but, although I have communicated with the Constabulary by wire, I have not been able to ascertain whether he has been recently asked or not.

ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—THE MEDICAL ADVISER AT CASTLEBAR.

MR. COX (Clare, E.) (for Mr. DEASY) (Mayo, W.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the position of Medical Adviser to the Constabulary at Castlebar has been

refused to the Dispensary Medical Officer; and, whether he will state the reasons for this departure from custom by the police authorities?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH) (Bristol, W.), in reply, said, he had already answered the Question. He had already explained that the Inspector General sought the most eligible professional man who was capable of performing the duties. In this case it was found desirable to secure the services of someone of more experience than the Dispensary Medical Officer, who had only a few weeks before obtained his diploma.

PRISONS (IRELAND) ACT, 1877—REFUNDING CERTAIN LEVIES.

MR. COX (Clare, E.) (for Mr. DEASY) (Mayo, W.) asked Mr. Attorney General for Ireland, Whether the sums declared by the Court of Queen's Bench in 1882 to have been illegally levied on counties in Ireland under "The Prisons (Ireland) Act, 1877," have yet been refunded?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (MR. HOLMES) (Dublin University), in reply, said, he was not aware of any proceedings in which the Court of Queen's Bench declared that any sums were illegally levied in counties in Ireland under the Prisons (Ireland) Act, 1877.

IRISH RIFLE CLUBS (BELFAST, &c.)—FIRING PRACTICE.

MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W., and Sligo, S.) asked the Secretary of State for War, What is the result of his inquiry into the questions raised in the House concerning rifle clubs in Belfast and other places in Ireland, especially as to the supply of ammunition from such clubs to Her Majesty's Stores, and the permission given to members of such clubs to practice firing at ranges in Military Barracks, under the supervision of Military Sergeants?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (MR. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): In answer to the hon. Member, I have to say that recommendations from the Lord Lieutenant and from the War Office are necessary in each case before the requisitions are complied with. I have ascertained that in some instances Government ranges have been used, and

Mr. Holmes

that non-commissioned officers have assisted in the matches.

MR. SEXTON: The right hon. Gentleman has not answered my Question. What I wished to elicit was, what determination have the Government come to with regard to the continuance of the system?

MR. W. H. SMITH: The hon. Member will see that he did not ask that Question; but I will look into the subject.

MR. SEXTON said, he would raise the question on the Vote for the Lord Lieutenant's Household.

FACTORY ACTS—INSPECTORSHIPS.

MR. BYRON REED (Bradford, E.) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether the number of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Factories is adequate to the duties which these officers are called upon to perform; and, if not, whether the Government will take the necessary steps to provide a sufficient increase in the staff; and, in the event of such increase being found necessary, will the Government appoint, as far as may be possible, working men to the Inspectorships?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (**MR. MATTHEWS**) (Birmingham, E.): No official representation has been made by the Factory Department at the Home Office that the number of Factory Inspectors is inadequate to the performance of their duties; and although various Trade Councils have requested that the number should be increased, I do not think the Treasury can be asked to charge the public funds with an increased expenditure in this Department until it is clearly shown by experience that the present staff, if properly distributed, is unable to satisfy the requirements of the Factory Acts in a manner practically sufficient. If an increase is found necessary the Government will fully consider the claims of working men to be appointed Inspectors.

REGISTRATION OF ELECTORS (IRELAND)—SOUTH TYRONE REVISION COURT.

MR. P. O'BRIEN (Monaghan, N.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he is aware, in South Tyrone Revision Court, during its sitting on Thursday last,

claims were lodged for a large number of persons whose names were already on the voters' lists; whether it is alleged the said claims were lodged by the representatives of the Orange Unionist party, who admitted, through their solicitor in court, that they claimed for these people because they were Protestants, and therefore assumed that they were political supporters of theirs; whether, on learning that the persons so claimed for were supporters of Mr. William O'Brien at the last and preceding General Elections, the agents above referred to lodged objections to these same people; whether the Revising Barrister condemned the practice when brought under his notice; and, whether the Government will so amend the Registration Act as to prevent such vexatious interference with the rights of the people in future? The hon. Gentleman also asked the right hon. Gentleman the following Question, of which he had given him private Notice:—Whether it is true, as alleged, that during the sitting of the East Tyrone Revision Court, on Thursday last, Dr. Magill, J.P., Mr. Robert King, J.P., and other gentlemen, who might be described as belonging to the landlord class, occupied seats on the Bench; whether, while two bailiffs named Abernethy and Devlin, were being examined in support of objections lodged by the Orange landlord and Unionist party against a number of farmers and labourers, claimants for the franchise, the Revising Barrister observed that the above-named occupants of the Bench were prompting the witnesses, and forthwith ordered them to leave the Bench; whether he does not consider the presence of landlords or their satellites on the Bench in Revision Courts calculated to intimidate and prevent farmers and labourers from securing the franchise; and will he take care that such people are not allowed to occupy the Bench under such circumstances in future; whether he will consider it his duty to bring the conduct of Mr. Magill and Mr. King in this matter under the notice of the Lord Chancellor, with a view to their removal from the Commission of the Peace?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (**MR. HOLMES**) (Dublin University) (who replied) said: The Government has no means of learning what occurs in a Revision Court beyond what appears in the newspapers. The only

thing that I know of the matter is what I read in *The Freeman's Journal* of Friday last. The only practice which, according to that report, was condemned by the Revising Barrister was the practice of using names without authority. The Question cannot be accurate in suggesting that objections were lodged during the revision, as this would be contrary to law. In answer to the Question of which the hon. Member has given private Notice, I have to say that I am informed that no magistrate sat on the Bench at the Revision Sessions; but that a magistrate called Robert King sat for a time in the Registrar's seat, and on his speaking to a witness the Revising Barrister directed him to leave the Court. Magistrates and landlords have the same rights, neither more nor less, than other persons in Revision Courts.

LIGHTHOUSE ILLUMINANTS—EXPERIMENTS AT THE SOUTH FORELAND.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.) asked the Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade, Whether the object of the experiments conducted by the Trinity House at the South Foreland was to ascertain whether oil, gas, or electricity is the best illuminant for lighthouses; whether, in these trials, the best form of oil light and the best form of electric light were tried, and whether a trial was refused to the double quadriform, the best form of gas light; whether the reasons given for refusing a trial to the double quadriform gas light are not completely set aside by Professor Barrett's description to the Royal Dublin Society of the light and its performance; whether that description plainly indicates that the advantage of increasing the light to double its power, claimed for the gas system, cannot be obtained by the oil system; and, whether it is expedient that this question should be tested by practical trial?

THE SECRETARY (Baron HENRY DE WORMS) (Liverpool, East Toxteth): The object of the recent experiments by the Trinity House at the South Foreland was to ascertain the relative value of the three lighthouse illuminants named. The best adopted forms of lighthouse electric and oil lights were tried; also the best form of gaslight yet adopted as an illuminant by any general lighthouse authority. The Board of Trade are not aware that the double quadriform

is the best form of gaslight, and no lighting authority has yet applied to them for sanction to its adoption. The reason for not trying other lights than those experimented with was, as stated in an answer given to the hon. Member by my Predecessor on the 17th of June last, and I am still advised, that the value of the double quadriform gaslight can be calculated from the results already obtained. Professor Barrett stated his opinion that the high temperature within the lantern when double quadriform lights were burning would be fatal to the employment of mineral oil. The Board of Trade are of opinion that no further trials are necessary to demonstrate the possibility of increasing the intensity of the various illuminants to the highest power required by the mariner. Since the experiments were completed, the lighthouse authorities have devised, and the Board of Trade have sanctioned, both gas and oil lights of about equal intensity to the double quadriform gaslight referred to, with a lower temperature inside the lantern.

ARMS (IRELAND) ACT—HOUSE SEARCH AT BALLYRUSH, CO. SLIGO.

MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W., and Sligo, S.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether, at 12 o'clock on the night of the 29th of June last, District Inspector Smith, of Riverstown, county Sligo, accompanied by Acting Sergeant Glenon and a constable, demanded admission to the house of Mr. Willis, Ballyrush, and, having entered the house, proceeded to search it; whether District Inspector Smith unlocked, by means of a key which he had brought with him, a box, the property of the Ballyrush Branch of the Irish National League, and examined the papers contained in it; and, what were the reasons and authority for this proceeding?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. HOLMES) (Dublin University) (who replied) said: I am informed that the statements in the Question are substantially correct. The Sub-Inspector reports that he acted under the authority of a warrant to search for specimens of handwriting given by Colonel Ffolliott, a magistrate. I may add that I do not understand, and am not satisfied with, this explanation, and I have asked for a copy of the warrant

and the information, if any, on which it was based. I intend to investigate the matter fully.

MR. SEXTON: Will the right hon. and learned Gentleman lay a copy of the warrant on the Table of the House?

MR. HOLMES: As I have not seen the document I am not prepared to answer that Question.

INDIA—THE CIVIL SERVICE—THE COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY.

SIR ROPER LETHBRIDGE (Kensington, N.) asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether the inquiry into the Civil Services, stated now to be taking place in India, is conducted by a Committee composed almost exclusively of covenanted officials; whether any and what facilities are offered by this Committee for the public expression and examination of the opinions of members of the uncovenanted Civil Services, and of the Natives of India generally; and, whether any intimation has been received by Her Majesty's Government, either officially or through the Indian Press, that this Committee does not command the confidence either of uncovenanted civil officers or of the Native public?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JOHN GORST) (Chatham): Sir, the inquiry in India into the Civil Services will be conducted by a Commission; but no intimation as to its actual composition has been yet received by the Secretary of State. It is intended that some of its members shall be Natives, and that it shall extend its inquiries over various parts of India, and among all classes of the people. No intimation has been received by Her Majesty's Government of any want of confidence in the proposed Commission. The Secretary of State has received no information as to the proceedings of the Finance Committee at Bombay last week; but this Finance Committee is not identical with the Commission for inquiry into the Civil Service.

PIERS AND HARBOURS (IRELAND) — CAPPAGH PIER, KILRUSH.

MR. JORDAN (Clare, W.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If the Kilrush Town Commissioners are now an urban sanitary authority; if, as such, they should have charge of the Cappagh Pier, Kilrush;

if the Board of Trade has been communicated with repeatedly on the matter; if, up to the present, no satisfactory reply or information has been received; and, if the Department will be instructed at once to perfect the arrangements by which the pier will be handed over to the Kilrush Commissioners?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. HOLMES) (Dublin University) (who replied) said, that a draft order framed by counsel for transferring power to the Kilrush Town Commissioners could be completed in a few days.

CRIME AND OUTRAGE (IRELAND)—THE RIOTS AT BELFAST—COMPENSATION FOR DAMAGE TO THE ROYAL HOSPITAL.

MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W., and Sligo, S.) asked the noble Lord the Chancellor of the Exchequer If it was the intention of the Government to submit a Supplementary Estimate for a grant in aid of the Royal Hospital at Belfast; and, if so, whether the amount of the Vote would be the amount incurred by the treatment of persons injured during the riots?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL) (Paddington, S.): The hon. Member will recollect that what I stated was this—that if the Irish Authorities should be of opinion that the grant should be allowed, I would bring the matter before the Treasury. The Treasury would be prepared to give it every consideration. But, so far, the Irish Office has made no communication on the subject.

MR. SEXTON: Will the noble Lord have any objection to communicate with the Irish Office?

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: I think the hon. Member is a far greater adept in the art of setting the Irish Office in motion than I am.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH) (Bristol, W.) confessed he had heard the statement of his noble Friend with considerable satisfaction, because it held out some hope of liberal treatment on the part of the Treasury, which would be very agreeable to him in the future. He would look into the matter again, in order to see what course he could recommend to the Treasury. But he

should like to say that, as at present advised, it seemed to him not right to recommend the Treasury to submit a Vote to the House to make a grant in aid of the Royal Hospital in Belfast for treating the inhabitants of Belfast, who had themselves been presumably concerned in the riots, and had been admitted into the hospital in consequence. There might be cases in which some grant might be made to the Royal Hospital in Belfast if the constabulary and military had been treated in that hospital. He would endeavour to make himself acquainted with the facts, and if he could see his way to do so, he would make a recommendation to that effect.

CHANNEL FISHERIES—FISHERIES
REGULATION, 1843—DETENTION OF
ENGLISH FISHING SMACKS AT HAVRE.

MR. ROUND (Essex, N.E., Harwich) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether he could give the House any information respecting the case of the 11 fishing smacks, chiefly belonging to the River Colne, detained at Havre for nearly a week; what charge was brought against them; and, what steps Her Majesty's Government were taking in the matter?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (SIR JAMES FERGUSSON) (Manchester, N.E.): Certain English fishing smacks entered the port of Havre to pass there Sunday, the 5th instant. By the Convention of 1843, regulating fishing in the British Channel, British fishing boats are only allowed to enter French ports in bad weather. The weather was fine on the 5th instant, and therefore these fishermen acted against this regulation. We are also informed that these boats are accused of having gathered oysters in French waters, and transferred them to other vessels at sea. It appears that the observance of the rule against entering French ports has not been enforced for several years, and that this presumably has been to the benefit of the provision trade at French ports. The Board of Trade, however, in consequence of this action of the authorities at Havre, will issue a notice to British fishermen not to enter French ports except in stress of weather; and Her Majesty's Minister at Paris has been instructed to take such action as he properly can on behalf of the fishermen in question.

Sir Michael Hicks-Beach

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

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SUPPLY—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES.

SUPPLY—considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF
CIVIL DEPARTMENTS.

(1.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £10,043, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1887, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Office of Her Majesty's Woods, Forests, and Land Revenue, and of the Office of Land Revenue Records and Inrolments."

MR. CLANCY (Dublin Co., N.): I wish to draw attention to the figures given by the Commissioners of Woods and Forests with regard to the income derived from the woods and forests, and the expenditure incurred upon them. I think the figures are somewhat extraordinary, and deserve the closest attention of those who desire to see the public money applied to some useful purpose and not absolutely wasted. I find that the total receipts for Windsor Parks and Woods was £4,335 17s. 8d., and the total expenditure £23,681 18s. 2d., showing an excess of expenditure over income of £19,346 0s. 6d. For the New Forest, the total receipts were £12,215 9s. 10d., and the expenditure £11,401 10s. 11d. For Dean Forest, the total receipts were £7,677 7s. 7d., and the expenditure £8,503 17s. 6d. For the High-meadow Woods, the total receipts were £1,869 4s. 11d., and the expenditure £1,608 11s. 1d. For the Alice Holt Woods, the total receipts were £1,468 12s. 3d., and the expenditure £836 17s. 4d. For the Woolmer Estate, the total receipts were £1,081 12s. 6d., and the expenditure £166 1s. And for the Bere Woods, the total receipts were £1,315 7s. 5d. and the expenditure £922 4s. 2d. The total receipts for all these parks and forests amounted to £26,251 19s. 1d., and the expenditure to £22,007 0s. 5d., leaving an excess of receipts of £4,244 18s. 8d., which is carried to the credit of the country. That seems to me to be a most extraordinary result, and one that requires some explanation in defence of the Vote on behalf of the Commissioners

of Woods and Forests, and unless there is a satisfactory explanation, I shall feel disposed to move the reduction of the Vote by the amount of the salary of the Commissioners. Allow me also to draw the attention of the Committee to the Report of the Comptroller and Auditor General in reference to the accounts of the Commissioners of Woods and Forests of last year. In the first place, I must say that the way in which these Reports are laid before the House is most inconvenient. They may be produced at any time within three months of the 31st of March—that is to say, the autumn may have been reached before they are presented; they then take some time to print, and by the time they are submitted to Parliament the Estimates have been passed and there is no possibility of checking the accounts for that year. According to the Report last published there are several things in regard to this Vote which require explanation, and I trust that the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury, being the official who is responsible, will endeavour to explain them. They include a receipt for £20,000 from the South-Eastern Railway Company for the purchase money of Sandgate Castle, and upon that item the Comptroller and Auditor General remarks, in reply to an inquiry whether interest is not payable on the purchase money between the dates of the sale and the completion of the purchase—

“I am informed that it could not be ascertained that there was a binding contract for the sale until the purchase was completed.”

There is no charge for the demolition of Sandgate Castle, or for the erection of new works; but there are some items in reference to the expenditure on Sandgate Castle in the earlier Votes. The Comptroller and Auditor General says—

“I am of opinion, in the absence of any explanation to the contrary, that the surplus should be paid over to the Exchequer.”

He goes on to say—

“In my Report on the accounts last year, I called attention to the practice adopted by the Crown Receivers, of applying rent received from ordinary tenants towards the expenses of carrying on farms in hand, and I expressed a hope that this objectionable practice would be abandoned, but it has not been abandoned.”

The Comptroller and Auditor General adds—

“Although it is only a small amount, this practice can only result in casting a doubt upon

the accuracy of the balance in the hands of the Receiver.”

Now, these balance-sheets are presented to the Committee, and we are asked to accept them as containing a proper account of the income and expenditure of this Department; whereas it turns out from the remarks of the Comptroller and Auditor General that they are nothing of the kind, and the objectionable practice which he has pointed out, instead of having been abandoned after attention was called to it, has gone on now for two years in succession. I think it is high time that some attempt should be made to deal with the matter and put a stop to a practice which misleads Parliament, and may lead to the misappropriation of the public money. It appears to me that all this arises from the fact that Members of the Government perform their duties in this and many other matters in a very perfunctory manner. These Reports are presented to Parliament year after year; they cost a great deal of money to prepare, present, and circulate, and the net result seems to be nothing at all, as the Members of the Government do not seem to pay the least attention to them, and wink at the malpractices of gentlemen who have failed to do their duty. I should like to know from the Secretary to the Treasury, whether the Report made by the Comptroller and Auditor General last year was brought under his notice or the notice of his Predecessor, and, if so, whether any action was taken upon it? There is another paragraph in this Report which refers to another matter, but which I think deserves the careful consideration of the Secretary to the Treasury. In the early part of last year the Comptroller and Auditor General says—

“Cases occurred in which an account of certain public monies was not returned to me.”

They had relation to the Crown rents, and on writing to the Receiver, Mr. Clutton, on the 6th March, 1885, the Comptroller and Auditor General obtained not only a refusal to hand over his bank pass-books in reference to the appropriation of this money, but a statement that the money itself had been incorporated by the Receiver of Crown rents in the banking account of his firm—namely, that of Messrs. Clutton. Mr. Clutton says—

"I have not, and never have had, any separate account, and I cannot therefore produce the pass-book as requested."

This gentleman is so high and mighty in himself, and so thoroughly independent of the Government, that when called upon for an explanation of these accounts, he returns a most jaunty reply, which amounts in fact, to a virtual negative. I commend this reply to the Treasury, and the part which concerns the Treasury is the intimation from the Comptroller and Auditor General that he at once communicated the reply of Mr. Clutton to the Treasury—a reply which I cannot help looking upon as not only unsatisfactory but even impudent. In December last, the Comptroller and Auditor General refers to the same matter again, and he states that he had not yet received any intimation that Mr. Clutton had accepted the invitation addressed to him, and he adds—

"I am still without the evidence which would be afforded by the bank pass-book to show whether the amount in the hands of the Receivers is correct."

There can be very little doubt now as to who is the real master of the Treasury. It appears to be Mr. Clutton, the Receiver of the Crown Rents. All the officials bow their heads before the great Mr. Clutton, and when he is asked to give an account of the public money received by him, and to show his pass-book to satisfy the Comptroller and Auditor General of the correctness of his statements, he simply declines to do anything of the kind, and tells the Comptroller and Auditor General that he keeps the account mixed up with the private money of his own firm. He further implies that if the authorities do not like that arrangement, they may do what they like in the matter. When I find that conduct of this character is tolerated by the Treasury, I can only come to the conclusion that the responsible Ministers of the Crown, to whom the Irish people will have to pay attention in future, are the firm of Messrs. Clutton, and hereafter I presume it will become our duty to study the best means of conciliating those gentlemen. The policy of this House may be good or bad; but if Messrs. Clutton do not approve of it, it will make a very considerable difference. I want to know how it is that Messrs. Clutton exercise this ex-

traordinary power over the Government, and why they are allowed to be so independent of the control and authority of the Treasury? If an explanation on this head is not forthcoming, and is not satisfactory, I shall certainly move to reduce the Vote by the amount of the salary of Mr. Clutton.

MR. MOLLOY (King's Co., Birr): Before the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury answers the Question, I wish to ask him to give some information to the Committee as to how much Mr. Clutton receives in the course of the year. Does the money, which I believe to be a very large sum, remain for any length of time in the bank to the private account of his firm? I want to know what amount has been received upon this account during the year, and how much, if any, has been paid in to the Treasury? I must also draw the attention of the hon. Gentleman to the fact that anything more unbusinesslike—I do not want to use harsher words—but anything more unbusinesslike it is impossible to conceive than for the Receiver of Crown Rents, or, in other words, the Receiver of trust money, to mix up that money with his own banking account. What makes it worse in the case of Mr. Clutton is, that when he is called upon for an account by the Government authority, he declines to give any, on the plea that he has been guilty of what I merely characterize as a most unbusinesslike act. What I want to know is whether the authorities are content to be held at arms-length by Mr. Clutton? Mr. Clutton has been called upon for such an account as will enable the Comptroller and Auditor General to state to the Department whether the Returns sent in are correct. Mr. Clutton declines to give that information; whereupon the Comptroller and Auditor General sits down and writes a letter, but does nothing more; and I want to know what the Government are going to do? Are they going to follow the example of the Comptroller and Auditor General; or are they disposed to exercise their authority and compel Mr. Clutton to keep their accounts in such a way as will enable the authorities to see whether they are correct or not?

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (MR. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.): In answer to the hon. Member for North Dublin (Mr. Clancy), I have to say that

Mr. Clancy

I regret equally with him that the income from the Woods and Forests to which he has referred is not larger; but I am informed that these woods are in what may be called a growing condition; but, at present, it is impossible for them to bring in a larger income. The hon. Member seems to think that the expenditure upon them is too large, and I am disposed to agree with him in that opinion. But after the preliminary discussion of the Motion of the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) which took place the other day, the Committee will be aware that I promised to pay attention to the question, and I hope that before this time next year the points which have been referred to will be cleared up. With regard to the remarks which have been made by the hon. Member on other points, I may say that the sum for the purchase of Sandgate Castle has been paid by the South Eastern Railway Company to the Government in consequence of damage done to Government property. As to the question he has raised in reference to Mr. Clutton, the Receiver of Crown Rents, and what has taken place in connection with that matter, I understand that the hon. Member was not reading from the last Report of the Public Accounts Committee, because I find that in the Report of the Public Accounts Committee for 1885 a question was put by the Chairman of that Committee—Sir Reginald Welby—to this effect—"There is a note made by the Comptroller and Auditor General in regard to the manner in which certain accounts are kept. Have arrangements been made that they shall be kept in a more regular manner in future?" The answer is—"Arrangements have been made, and I believe the course suggested by the Comptroller and Auditor General has been adopted." [Mr. MOLLOY: What Report is that?] It is a Report of the Public Accounts Committee which relates to a meeting which took place on the 1st of July, 1885. Mr. Culley was under examination, and in reply to the Chairman's question he said that that was so, and that the course suggested by the Comptroller and Auditor General had been adopted. Being asked if there was anything more he desired to say, he answered "No." In the Public Accounts Committee this year certainly no question was raised, as far as I

remember, and I was a Member of that Committee. I understand that arrangements have been made since the date of the Report to which the hon. Member has referred—arrangements under which these accounts have been placed on a more satisfactory basis. I certainly go full length with the hon. Member and the hon. Member who followed him in saying that the mixing up of public money with private money is a system which no man of business would for a moment tolerate. I am not able to speak with regard to the details of this case; but I will inquire into the matter, and will satisfy myself that the system has been put straight. There was another question asked by the hon. Member for King's County (Mr. Molloy) which I think I can answer. He inquired what the amount is which Mr. Clutton has received in the course of the year. I hope, notwithstanding all that has been stated about the great power and authority of Mr. Clutton, that it will not be supposed for a moment that the Treasury consider it necessary to take any steps against him, or against anybody else, for the protection of the public interests. [Mr. MOLLOY: I made no charges against Mr. Clutton.] I think the hon. Member used the words, "misappropriation of public money," which, to my mind, certainly amounts to a charge. The amount received by Mr. Clutton in the course of the year, in the shape of poundage on revenues collected, amounted to £4,873 10s. 3d., and he received a sum for professional charges amounting to £2,505 16s. 11d. I hope the hon. Member will be satisfied with my assurance that the question shall receive, at the hands of those responsible for the business of the Treasury, most careful consideration in order that it may be placed on a proper basis.

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton): I presume that by poundage the hon. Gentleman means commission?

MR. JACKSON: Yes.

MR. LABOUCHERE: I stated a day or two ago, when the Speaker was in the Chair, my intention to draw attention to this matter, and I understood then that the commission was 4 per cent. I should like to know if that is so, and the hon. and gallant Member for North-West Sussex (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) will perhaps be able to tell me by-and-bye. If it is the fact, all I have

to say is that 4 per cent is very excessive. My hon. Friend behind me (Mr. Clancy) has called attention to one or two points in regard to the revenue derived from Woods and Forests. His principal point was the large amount of expenditure upon Windsor Great Park and Windsor Forest. In a certain sense, we are paying rent for this property—that is to say, we give to Her Majesty a Civil List on condition that she hands over to us this property which is supposed to be remunerative; but, on consideration of receiving these rents, the country absolutely loses by the Windsor Great Park and Windsor Forests more than £21,000 per annum. It was said, when attention was called to the matter the other day, that a large amount of money is spent in maintaining the roads. I would again appeal to the hon. and gallant Member for North-West Sussex whether he would not take Windsor Great Park and Forests, and undertake to keep up the roads, without incurring an annual loss of £21,000 per annum? We all know that it would be done for a much less expenditure than now takes place. At present a most reckless and wasteful system is followed with regard to these Crown lands. I find that in the Windsor Park and Forests £500 is spent in food for game. Seeing that the game and deer are maintained for the benefit of the Members of the Royal Family, I do not see why we should be called upon to pay £500 per annum for feeding the pheasants in this park. I presume that this matter, as well as others, will be referred to the Commission that is about to be appointed; but I maintain that we shall never have any real control over this large expenditure until we have publicity; and I would suggest, therefore, that all such items should appear in the Estimates. I have never been able to understand why this expenditure should not figure, like other expenditure, on the Estimates, and why it should not be submitted, in the usual way, to this House. We often move for the reduction of a Vote, although we seldom carry it; but still the fact of the accounts being submitted to this House, and of complaints being made of excessive expenditure, does exercise some sort of control over the authorities. I find that where there is the greatest waste is precisely in those matters that are not submitted to the House. I am sure that

Mr. Labouchere

the Secretary to the Treasury has no desire that there should be any waste in this matter, and I would urge him to use his influence in insisting upon the whole of the accounts being presented, like all other public accounts, to this House.

MR. CLANCOY: I wish to say that I made no charge against Mr. Clutton, except that made by the Comptroller and Auditor General. I did say, and I repeat it, that the action of Mr. Clutton was calculated to mislead Parliament, and that if similar proceedings were allowed it might possibly lead to the misappropriation of public money. It is obviously wrong to mix up the public money with private accounts.

MR. JACKSON: I have already informed the hon. Gentleman that that is not the case now.

MR. CLANCOY: The hon. Gentleman quoted from the Report of the Public Accounts Committee for 1885; but I quoted from the Report of the Comptroller and Auditor General of the 30th of June, 1886. If the hon. Gentleman will read this document, he will see that this is the second occasion upon which the matter has been mentioned.

MR. JACKSON: I may say that the Receivers not only give an adequate security for the money they have in their hands, but, in this particular case, it has been arranged recently that a separate account should be kept. Such separate accounts are, as a matter of fact, now kept by the Receiver.

MR. CLANCOY: I do not understand when this change occurred. The Report I am now alluding to refers to a matter which was in existence in January last, and the Comptroller and Auditor General says that this is the second time he has called attention to it. He says in the early part of last year—

“I requested that Mr. Clutton’s bank pass-book, relating to transactions in reference to Crown rents, should be sent to me for inspection.”

Then came the answer of Mr. Clutton, which I already read. The Comptroller and Auditor General says—

“I at once communicated this reply to the Treasury, and in December last I received a letter in reference to the subject; but I have not, as yet, received any intimation that Mr. Clutton intends to accept that invitation addressed to him; and I am actually in doubt, owing to the absence of the bank pass-book, whether the balance in the hands of the Receiver is correct.”

I want to know if the request of the Comptroller and Auditor General has been complied with since January last? I strongly suspect that the Secretary to the Treasury is referring to something which took place in the previous January; and as I am not satisfied with the explanation which has been given I beg to move that the Vote be reduced by the sum of £4,000, being the amount of poundage received by this great authority.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding \$6,043, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1887, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Office of Her Majesty's Woods, Forests, and Land Revenues, and of the Office of Land Revenue Records and Inrolments."—(*Mr. Clancy.*)

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton): A phrase has been used during the course of this debate which I think ought not to be passed over—namely, that the lands under the control of the Commissioners of Woods and Forests are lands which have been surrendered by Her Majesty, and that in return for the surrender of those lands a Civil List has been granted. That is a pure fiction, and although it has been often repeated, it has not a word of truth in it; and I think it is necessary, every time it is repeated in this House, that it should be contradicted. I took occasion, in the late Parliament, when a Vote relating to this matter was under consideration, to quote to the then Members of the Government, who represented the Treasury, the whole of the Act of Parliament relating to this matter. It is not necessary to go very far back, because the first Civil List was only granted on the occasion of the accession of William III., and there is no pretence for saying that the Act 9 & 10 *Will. III.*, c. 23, recites any surrender, or pretends that there was any surrender. On the contrary, it is an Act granting certain revenues for life to the King for the Civil Government of the country. When William III. died his whole interest in the Civil List ceased, and the grant reverted to the grantors—namely, the nation. On the accession of Queen Anne a new Civil List Act was passed, and that Act, 1 *Anne*, c. 1, contains no reference to any surrender.

It was simply a grant to the Queen for her life only. On the accession of George I., when Queen Anne died, I believe it is not assumed that he had anything to surrender, because neither he nor his family, when they came to this country, had anything here which it was possible for them to surrender; when George I. came to the Throne a Civil List was granted to him by the Act 1 *Geo. I.*, c. 1, and a similar Act was passed on the accession of George II. It was not until George III. succeeded to the Throne that any kind of alteration was made in the Act, and even then it was only in the recital portion of it. There is no claim in that Act on account of any surrender; but it says that—

"His Majesty has been graciously pleased to signify that such disposition may be made of his interests in certain hereditary revenues as might best conduce to the utility and satisfaction of the public."

That signification is as nude and devoid of real meaning as it possibly can be. There never has been any surrender of any specific lands at any time, and the Civil List, for good or evil, is a grant on the part of the nation for the government of the country, and there is no pretence whatever for saying that there has been a single farthing surrendered to the nation.

MR. MOLLOY: The hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury commenced his remarks by protesting against charges having been made against the Receivers of Crown Rents. Now, neither my hon. Friend the Member for North Dublin (*Mr. Clancy*) nor I made any charge whatever. The only charge that was made was against the manner in which these accounts are kept; and since the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury made his reply my hon. Friend has shown that the answer of the Secretary to the Treasury gives no information at all, and does not tend in the slightest degree to elucidate the matter. All the hon. Gentleman told me was the amount of poundage received by *Mr. Clutton*. I did not ask for that information. I presume that the amount of poundage on commission is a matter of agreement between the authorities and *Mr. Clutton*.

MR. JACKSON: I understood the hon. Gentleman to ask me how much *Mr. Clutton* received during the year,

and I gave him the amount paid for his professional services, and also the amount which he received in the shape of poundage.

MR. MOLLOY: The hon. Gentleman misunderstood what I said, and I will explain what it was that I meant. I understand that Mr. Clutton is the Receiver of Crown Rents, in regard to which there is very little trouble as respects collection. They are not like agricultural rents or house rents; and what I wished to ascertain was the sum received per year by Mr. Clutton, on behalf of the Crown, in the shape of Crown rents. There appears to be a gigantic salary received by Mr. Clutton, seeing that the Treasury pays him more than £4,000, in the shape of poundage, at 4 per cent. Now, I would submit that 4 per cent is more than a landlord gets out of his rents nowadays. The question I asked was this—what was the total sum received by Mr. Clutton during the year, not as poundage or commission, but the total amount received by him and paid in to the account of the Treasury? It is quite evident that it must have amounted to more than £100,000; and any person having a large sum of £50,000 or £100,000 lying in the bank would certainly place some of it at deposit, and would receive interest upon it; and the interest upon £50,000, payable under a deposit arrangement, would amount to a very considerable sum. I do not say that Messrs. Clutton make any such arrangement, or that they kept the interest they received. I should be very sorry to make any statement of the kind; but so little do the Treasury seem to know of the manner in which the accounts are kept, that, although we are discussing very large items, there is no one present who can tell us such a simple fact as this. What I maintain is that it is impossible for the Government to find this out so long as the two accounts are kept together; and I and my hon. Friend laid stress upon the fact that the trust account and the private account should be kept together. By pursuing such a system of keeping the accounts, it is impossible for the Comptroller and Auditor General to vouch for the correctness of the accounts; and accordingly he writes to the Treasury Authorities and says—

“I have been unable to get this bank pass-book. Messrs. Clutton have refused to allow me to look at it, because the two accounts

are mixed up, and therefore I am unable to tell the authorities whether this account is correctly or incorrectly kept.”

That was the point upon which I asked for information from the Government. I hope the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury will not suppose that I am making this a personal matter between him and myself. I am aware that he has only just accepted Office, and that it must be very difficult for him to understand these matters. I am not complaining of anything that he has done; but I am simply pointing out that this is a vicious mode of keeping the public accounts, and I laid stress upon it because I wish to justify the opposition I am making to it. I may state to the House the opinion of one of the highest Government authorities we have at present. I am told by the gentleman to whom I refer that if the Civil Service Accounts were properly kept, and due attention devoted to the items which are presented to this House, without in the least degree affecting the good work of the Civil Service, about £1,500,000 per annum might be saved to the country—a sum equal to the receipts from 1*d.* of Income Tax. The hon. Gentleman will therefore understand why I press the matter, and that I am not actuated by any personal motive with regard to the hon. Gentleman himself. I am satisfied that it is impossible for him to make himself master of these details in the short time he has been in Office; but his Predecessor, and others, ought to be able to give some information, because this kind of arrangement has gone on from time immemorial. The whole system is vicious; and, although I do not apply this remark to Mr. Clutton, it opens the door to waste.

MR. J. W. BARCLAY (Forfarshire): I should like to have an explanation from the Government of the duties which Mr. Clutton has to perform for the large amount of £4,800 which he appears to have received in the shape of poundage. For my own part, I see no necessity for employing Mr. Clutton at all. The Woods and Forests have a large establishment of their own, and I do not see why they should not collect the Crown rents without the intervention of any person outside. As to the management of the Crown estates, I think it would be a better arrangement to employ a surveyor belonging to the Department, who

Mr. Jackson

should be directly responsible to the Commissioners for the management of the estates, and that this would be a more advantageous arrangement, not only for the State, but also for the tenants. I will ask the Secretary to the Treasury what is the nature of the arrangement with Mr. Clutton, and if it is not possible for the Department of Woods and Forests to manage the estates and collect the rents themselves without the intervention of Mr. Clutton; and if he does not think that that would be a much more advantageous arrangement for the tenants of the property?

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.): I find here a salary of £900 paid to a Receiver General in connection with the Department of Wood and Forests and Land Revenues. I want to know if that gentleman also gets poundage, or whether the Receiver General is Mr. Clutton? I also desire to know how much money is collected altogether through this officer; and, secondly, if the sum be £100,000 or £200,000, whether it takes more than one person to collect it? My own impression is that there is a sufficient staff of clerks in the Establishment to collect these rents easily. I cannot understand why so large a number of officials should be necessary in the Department. I also want to know why Mr. Clutton is not paid a reasonable salary—say £1,000 a-year—instead of getting a monstrous sum in the shape of poundage? According to the statement of the Secretary to the Treasury, Mr. Clutton receives something like £6,000 a-year, and, so far as I can make out, he receives that large sum for doing almost nothing at all; for not only are there other Receivers paid by the country, but there is an ample staff employed in the office, consisting of Commissioners at £1,200 a-year, Assistant Commissioners, a surveyor, a principal clerk, assistant clerks, junior clerks, Chief Mineral Inspector, Receiver General, Receiver for the County of Middlesex, assistant to the Receiver General, book-keepers, and drawing clerk, all of whom are liberally paid for doing the work of the Department. Then I want to know what Mr. Clutton does for this £6,000 a-year, and whether there are any other Receivers who are also paid for collecting this Crown Revenue, or whether the Receiver General, who appears here with a salary

of £900 a-year, is Mr. Clutton, or some other official?

MR. JACKSON: In regard to the question as to the system of keeping the accounts, to which reference has been made in the Report of the Comptroller and Auditor General, what I desired to convey to the Committee was that the system has been altered in consequence of what the Comptroller and Auditor General stated. It was altered after his remarks, and before the last meeting of the Public Accounts Committee; and, as hon. Members know, no reference was made to it at the last meeting of the Public Accounts Committee. I think that hon. Gentlemen opposite may accept that fact on my statement—namely, that the system has been altered, and that there is no mixing up now of public and private moneys. What I desire is to satisfy the hon. Member for North Dublin and the Committee that the system of which the hon. Member has properly complained has been changed. I am informed that Mr. Clutton regularly remits the money he receives, and that he seldom retains a larger balance than £500, which he is allowed to do by Act of Parliament. That, I think, disposes of all question about the supposed loss to the public of a large amount of interest on the money in hand. I may point out that Mr. Clutton has nothing to do with the collection of rents with regard to public property in Pall Mall. Mr. Clutton has in his hands the valuation, letting, and collection of the rents of certain farms, together with their management, in the South of England; and I believe the amount of rent collected is something like £120,000 a-year. He has nothing whatever to do with the collection of rents upon house property. The hon. Member for East Mayo (Mr. Dillon) referred to the Receiver General connected with the Department of Woods and Forests. That gentleman is, I think, Mr. Higgins. He is paid a salary of £900 a-year, and he has the collection of certain rents for houses in London and Windsor. Another Receiver—Mr. Gower—is paid a poundage and a small sum in consideration of other work he performs. His duties are similar to those of Mr. Clutton, and he has to deal with the same kind of property in the North of England. The amount of his collection is about £44,000. He receives $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent on £6,000, and 4 per cent upon

£18,000. Referring again to Mr. Clutton, I may say that he has to deal with the management of farms, and he has had a long experience in connection with the work he performs. I think I have now answered all the questions which have been put to me.

MR. BEADEL (Essex, Chelmsford): Some expressions have been used in reference to Mr. Clutton to which I think it necessary to advert. I may say that, as far as Mr. Clutton is concerned, he stands at the head of his profession, and is altogether beyond reproach. I may go still further, and say that I have some little practical knowledge of what his management of the Crown estates has been, although I have not the slightest interest in his firm. The duties which devolve upon Mr. Clutton are of an extremely arduous and responsible character; and if hon. Members imagine that they are confined to the receiving of rents they are altogether mistaken. Mr. Clutton has to keep up a large and able staff in order to carry on the Crown business, and that staff he pays out of the sums received from his private receivership. In these troublous times, in consequence of the fall in rents, and the terribly low prices which the farmers are now receiving for their produce—a fact which is equally as applicable to this country as it is to Ireland—Mr. Clutton has not only to receive the Crown rents, but to undertake, to a great extent, the management of the farms on the Crown estates, and the duties which devolve upon him are much more responsible than could possibly be carried out by any other official, however competent he might be. Moreover, Mr. Clutton has to find people on the spot to look after the interests and rights of the Crown; and he is called upon to manage large forests over which, comparatively speaking, there is very little supervision indeed, but, nevertheless, involving a considerable amount of trouble and attention. In the interests of the Crown estates, I think it would be absolutely impossible to find anybody as competent as Mr. Clutton to do the business which he now performs.

MR. J. W. BARCLAY: I quite understand that Mr. Clutton is at the head of his Profession; but I do not understand that any exception has been taken to the manner in which he has discharged his duties. The question which I put to the Com-

mittee was, whether the Commissioners of Woods and Forests might not have the services of someone in the Department, instead of employing Mr. Clutton at all? We all know that Mr. Clutton has a large number of estates under his management; and I am under the impression that the Commissioners of Woods and Forests would be able to manage the Crown property better than Mr. Clutton by employing a staff of their own, and placing themselves more directly in contact with the tenants than is now the case. The Commissioners are quite capable of exercising a sound judgment in regard to the management of land; and it must not be forgotten that we already possess, in connection with the Department of Woods and Forests, a very large staff indeed. Mr. Clutton has an important business, altogether independent of that which he conducts for the State, and it is impossible for him to devote to the Crown lands more than a small portion of his time. He is obliged to depend upon his officials; and I do not see why the Woods and Forests should not depend, in the same manner, upon the judgment of their staff of officials. I should like to know whether the hon. Member who addressed the House last (Mr. Beadel) has of late years been able to make any profit out of any of the land which he may have farmed? I have certainly not heard that any landed proprietor has been able to do so. They are obliged to be content with whatever amount of rent they can get, because, by taking the land into their own hands, they find that they receive much less. I am satisfied that it would be of great advantage to the tenants of the Crown lands if they were able to deal directly with the Commissioners of Woods and Forests, rather than with a third person.

MR. BEADEL: I am quite aware of the condition in which farming operations are now placed, and that there are landed proprietors who are unable to make a profit out of the land in hand. However, with regard to Mr. Clutton, there is no doubt that he has the management of a very large business, independently of that which he looks after for the Crown; but, at the same time, he is able to bring to bear on the management of the Crown property, in consequence of that large business, a judgment which no private person can possibly

possess. Therefore he is the right man in the right place. With regard to the land in hand, if the hon. Member for Forfarshire had one tithe of the experience of Mr. Clutton, he would know that it is absolutely impossible to let certain farms, even if no rent at all is charged upon them; and the little loss which the State sustains in connection with the Crown lands is entirely owing to the management of Mr. Clutton.

MR. CLANCY: The apology offered by the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Beadel) on behalf of Mr. Clutton is of the stereotyped form which we are accustomed to hear in this House. No official has ever been attacked in Parliament, or any abuse exposed, without our hearing from some authority or other that the person incriminated was a man of the highest possible ability and character, with the most respectable antecedents, and the very best man who could be obtained for the position. I will repeat again that I have made no charge against Mr. Clutton, except that which was made by the Comptroller and Auditor General; but I may add this—which I know from experience to be true—that a man may get a very good character in this House, and yet be quite a different sort of being in actual fact. Last year one of the most degraded and basest villains ever employed in any country was sent to prison on a disgraceful charge in Ireland, although he had been only a couple of weeks before excessively lauded from the Treasury Bench. All that I have done in regard to Mr. Clutton has been to call the attention of the Committee to a statement of the Comptroller and Auditor General; and, in my opinion, that statement has not yet been answered by the Secretary to the Treasury. The hon. Gentleman assures us, and asks us to accept his assurance, that Mr. Clutton will graciously consent in future not to place the money of the Crown into his own private account, and that he will also graciously surrender his pass-books to the Comptroller and Auditor General; but he has not answered the charge made against him by the Comptroller and Auditor General in his last Report, dated January, 1886, which stated distinctly that Mr. Clutton defied the Treasury, and refused to surrender his pass-books with regard to past transactions. A pitched battle seems to have been fought between

the Comptroller and Auditor General and Mr. Clutton, with the result that Mr. Clutton was able to walk off triumphant. Having gone off with the honours of war, he graciously consents now to comply with the conditions imposed by the Government. I do not think that his past conduct ought to be passed over without comment; and, therefore, I have moved the reduction of the Vote by £4,000, the amount of poundage received by Mr. Clutton.

MR. DILLON: I think that what has been stated by the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury justifies my hon. Friend the Member for North Dublin (Mr. Clancy) in going to a division on this Vote. What are the facts now before the Committee? They are that Mr. Clutton, whose earnings amounted to between £6,000 and £7,000 a-year, only spends a very small portion of his valuable time upon the Crown property. Now, I never heard the name of Mr. Clutton before, and I know nothing of him. I have heard the hon. Member for Chelmsford (Mr. Beadel) declare that his services are exceedingly valuable; but the question is whether the services of any man are of sufficient value to the State that, for a small portion of his time, he ought to be paid £6,000 or £7,000 a-year. Are we to be told that the Government cannot get a man in England to give all his time and do all of this work for less than £6,000 or £7,000 a-year? Why, Sir, the President of the Board of Trade only gets £2,000 a-year, and the President of the Local Government Board a similar sum. Those Gentlemen are supposed to be men of ability, and they give all their time to the duties of their Department. Mr. Clutton, however, gets £6,000 a-year for collecting the Crown rents, and has permission to devote the best part of his time to his own private business. We have heard the warm eulogium which has been passed on the conduct of Mr. Clutton by the hon. Member opposite. Mr. Clutton may be a man of great ability, and he may deserve all the praise which has been poured upon him; but, although the Secretary to the Treasury assures us that a change has been made in this most reprehensible method of keeping the public accounts, I cannot find that any severe reprimand has been passed upon Mr. Clutton for the course he has hitherto pursued.

Then, again, how do we know that he manages these Crown farms so wonderfully well; because in this Report we find that he is continually in collision with the Comptroller and Auditor General in regard to the large expenditure he has incurred upon farm buildings. It may be a good expenditure; but the fact still remains that he has been spending £2,000 or £3,000 in that way, without making a proper Return to the Treasury, and that it has been necessary to call him to account. Now, I venture to submit that there is not a man in England, I do not care what his qualifications are, or what services are required in a collector of rents, who is worth £6,000 a-year to the State. I am perfectly satisfied that £1,500 would secure for the service of the State as good a man as can be required, and at least £4,500 a-year would in that case be saved to the Treasury. I therefore think that no time should be lost in reducing the emoluments now enjoyed by this gentleman.

MR. JACKSON: I wish to point out to the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Dillon) that he can hardly be aware that the sum paid to Mr. Clutton cannot, in any sense, be called a payment for his personal services. For the duties for which he receives this sum he has to keep up a very large establishment, and a considerable staff; and, therefore, it cannot be treated as a payment for his own personal services. I think the hon. Gentleman will clearly see that, if he will consider the vast amount of work that has been done in connection with the management and collection of rents for property extending over a large area of country. I am sorry that I have not been able to make the matter clear, and that the hon. Member for the Northern Division of the County of Dublin (Mr. Clancy) is still dissatisfied with my answer. I have endeavoured to show that the Report to which he refers was a Report made by the Comptroller and Auditor General before the last meeting of the Public Accounts Committee. It was made at the beginning of this year. This year the Committee of Public Accounts made the ordinary arrangements for the collection of these rents, and at this moment everything which the Comptroller and Auditor General asks is carried into effect. I may appeal to the fact that, at the last meeting of the

Public Accounts Committee, the Comptroller and Auditor General did not call the attention of that Committee to Mr. Clutton, as he undoubtedly would have done, unless there had been an alteration in the system. Therefore, I hope the hon. Member will accept my assurance that the accounts are now kept as he desires.

SIR JOSEPH M'KENNA (Monaghan, S.): I quite accept what the hon. Gentleman says—that the accounts are now kept according to the rules laid down by the Comptroller and Auditor General; but what I think the Committee have a right to complain of is that the accounts now presented to us really do not show what the actual remuneration received by Mr. Clutton is. I believe that between £6,000 and £7,000, which appears to be the gross sum paid for his services, is excessive; and I think that the Vote should be reduced, at all events, by £2,000. I would, therefore, ask my hon. Friend (Mr. Clancy) to withdraw the present Amendment, and move the reduction of the Vote by £2,000. I think my hon. Friend would, in that case, obtain more support than he is likely to get for the Amendment as it now stands.

MR. CLANCY: At present Mr. Clutton receives more than £6,000 a-year.

SIR JOSEPH M'KENNA: A portion of that sum, no doubt, is required for the payment of the staff; but I think, if the Vote were reduced as I suggest, Mr. Clutton would still receive ample remuneration for the services he performs. I would, therefore, ask my hon. Friend to withdraw his proposal for the reduction of the Vote by £4,000, in order to substitute £2,000.

MR. MOLLOY: I will not prolong the discussion; but I will point out to the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury that the sum received by Mr. Clutton is more than the salary of a Cabinet Minister. The Secretary to the Treasury says that Mr. Clutton does not receive the whole of it, because he has to pay his staff. Now, all that the staff has to do for the State is to keep the accounts that relate to the collection of rents, and I am satisfied that Mr. Clutton could get all the assistance he requires for £500 or £600 a-year. The fact still remains that a very large sum of money is paid to this gentleman for duties in the performance of which he employs

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only a small portion of his time. As a matter of fact, he actually receives a higher salary than the Prime Minister of this country.

MR. BRADLAUGH: I am not able to suggest whether Mr. Clutton is well or ill-paid; but I think there is one thing in which the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury will agree, and in regard to which probably he or the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who is now in his place, will give me some assurance. I hold that payment by poundage is a very bad mode of payment, and that it very often results in gross jobbery. Whatever is the right sum to be paid for the services rendered Mr. Clutton ought to receive; but, in order to prevent the abuses which may result from the system of payment by poundage, we ought to have some assurance from the Treasury that steps will be taken to terminate that bad system.

MR. J. W. BARCLAY: I should like to know from the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury what extent of land belonging to the Crown is being farmed by the Commissioners of Woods and Forests without being let to tenants? I do not like to speak from memory; but I think there was a very considerable public clamour two or three years ago as to the excessive rents of the land belonging to the Woods and Forests. I cannot help thinking that it is an exceedingly bad system for the Government to keep the land in their own hands; because by that means it is producing no rent at all, and there is no land at the present moment in England which would not let for something or other.

MR. JACKSON: There is no difference of opinion between the Commissioners of Woods and Forests and the hon. Member that it is exceedingly undesirable to have farms in hand. The farms which are under the charge of Colonel Kingscote comprise, I believe, upwards of 70,000 acres; and the amount of land now in hand which has been held by seven tenants, two of whom held less than 120 acres, altogether comprises 1,762 acres. The farms now are practically managed as private farms.

MR. CLANCOY: I desire to express personally my full sense of the courtesy of the Secretary to the Treasury. The hon. Gentleman's manner in this House is all we could desire; but I hope he

will forgive me for repeating again that I am not satisfied with the explanation he has given. I have already admitted my perfect satisfaction that there is to be a new system for the future; but what I want still to know is whether, with regard to the past, Mr. Clutton has surrendered his pass-books? To that question I have obtained no answer, and I understand the Secretary to the Treasury to inform the Committee that he can give no answer. I am very much inclined to accept the suggestion of my hon. Friend the Member for South Monaghan (Sir Joseph M'Kenna). I think that to cut off £4000 at one blow from Mr. Clutton might be too great a shock to so mighty a person, and I have no wish to hurt the susceptibilities of so important an individual. Perhaps, if £2,000 were taken off his income for next year, he would be induced hereafter to be more civil to his superiors, and probably he would give way on the first attack that might be made upon him by the Representatives of the Treasury. With that view, and considering also that the amount of poundage paid to this gentleman is out of all proportion to that which is paid to other Receivers, I will, if the Committee will allow me, withdraw the Motion for reducing the Vote by £4,000, and substitute a Motion to reduce it by £2,000.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*.

Original Question again proposed.

Motion made, and Question put,

"That a sum, not exceeding £8,043, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1887, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Office of Her Majesty's Woods, Forests, and Land Revenues, and of the Office of Land Revenue Records and Inrolments."—*(Mr. Clancy.)*

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 73; Noes 149: Majority 76.—*(Div. List, No. 23.)*

Original Question put, and *agreed to*.

(2.) £21,059, to complete the sum for Works and Public Buildings Office.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.): This, I know, is an Office which is generally held to be beyond criticism; but in regard to its work this year I wish to ask the right hon. and learned Gentleman in charge of the Vote to explain how it is that certain items in-

serted in the Estimates for this year have not been submitted to the Committee? It will be in the recollection of the Committee that the first Votes we had to consider were, in accordance with a printed statement, circulated by the Treasury, and in that statement there was a Vote for the New Admiralty and War Office, and another Vote for Dover Harbour. When the Committee began its deliberations, we expected that those two Votes would be put from the Chair; but they have been passed over, *sub silentio*, and the consequence was that a third Vote came on unexpectedly, and was passed without the discussion which would otherwise have taken place upon it. Now, Sir, the insertion of Votes of this kind for Services which do not, in reality, require any Vote of the sort is, at any rate, an unusual proceeding; and I should like to ask the First Commissioner of Works to explain the state of the case in regard to the Vote for the New Admiralty and War Office Buildings, and also the circumstances under which the Vote originally presented for Dover Harbour is not required?

THE FIRST COMMISSIONER OF WORKS (Mr. PLUNKET) (Dublin University): I think I can give the hon. Gentleman a satisfactory explanation of the matter. It is quite true that a Vote for the new Admiralty and War Office Buildings was originally inserted in the Estimates, and that now it is not brought forward. The reason of that change is that during the last Parliament a suggestion was made by my right hon. Friend who is now Secretary of State for War (Mr. W. H. Smith) that it was desirable to reconsider the plans for the Admiralty and War Office Buildings. That suggestion was approved of by the then Chancellor of the Exchequer, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby (Sir William Harcourt); and accordingly it was afterwards proposed that a Committee should be appointed for the purpose of reconsidering the whole question, and such a Committee was nominated with the assent of the House. It was stated by my Predecessor (Lord Elgin) on the 27th of May, when a Vote on Account was taken, that nothing would be done beyond what was absolutely necessary in the way of demolition until Parliament had had an opportunity of reconsidering the matter, and until the Select Committee

had reported upon it. A further statement to that effect was made in this House by the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the last Parliament. Under these circumstances, it would obviously not be proper to press the Vote. It is the intention of the Government to propose the appointment of the Committee to report upon the subject in the next Session as early as possible. I know nothing whatever as to the Estimate for Dover Harbour.

THE CHAIRMAN: The question of Dover Harbour does not arise under this Vote.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.): The right hon. Gentleman has not been long in Office; but I should like him to give some promise that he will pay some attention to that melancholy subject to which attention has been called on more than one occasion—namely, the dying away of the trees in Kensington Gardens. I called the attention of the right hon. Gentleman's Predecessor to that matter. Things are now going from bad to worse; and, in these summer days, anyone who walks there for a little fresh air will find the trees still visibly dying. I hope the right hon. Gentleman will give us some assurance that attention will be paid to the subject.

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton): Does the right hon. and learned Gentleman propose to do anything in regard to the extension of Westminster Hall? It has been allowed to remain in the same condition now for some years.

MR. PLUNKET: Yes, Sir; I have recently been over the ground, and I can assure the hon. Member that the works will be proceeded with at once.

Vote agreed to.

(3.) £10,000, to complete the sum for the Mercantile Marine Fund (Grant in Aid).

(4.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £30,000, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1897, for Her Majesty's Foreign and other Secret Services."

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton): I do not intend to do more now than express a hope that what the Government have done in regard to the Secret Service

money charged upon the Consolidated Fund they will do next year in regard to this Vote. The saving to the Consolidated Fund appears to be a sum of more than £9,000 a-year, and it is reasonable to hope that some similar saving may be effected in this Vote; and that, instead of having a Secret Service Vote of £50,000 for the year, an Estimate may be brought forward for the various Departments, each Department stating the sum which it deems necessary for Secret Service. There would then no longer be a large sum which Parliament is unable to trace, even to any Department, or to know what becomes of it.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL) (Paddington, S.): I wish to point out to the hon. Member that if Secret Service money be granted at all, it must be granted so that Parliament cannot trace it. It is a Vote granted by Parliament to Ministers for public purposes, as to which Parliament trusts absolutely to the discretion of Ministers; and it is granted on the distinct condition and understanding that the employment of the money shall be absolutely secret. Therefore, on that ground, I would object to the arrangement suggested by the hon. Member, that the sum expended by each Office should be placed upon the Estimates. I would object to it on the ground that by so placing it on the Estimates it would diminish the secrecy of the expenditure. If Parliament chooses to grant this money as Secret Service money, the expenditure of it must obviously be left to the Ministry. If you do not choose to grant Secret Service money that is quite a different thing. If the House of Commons choose to deprive the Ministry of the day of these funds, that will be a very serious step for the House of Commons to take; and certainly, if the money be not granted, I do not believe that in the present day the Government can be carried on, or that the Services could be provided for, unless Parliament granted very liberal Estimates. I think the hon. Member will admit that the Government have established a claim upon the House by altogether sweeping away the expenditure on account of Secret Service hitherto charged upon the Consolidated Fund, which, I thought, was an expenditure which could not be defended in modern times; but I do

hope that the Government, having shown that they are determined that Secret Service money shall be expended only in the interests of the State and for purposes Parliament controls, inquiry as to the details of expenditure will not be pressed.

MR. BRADLAUGH: I desire to acknowledge, in the fullest manner, the concession made by the Government in reference to the charge upon the Consolidated Fund. I desire, on the part of Radicals, to acknowledge that in the frankest manner. But what the noble Lord now says in defence of the Vote is precisely what used to be said in defence of the very expenditure the noble Lord has abandoned. I cannot help thinking that the same kind of consideration arises here. There are no means of knowing how this money is expended; and it appears from answers given by witnesses examined by the Public Accounts Committee that it has sometimes been used to supplement payments in the shape of salaries.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: That was many years ago.

MR. BRADLAUGH: Yes; but the expenditure was secret still; and perhaps a more acute Public Accounts Committee may extract similar information. While I admit that the noble Lord has been frank in recognizing the distinction between this Vote and the charge on the Consolidated Fund I shall be compelled to divide the House against the Vote.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.): I am not surprised that the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Bradlaugh) should have called attention to this Vote; but I do think that in a great Empire like this it is quite impossible for the Public Service to be carried on without the employment of Secret Service money. Nevertheless, the abstraction of £10,000 a-year from the Consolidated Fund for that purpose was an abuse, and I am glad that the system has been abandoned. I think the Committee ought to rest satisfied after the stop which has been put to the spending of Secret Service money for electioneering purposes. This sum of £50,000 is expended on the responsibility of Her Majesty's Ministers; and all that can be required by this House is a statement from Ministers on honour that the money has been expended for the Secret Service for which it was required.

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton): A good deal of Secret Service money spent by the Foreign Office is not really Secret Service money in any sense of the word, but is expended in giving pensions to the widows of persons who have been employed by the Government. I think it would be better to separate the two items—namely, the money really employed for Secret Service purposes, and that which is given away in pensions. I am not asserting for a moment that these pensions to widows and others who have rendered service to the Government ought not to be paid; but still they are not Secret Service money, and it appears to me far more desirable that the Government should ask for a certain sum for pensions to widows and others, where there is no fund specially available for them, instead of putting it down for Secret Service money.

MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W., and Sligo, S.): I wish to ask if there is any truth in the report that the Government have employed a shorthand writer, together with a detective, to follow Mr. Michael Davitt on his public tour in the United States; and, if so, whether the pay of those individuals is provided for under the head of Secret Service money?

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: The hon. Member must know that no Minister has ever answered a question with regard to the expenditure of Secret Service money, either negatively or affirmatively; and I cannot depart from that practice. With regard to the employment of a shorthand writer, I have no information on the subject, neither has my right hon. Friend the Home Secretary.

Question put.

The Committee divided:—Ayes 159; Noes 54: Majority 105.—Div. List, No. 24.)

(5.) £3,393, to complete the sum for the Secretary for Scotland's Office.

MR. J. W. BARCLAY (Forfarshire): I should like to ask the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary for Scotland (Mr. A. J. Balfour) what authority he exercises over the Local Boards sitting in Edinburgh? It was one of the principal reasons for the appointment of a Secretary for Scotland that these Boards were practically irresponsible, and it was hoped that when the appoint-

ment was made the Minister would be able to exercise some authority over them. The Boards to which I refer are the Fishery Board, the Lunacy Commission, the Poor Law Board, and the Board of Supervision. It has often been stated in this House that none of these Boards were responsible. Very considerable complaints have been made from time to time regarding the interference of the Board of Supervision in the administration of local affairs; and we know quite well that the Board practically consists of only one individual, the Chairman. The Board of Lunacy and the Fishery Board also require looking after; and I shall be glad to hear from the right hon. Gentleman whether he is in a position to exercise control over these Boards, so that he may be responsible in this House for their doings. It will be a very great satisfaction to the people of Scotland to know that the administration of affairs relating to Scotland is in the hands and under the control of a responsible Minister. If the right hon. Gentleman has not yet sufficient authority under the Act of Parliament, I hope that he will direct his attention to the subject, with a view to bringing the Local Boards in Scotland under his control. I believe this is the desire of the people of Scotland; and I am sure, if he succeeds in accomplishing this object, he will have done a great deal to justify the creation of his Office. I should also like to know whether the right hon. Gentleman exercises as much authority and control over the Boards in Scotland as the Local Government Board does over the various Local Boards in England?

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.): My hon. Friend the Member for Forfarshire has put a very important question to the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary for Scotland; and I hope the right hon. Gentleman will be able to give a satisfactory answer with regard to the Fishery Board, Lunacy Board, Poor Law Board, and the Board of Supervision. With reference to the other question asked by my hon. Friend, as to the extent of the control over the Local Boards in Edinburgh, I think the right hon. Gentleman would be in a much better position if he had that control in Scotland which the Home Secretary and the Local Government Board together have in England. Now, Sir,

coming to the establishment of this Office—the Office of the Secretary for Scotland—I find we have the Secretary with a salary of £2,000 a-year; we have the Permanent Under Secretary, with a salary of £1,500 a-year, and £500, the portion of his pension in respect of service in the Education Department. We have then an Assistant Under Secretary, with a salary of £920. But under these three great Officers we have only three clerks. It would, therefore, seem that this Office has a very large head, but a very attenuated body. I hope the right hon. Gentleman will see that it is much better that he should have all these Scotch Offices and Local Boards under his control.

THE SECRETARY FOR SCOTLAND (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.): The hon. Gentleman (Sir George Campbell) has asked me the nature of the powers exercised over the Scotch Local Boards. The authority I exercise over these Boards is precisely the same as that which was exercised by the Lord Advocate under the law which existed before my Office was constituted by Parliament; and in answer to the hon. Member for Forfarshire (Mr. Barclay) I have to say that the authority I exercise over these Boards is as great as that formerly exercised by the Secretary of State for the Home Department here. The Statute by which my Office was created simply transferred to me the powers which the Secretary of State for the Home Department possesses. These powers, I admit, are not very great in extent; indeed, the control I have over any separate Department is very small; but I am not sure that that is a thing wholly to be regretted. The Scottish Boards are very peculiar institutions, and there is nothing analogous to them in England. They have worked well, and so long as they work well we are enabled through them to avoid undue centralization; and, therefore, I do not think it would be consistent with the ordinary rules of administration and legislation in favour in this country that we should, in deference to theory, abolish institutions which work well in practice. The hon. Gentleman said the Board of Supervision was complained of in Scotland because of its arbitrary interference with local affairs; but I would remind the hon. Member that the

powers exercised by the Board of Supervision are as nothing compared with the powers exercised in England by the Local Government Board. When I first went to the Local Government Board about a year and a-half ago I was astonished at the minute supervision and control which that Board exercises over everything connected with the Poor Law Boards and other local institutions in England. There is nothing like that in Scotland; and so long as we get on without that control I do not think we ought to regard it as necessary. With regard to the Fishery Board and the Board of Lunacy, the work in those Departments is very great, and only one or two members of those Boards are paid for their work, the other assistance being given gratuitously; and it should be borne in mind that neither the Board of Supervision, nor any other Department, can altogether avoid complaints, sometimes just and sometimes unjust. For my own part, I do not think we Scotchmen have serious reason to be discontented with the system which already exists. Whether it will be modified by the Government bringing in another Local Government Bill is not settled. The hon. Member for Kirkcaldy (Sir George Campbell) asked me whether I can say conscientiously that I have earned my pay. Well, Sir, I have not had a long opportunity of studying that question; and I do not know, if I came to an unfavourable conclusion with regard to it, that I should care to confide my opinion to my hon. Friend. But I must say that the duties of the Scotch Office are not so insignificant as the hon. Member apparently supposes, because, as Secretary for Scotland, I am not only at the head of the general administration of the country, but also, as Vice President of the Council, I am at the head of the Education Department. These two Offices together may well prevent the duties of the Secretary of Scotland being those of a sinecurist.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL: I simply expressed my surprise that there were three heads of the Office and only three clerks.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The hon. Gentleman commented on the high pay of the two head permanent officials in the Scotch Office. He said one of them received £2,000 a-year. That is true;

but he does not receive that as Under Secretary for Scotland; he receives only £1,500 a-year in that capacity. Owing to the fact that Sir Francis Sandford is the Permanent Under Secretary for Scotland, we have not only secured the services of one of the very ablest public officials, but we have also saved the country a large amount in hard cash; because Sir Francis Sandford is entitled to a large pension, the whole of which he does not draw, so long as he occupies the post of Permanent Under Secretary. The hon. Gentleman appears to me to think that you should not have highly paid officers at the head of a Department unless you have a large number of clerks under them. I cannot agree with that. The duties may not be so heavy and so numerous as to require a large staff of clerks; but in this case they are of so important a character that the gentlemen at the head of the Office must be equal in position and character to those of any other Office at Whitehall. Therefore, I say that these gentlemen eminently deserve the salaries paid to them; and I do not think we could secure the kind of men we want for less money.

MR. J. W. BARCLAY: I do not desire that the Secretary for Scotland should have any more interference with local affairs than there is at present. What we want is a responsible Secretary for Scotland, and not an irresponsible Board as in Edinburgh. Complaints have been made as to undue interference on the part of the Board of Supervision in Edinburgh, and in regard to the other Boards I shall have more to say later on. I desire that the supervision of the Boards should be exercised by someone who is responsible for it, and not by an irresponsible person in Edinburgh. The Board of Supervision, as I have said, consists only of the Chairman. ["No, no!"] The Lord Advocate expresses some doubt about that. I recollect that a Return was made of the attendance of the Board, and we found that seldom anyone besides the Chairman attended. When the Chairman alone was present it was called a Committee, and the Committee had the full powers of the Board. This question has been discussed in the House for many years. The Board has been unsatisfactory, and is unsatisfactory now; and I want the Secretary for

Scotland to be responsible for the Board of Supervision, and also for the Fishery Board. I think that was what the Scottish people asked for when a Secretary was appointed for Scotland. I invite the attention of the right hon. Gentleman to these subjects, and to say that it would be better to have an improved control by the Secretary for Scotland, who is responsible to this House.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL: I have known Sir Francis Sandford all my life, and I am aware that we could not have a more valuable public servant; but it does seem to me, from the very modesty and slenderness of the Staff, that there must be very little detailed work in the Office, with the exception of the educational work. I agree with my hon. Friend the Member for Forfarshire that it would be desirable for the Secretary for Scotland to exercise a more complete control over the Scotch Boards, which I agree are unpopular in Scotland, and centralise too much. We want a controlling power over them; and in so far as they are not responsible to the Secretary for Scotland they are not responsible to Parliament. I think these Boards should be made over to the Department of the Secretary for Scotland, in order that he may have full working power in connection with them.

Vote agreed to.

(6.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £2,755, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1887, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Department of the Queen's and Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer in Exchequer, Scotland, of certain Officers in Scotland, and other Charges formerly on the Hereditary Revenue."

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton): I observe in this Vote a charge of £500 for the Lyon King-at-Arms, and also a charge of £75 for three heralds at £25 each, and three pursuivants at £16 13s. 4d. each. Now, I have asked many times in this House what is the use of these heralds, pursuivants, and Kings-at-Arms; but I have never had a reasonable reply. I understand the duties of the Lyon King-at-Arms is to provide pedigrees and arms for those who have neither pedigrees nor arms. I am told by an hon. Member from Scot-

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land that he pursues a species of touting system. An hon. Friend of mine received a letter from the Lyon King-at-Arms, not long ago, offering to provide him with a pedigree at a reasonable price if he was ready to pay for it. Of course, my hon. Friend being a sensible man, entirely declined to have that pedigree forced upon him. Then there was another case of a gentleman from Scotland having a shield before his name in *Dodd's Parliamentary Guide*, on which a wild animal was exhibited; immediately he got a letter from the Lyon King-at-Arms, asking him what he meant by exhibiting this animal on the shield, and stating that he ought to pay a sum of money and have a genuine coat of arms. I may be told that this office pays for itself. That makes the case even worse. There are certain things which are immoral and ought not to be done. This is one of them, and we ought not to provide a salary for a Lyon King-at-Arms and persons connected with him, in order that he should foist off upon poor, simple-minded, ignorant Scotsmen pedigrees and arms for a small fee. I regard the whole thing as utterly immoral; and I object to the State having anything to do with these tomfooleries. By all means, let us do away with these heralds and pursuivants and this Lyon King-at-Arms. I shall divide the House against this Vote. I may not, perhaps, get a majority—I never do; but I shall give hon. Members an opportunity of protesting against this ridiculous office. If we do not continue to protest against the Lyon King-at-Arms we shall, perhaps, be called upon hereafter to pay £500 a-year for a Unicorn King-at-Arms.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £2,125, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1887, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Department of the Queen's and Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer in Exchequer, Scotland, of certain Officers in Scotland, and other Charges formerly on the Hereditary Revenue."—(*Mr. Labouchere.*)

MR. HUNTER (Aberdeen, N.): Can the right hon. Gentleman inform me what was the amount of fees received in the office during the year 1885?

SIR HERBERT MAXWELL (A LORD OF THE TREASURY) (Wigton): The amount of fees received last year was

£500, and the same amount is calculated as the receipts this year. The fines and forfeitures in the Justiciary and Sheriff Courts which come to the office of Lyon King-at-Arms amount to £4,500, making in all £5,000, against a charge for the Lyon Office of £6,425. The cost of the Lyon Office is not, as was stated by the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere), £500, but a little over £160.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL: (Kirkcaldy, &c.): I agree with the hon. Member for Northampton that the office of Lyon King-at-Arms is a very ridiculous one, and I shall vote with him for the reduction of the Vote. I shall ask the support of the hon. Member in opposition to some other items in the Vote to which I object—namely, those for the Law Agent and Clerk to the Bible Board, £180; Queen's Plate, £198, run for at the Caledonian Hunt.

SIR HERBERT MAXWELL: With regard to the Bible Board, the position is one which can be defended on the score of its cheapness, the annual cost being only £180. At the same time, its duties are not unimportant, inasmuch as it guarantees the text of every Bible in Scotland. The members of the Board perform their work gratuitously, and the £180 to which the hon. Gentleman takes exception is really paid to the Lord Advocate and Solicitor General. The offices of Majesty's Limner and Historiographer are the sole remnants of the ancient Monarchy of Scotland, and as they cost so very little I think they must be considered a very cheap memorial. With regard to the money voted for the Queen's Plates, I would ask the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy to compare the very modest amount for the Queen's Plates in Scotland with the sums voted for them in England and Ireland.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL: I have always held that two blacks do not make a white; and I object to the Queen's Plates in England as well as in Scotland. With regard to the Bible Board, I should have thought that the correctness of the text of the Bible might very well have been left to the printer. I am under the impression that not long ago an august body found that the text of the Bible was very impure and incorrect.

MR. LABOUCHERE: I ask leave to withdraw my Amendment, in order to in-

clude, in another Amendment which I will then move, the items to which my hon. Friend objects. The amount of the reduction I shall propose would be £1,200, and my Amendment would then include the items for the Bible Board, the Queen's Limner and Historiographer, and the Queen's Plates. It is very gratifying to find this feeling of economy amongst Scotch Members. I have generally found, in moving such a reduction, that Scotchmen have been inclined to think that all is grist that comes to the Scotch mill. I have, in this House, opposed Scotch Votes, and I have found even economical Scotchmen indignantly protesting against anything which the Saxon gave being cut off. They have generally acted on the principle of taking all they can get. I include the Historiographer and the Limner all the more readily for the explanation which the hon. Gentleman (Sir Herbert Maxwell) has given. The hon. Gentleman says that these are remnants of the Scotch Monarchy. The Scottish Monarchy has disappeared entirely. From his statement one would imagine that the hon. Gentleman was a Separatist. I do not see why we should pay salaries to two gentlemen of £184 and £97 respectively, merely to perpetuate the recollection of the existence of the Scotch Monarchy. The Scotch Monarchy is entirely merged into the English Monarchy. [Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL: No, no!] I see that I am now treading on dangerous ground, and I will, therefore, not continue my observations on this point; but simply ask leave to withdraw my Motion for the purpose of moving to reduce the Vote by £1,289.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*.

Original Question again proposed.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £1,466, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1887, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Department of the Queen's and Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer in Exchequer, Scotland, of certain Offices in Scotland, and other Charges formerly on the Hereditary Revenue."—(*Mr. Labouchere*.)

MR. JORDAN (Clare, W.): If there be not a single Bible Board connected with England and Ireland, I do not see why we should pay for a Bible Board for Scotland, except on the

ground that the Scotch people are much more religious than the people of the other two countries. With regard to the offices of Queen's Limner and Historiographer, I understand that these are remnants of a past Monarchy, and on that ground I think they ought to be abolished. Finally, as to the Queen's Plates, if there ought to be Queen's Plates in reality, but do not pay for them out of the taxpayers' money.

MR. CLANCOY (Dublin Co., N.): I shall support the Motion of the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere). I do not support the hon. Member's Motion from any desire to cut down Scotch Votes, because I do not think that the people of Scotland get their fair share as it is; but I am perfectly prepared to vote for a similar reduction in the case of Ireland, and when we reach the point I shall propose to reduce the Estimate by the item of the charge for the Ulster King-at-Arms. I think, however, it would be more satisfactory if the hon. Member would exclude from his Motion the charge for the Bible Board. For my part, I am certainly in favour of retaining that particular portion of the Vote, because I do not think that a provision of this kind, tending, as many consider, to the well-being of religion, ought to be excluded. I am, therefore, willing to vote with the hon. Member for Northampton, provided the charge for the Bible Board is excluded from the proposed reduction.

MR. LABOUCHERE: I am unable to make that alteration. I must point out to the hon. Member that this Vote for the Bible Board has nothing to do with religion. The printers' reader takes a Bible of any particular edition, and sees that the words are the same as in the orthodox edition. The same sort of thing goes on in every printing office. The Law Agent is simply an idle gentleman who takes the salary, and employs a reader to do the work.

MR. HUNTER: I should like the Government to tell us who is the Historiographer, and who is the Limner.

MR. ANDERSON (Elgin and Nairn): Can the hon. Baronet tell us what is the arrangement with regard to the Law Agent and the Bible Board?

SIR HERBERT MAXWELL: The original arrangement was that this Vote

Mr. Labouchere

should be omitted from the Estimates for 1884-5. I am informed that a settlement of the question is at present pending; and it is to be considered whether the duties shall continue to be retained by the Office, or be transferred to the Office of the Secretary for Scotland.

MR. J. W. BARCLAY (Forfarshire): I should certainly think that the Secretary for Scotland, with a printer's reader, could do this work without the assistance of a lawyer. I understand that the effect of this arrangement is simply to create a monopoly in the book market. I suggest that the Secretary for Scotland might, with advantage, devote some of his attention to these matters, which take up a great deal of time year after year, and which, I think, could be very easily put on a satisfactory footing.

MR. O'HEA (Donegal, W.): I shall support the Motion of the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere); and I shall do so on the ground that I think a case has been abundantly made out on behalf of the taxpayers generally. These items ought not to be allowed, on the ground of economy, to remain on the Estimates, unless they are, at any rate, very considerably reduced. The remarks of the hon. Gentleman have been perfectly satisfactory to me, and I think they ought also to be so to the Committee. I altogether object to the extravagance of the sums proposed to be voted for this obsolete system. I understand that the function of the Bible Board has been to preserve the Bible in its condition of orthodoxy. Years ago there was a considerable outcry, and that outcry had the effect of extinguishing altogether in Ireland the circulation of Bibles purporting to be Douay Bibles, but in reality Bibles published by a proselytizing Protestant Society in England. The Catholic Episcopacy are quite able to attend to their own interests in this matter; and I think that the Scotch Presbyterians, in like manner, should themselves look after what they conceive to be the purity of their Bibles, and protect their own interests. An item which seems to me to be an unnecessary extravagance is that for the Queen's Limner and the Queen's Historiographer. If anybody wishes to make himself acquainted with the history of Scotland, he will find no difficulty in tracing that history down to the present time from the very earliest

period of antiquity—from the very era of fable—by going to the public libraries and consulting their comprehensive histories. I, therefore, fail to see why we want this item for a Royal Historiographer. [*Cries of "Divide!"*] Even the *cacothes loquendi* of hon. Members opposite will not prevent me from making such observations as I deem expedient. As to the item for Her Majesty's Limner, it is to be supposed, and to be hoped, that Scotland possesses picture galleries in addition to libraries and museums—that it possesses portraits of celebrities who figured in the Monarchical times of Scotch history; and now that photography has been brought to such perfection, if anyone wants to have a copy of any of these pictures, he can get a photograph of it for 1s. I think, therefore, that this item for Her Majesty's Limner might be very well dispensed with. I make these observations purely on the ground of economy, as I think this portion of the Estimates should be very considerably reduced.

MR. HARRIS (Galway, E.): I did not intend to take part in this discussion, though, indeed, I have felt for a long time that the Scotch people had been making fools of themselves with regard to this Limner and Historiographer. Next to this form of humbug, I think they are very much making fools of themselves about the Bible.

THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member will please address himself to the Vote, which is a financial question.

MR. HARRIS: I notice that in the debate on the Crofters Bill—["Order!"]—the right hon. and learned Gentleman the present Lord Advocate recommended that the only concession which should be made to the crofters should be to allow them to go to Manitoba, Kamschatka, or other places where they would be allowed to take their Bibles with them. Well, however valuable the Bible may be to the Scotch crofters—

THE CHAIRMAN: I must request the hon. Gentleman to attend to my advice, and to address himself to the Vote.

MR. HARRIS: Well, Sir, allow me to say that I support the hon. Member who has brought forward this proposition.

MR. HUNTER: We, as yet, have no information as to who this Limner and Historiographer are.

SIR HERBERT MAXWELL: The Historiographer is Dr. Skene, a very well known gentleman in Scotland, and the Limner is Sir Noel Paton.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL: Does the Limner supply any pictures for the money?

MR. JORDAN: Is there a similar Vote for Ireland or England?

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 59; Noes 141: Majority 82.—(Div. List, No. 25.)

Original Question put, and *agreed to*.

(7.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £12,780, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1887, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Fishery Board in Scotland and for Grants in Aid of Piers or Quays."

MR. J. W. BARCLAY (Forfarshire): When the Vote on Account on the last occasion was before the House, I took the opportunity of calling attention to the constitution of the Scotch Fishery Board, and to some of its proceedings. The right hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. J. B. Balfour) who then spoke for the Secretary for Scotland told us that everyone in Scotland was satisfied with it. But if the Secretary for Scotland had the advantage of representing a Scotch constituency he would find that that is not the case. All round the Coast of Scotland there are general complaints as to the constitution of the Board and its working. The people think it is practically worthless. There is no one practically acquainted with sea fishing on this Board. I have nothing whatever to say against the scientific portion of the Board. I have read, with great interest, their last Report, and I think the scientific side of the Board is well represented, and that it has done as much as could be expected in the direction of scientific investigation. But the fishermen complain, and I think with a great deal of justice, that there is no one on the Board practically acquainted with fisheries who can be of assistance to them on fishing questions, procure for them the information they ought to possess, and guard their interests in every way. We had a very good example of the acting Board, on a recent occasion, in an attempt to carry out the law

with respect to restrictions on trawling. In that effort the Board defined certain areas, in accordance with the powers contained in a recent Act, one of these areas being on the Coast of Fife, and the other along the Aberdeenshire Coast. There was not much complaint about the Firth of Forth; but the fishermen in Forfarshire and Aberdeenshire complained very strongly that the areas there laid off were altogether inadequate in extent to answer properly the questions which the Board proposed to decide as to the habits of the fish and the effect of trawling on the food supply of the country. A deputation of fishermen came up to London, at great expense, both of time and money—a considerable number of them—and they stated their case to Lord Dalhousie, then Secretary for Scotland. As might have been anticipated, however, Lord Dalhousie did not feel himself justified in overruling the judgment of the Fishery Board. But I think that those present on that occasion, who were disinterested and took an impartial view of the case, were satisfied that the fishermen had made out their case, and that they had been put to the trouble and expense of coming to London unnecessarily. They saw, in fact, that though the fishermen had a good case, the result of their interview was a foregone conclusion. That is one illustration of the disadvantage the fishermen experience through having no fishermen on the Board, who would be able to keep the Board right on matters such as the area which should be allowed to test the effect of trawling, and would be able to satisfy the men that their interests were duly protected. Another important question with which the Board deals, I am sorry to say, in an unsatisfactory manner is that of fishing harbours. I think that a large proportion, if not the whole, of the money which has been spent by the Board on harbours has been practically thrown away. The last experiment was the making of a harbour at Ness Point in Skye, and that harbour has now silted up with sand, a contingency which, I am informed, was foreseen by the fishermen and foretold to the engineer of the Board. I do not wish to say a word against the engineers to the Board, who are gentlemen of high reputation. We know that all Government officials, when their

doings are discussed in this House, are said to have a high reputation, and to be thoroughly qualified for the performance of their duties; but I think it would be much better for the Board to have an engineer exclusively at their own service, and not to have to take professional advice such as that of the Messrs. Stevenson. It has been strongly represented to me by those able to judge of this matter that it would be much more to the advantage of the Fishery Board if they employed their own engineers. Then I think the Board are in the habit of spending far too large sums of money on one harbour. The small amount of the grant was not intended to be accumulated in order that it should be spent in one large sum on one harbour, but to give assistance in comparatively small sums to many small fishing villages round the Coasts. I have myself brought under the notice of the Fishery Board a fishing port on the Forfarshire coast, where, I think, a very small expenditure may be made with great advantage to the fishermen and to the development of the fishing, and it was a case where arrangements might be made whereby the local proprietor would co-operate with the Fishery Board in order to produce the desired improvements. I think it would be very desirable if we could have a Return placed before us of how the money has been expended for some years past. [Sir GEORGE BALFOUR (Kincardine): We had that.] These are all points to which I wish the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary for Scotland would direct his attention. I would request him to bestow his attention particularly upon the constitution of the Board. Since I called attention to this subject in, I think, June last, one of the Members of the Board has resigned. I believe the Members are appointed for five years, and that the period of retirement of the other Members has not yet arrived; so that it will, of course, be impossible for the Secretary of State to exercise any active interference with the other appointments until the expiration of the term of Office. But I desire the right hon. Gentleman to express an opinion in favour of appointing to the present vacancy some practical fisherman—some person who is really acquainted with fishing, and who will keep the Board right on these matters. Several Members on the Board are, no

doubt, very well acquainted with salmon fishing; but I do not think it can be said that any single Member has any practical acquaintance with sea fishing. I trust the right hon. Gentleman will be prepared to use his utmost endeavours to increase the efficiency of this Board in the filling up of the existing vacancy by a practical fisherman. I can assure him that there are many fishermen all round the Coast who have taken a very great interest in the subject, and that the universal opinion at the present time among them is that for their purposes the existence of the Fishery Board, as at present constituted, is practically useless.

MR. MARJORIBANKS (Berwickshire): My hon. Friend who has just sat down (Mr. Barclay) has referred to three special points with regard to the action of the Scotch Fishery Board. The first of these three is with regard to the constitution of the Board. I think the hon. Member is rather unfair on the Board, for he gave us to understand that, as at present constituted, it is thoroughly worthless. I do not agree with the hon. Member in that case. As reconstructed, the Board has proved itself an exceedingly useful body; and its Reports, issued during the last four years, are exceedingly valuable. The work the Board has done in the collection of useful information in regard to sea fishing, and as to the way in which it may be better conducted, and as to the amount of fish caught at different places, is very valuable, and will be the foundation for much that will be very useful in the future. Then, again, I think the hon. Gentleman should remember that this Board, which carries on its work so well, is an unpaid Board. The Chairman is paid, and the Secretary receives a salary, and I believe that a scientific gentleman—Professor Cottar Ewart—also gets some remuneration; but as for the others they give their valuable work and services for nothing. Moreover, I think they are much better qualified to deal with the subject than the hon. Gentleman seems inclined to admit. As to the desirability of introducing some practical fishermen on the Board I entirely sympathize with the hon. Gentleman, so far as thinking that the Board is undoubtedly weak in this respect—that there is no one on it to give expression to the views of the

fishermen themselves. But I doubt very much whether it would be possible to appoint a practical fisherman on the Board. I want to know, if you did appoint such a man, how he could give up his time and his occupation of fishing and go to live in Edinburgh, in order to attend to the business of the Board? I do not think that any fisherman of my hon. Friend's constituency would like to be constantly attending the Board. Still, I do think the Board might very well be strengthened by the addition to its Members of some gentleman who is thoroughly acquainted with all the views of the Scotch fishermen, and I recommend that consideration to my right hon. Friend the Secretary for Scotland (Mr. A. J. Balfour). Now, as to the question of trawling, let me, first of all, say, as a Member of the Trawling Commission, that our recommendation that power should be given to the Scotch Fishery Board to stop trawling in the territorial waters was something in the nature of a compromise between the opinions of the different Members of the Commission. I think the far better plan would have been to have altogether prohibited trawling in all territorial waters. That might have been done without injury to the trawling industry, and it would have been found of the greatest use and service to that very class of fishermen who are least able to go far to sea, and who carry on their arduous profession under most difficult conditions—I mean especially the very young and the very old fishermen, men who, perhaps, are possessed of only a small boat, who cannot get far out to sea, but who manage to eke out a living by fishing close to shore. These are the men with whom the steam trawlers, particularly those on the Coasts of Scotland, most interfere. But another thing to be considered is this—that the amount of fish caught by trawlers within the territorial limits of any coast is infinitesimal. Trawlers, as a rule, are well-found vessels, well able to go to sea, and well able to carry on their work. I need hardly say that a vessel which drags a heavy trawl behind her should be a strong vessel, and a vessel that will stand a considerable amount of knocking about at sea. Then, it seems to me that the conduct of the Fishery Board itself, in respect to our recommendation, was probably also the result of a compromise. They have done some-

thing rather less than we intended should be done when we included the recommendation I have mentioned in our Report. The Board have taken it as if the recommendation was purely for the purpose of an experiment; but everyone who reads the Report will see that that is not so, but that it was recommended the Board should be given full and complete power to prohibit trawling within the three-mile limit all round Scotland. I think it is exceedingly unfortunate that when this recommendation was adopted in the Act of 1885 the Fishery Board did not extend the area of prohibited water; at any rate, they might have extended it to the Moray Firth. It must be remembered that on the Coast of Scotland the places within the three-mile limit where trawlers can come are few; it is essentially a rocky coast, and, excepting in a very few places, it is impossible to carry on trawling at all. My hon. Friend the Member for Forfarshire proceeded to deal with the harbour question, and to find considerable fault with the Scotch Fishery Board with regard to its action in connection with the harbour grant. Well, now, it is hardly fair to blame the present Board; and in regard to the old Board I must say that, in my opinion, its administration of this fund ever since it was granted in 1829 has proved most unsatisfactory. As a matter of fact, the Scotch Fishery Board between 1829 and 1882 dealt with no less than 28 harbours on the Coast of Scotland. Since then, of course, some others have been dealt with. If my memory serves me, the amount of public money spent on the 28 harbours between 1829 and 1882 was £149,000, and the money raised in the localities during the same time amounted to something like £71,000; in all, something like £250,000 sterling was spent on those harbours. Of that £250,000 sterling, £140,000 was spent on two harbours alone—namely, £60,000 on Dunbar Harbour, and £80,000 on Anstruther Harbour. Now, what is the result of this expenditure of money? Why, that of all these harbours on the Coast of Scotland, there is not a single one which an ordinary big fishing boat can enter at all states of the tide; indeed, there is hardly a single one which is not absolutely dry at low water. That is not at all a satisfactory state of things. The first requirement of a fishing harbour is

Mr. Marjoribanks

that it can be entered by fishing boats at all states of the tide. The very least water that there should be at low water is 10 feet. Now, I quite admit that there is a grievance with regard to the engineers. The Fishery Board refuse to consider, or to help, any harbour, the plan of which is not drawn by their own engineer. The result of this is that every authority who is going to make a harbour instantly applies to this one engineer, or one firm of engineers, for the plans, in the expectation that in some way or other they may get helped by the Fishery Board. In that way the whole of the harbour business of the Coast of Scotland is practically thrown into the hands of one firm of engineers, who assist the Board in arriving at the conclusion which harbour they ought to make, and how the harbours are to be inspected whilst they are being made. That, I think, is an unsatisfactory state of things. My own idea is that it would be far better if the engineer employed by the Fishery Board to help them to arrive at a decision with regard to any particular harbour were specially appointed, and had nothing to say to them with regard to the plans of the harbours which are to be made. The preparation of the plans should be open to all engineers, and any harbour engineer's plans should be equally considered by the Board. Then, my hon. Friend (Mr. J. W. Barclay) alluded to the surplus from the herring brand fees. The Committee on the Herring Brand was, I believe, the first Committee of this House I had the honour of sitting on; and the recommendation we made was that any surplus from the fees should be handed over to the Scotch Fishery Board to use in any such a way as it might think fit, either for promoting harbours, for improving telegraphic communication, or for other purposes. That has been done since. If my hon. Friend refers to the Estimate, he will see that this surplus has been paid over to the Board, and that the way in which it has been expended is also accounted for.

MR. HUNTER (Aberdeen, N.): I am anxious to press on the attention of the Government one point only, and that is the constitution of the Fishery Board. The fishermen on the Coast of Scotland feel it to be a very great grievance that there are no fishermen upon this Board. It is a Board which is constituted of

three persons, who hold their offices under an Act of Parliament—these are three Sheriffs—and of six persons who were appointed in 1882, whose term of office expires in 1887. It is, therefore, important that the Government should take the question of the reconstitution of the Board into consideration without delay. Now, Sir, the Chairman of the Board is the only Member who is paid, and he is paid a salary of £800 a-year. Sir Thomas Boyd is a member of a well-known firm of printers in Edinburgh. He belongs to the Edinburgh clique, which has always managed to fall into the patronage of the Liberal Government; and he possessed the two indispensable qualifications of office under the Liberal Government. First of all, he knew absolutely nothing of the subject with which he had to deal; and, secondly, he had conspicuously failed to render any service to the Party which was so anxious to render him service in return. When they gave £800 a-year as salary to a gentleman who knew nothing whatever about fishing, it was reasonable to suppose that the Government would try to make up for the deficiency by appointing some gentlemen as Members of the Fishery Board who knew something about fishing. But they appointed two or three landed proprietors, one or two of whom are well acquainted with salmon fishing. I do not object to there being gentlemen upon the Board who are acquainted with salmon fishing; but I think it is most important that the sea-fishing industry should be represented on the Board. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Berwickshire (Mr. Marjoribanks) has said that fishermen are not rich men, and cannot afford to give their time to the duty of the Board; but that is a problem which could be very easily solved. All that is necessary is to take £200 off the salary of the Chairman, and expend it in paying the expenses of the fishermen who may be appointed to the Board. The salary of the Chairman is fixed on the amplest scale. I find that it amounts to £37 for every Board meeting. There are very few Chairmen or Directors of Companies who are so well paid for the services they render to their Companies. With the preparation of the statistics and the conduct of scientific investigations the Chairman has nothing to do; there is an abundant staff to

attend to these things; and, therefore, I beg to move that the Chairman's salary be reduced by £200, in order to provide the means of paying the expenses of fishermen who may be appointed Members of the Board.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum not exceeding £12,580, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1887, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Fishery Board in Scotland and for Grants in Aid of Piers or Quays."—*(Mr. Hunter.)*

MR. P. McDONALD (Sligo, N.): I desire to say a few words on the subject raised by the hon. Gentleman the Member for Forfarshire (Mr. J. W. Barclay). I think that, in the first place, I ought to congratulate my Scotch Friends upon the very creditable condition of the Scotch fisheries; the creditable condition compared with that of the Irish fisheries. In respect to the question dwelt upon at length by the hon. Member for Forfarshire, I find from the Report of the Scotch Fishery Board for 1885, page 333, that 653,425 barrels of herrings were branded in that year—an increase over the previous year of 182,429 barrels. The Board deemed it of importance to call attention to the fact that the demand for branded herrings continues to increase. In 1859, the year in which 3s. 4d. per barrel was charged for branding, the number of barrels branded was 156,676; in 1869, or 10 years later, the number had increased to 244,000; in 1879 it was 342,000; and last year the number had increased to 653,425 barrels. There has thus been a continual and gradual increase, which proves very conclusively the value of the system of branding. The Board, in their Report, also pointed out that the great bulk of the branded herrings are sent to the Continent of Europe. They consider that the figures I have quoted afford most gratifying proof of the high and growing estimation in which the brand is held. The Commission which sat in 1846, and upon whose recommendation the system of branding was adopted, estimated that the fees ought to realize £3,500 a-year; but from the Report we have now in our hands we find not that that sum ought to be realized, but that the large and respectable amount

of £11,488 has been received. Evidently, the increase in the amount of fees must be proportionate to the increased value that is attached to the branding. It is quite clear that the purchaser does regard the brand as some guarantee of the genuineness or soundness of the fish. The Report goes on to say—

"It may be here mentioned that the Board continues to do everything in its power to maintain the high character which the brand deserves."

Why are we not given the brand in Ireland? If it be good for Scotland it ought to be good for Ireland. If the brand is so advantageous, as I think I have proved it is, by all means let our Fishery Board, if Fishery Board we can call it, adopt the brand, and benefit the Irish fisheries in like way. It may be said—I believe it has been said on previous occasions—that the Irish fishermen do not demand the brand. But I, as the Representative of a constituency which is bounded very largely by the Coast, ask, on behalf of the fishermen of Ireland, to have the brand applied to Ireland, and I believe I shall be joined in that request by a great number of my Friends around me. I maintain that a Government which professes to deal equally with England, Ireland, and Scotland, must grant to Ireland that which I have proved to be so beneficial to Scotland. I congratulate my Scotch Friends on the success which one of their industries has attained, and I hope they will persevere in their endeavours to secure still further and greater advantages and the removal of any defects that may exist. My sympathies are entirely with the Scotch and Welsh as well as the Irish fishermen. I shall, therefore, vote for the Amendment of my hon. Friend (Mr. Hunter) merely as a protest against the fact that the benefit which is conceded to Scotland is not granted to Ireland.

MR. ANDERSON (Elgin and Nairn): As the Representative of a constituency that has a very large fishing population, I desire to say a few words to the Committee on this subject. Having discussed the matter with fishermen, and ascertained their opinion in regard to the Fishery Board, I must agree entirely with the views expressed by the hon. Gentleman the Member for Forfarshire (Mr. J. W. Barclay). The fishing popu-

Mr. Hunter

lation of Scotland look upon the Fishery Board, I regret to say, as having been, so far, a failure. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Berwickshire (Mr. Marjoribanks) seems to think that the Board has been a success. I understood him to get up in order to differ from my hon. Friend the Member for Forfarshire; but he had not proceeded very far in his remarks when he came to the very important question—the very burning question—of trawling. The right hon. Gentleman threw over the Fishery Board, for he thought their conduct with regard to trawling had been entirely wrong. Now, that is a rather curious way of proving that the action of the Fishery Board has been successful in promoting the fishing industry. This question of trawling is a most important one. As the right hon. Gentleman has said, it affects, very materially, the Moray Firth. The constituency I represent is by the side of the Moray Firth, and the fishermen there have over and over again protested that they ought to be protected from the depredations of trawlers. I have no doubt that the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary for Scotland (Mr. A. J. Balfour) is aware of the evidence that was given before the Trawling Commission on this subject. With regard to the Moray Firth, the present officials of the Fishery Board came forward, and said they considered that trawling there did unquestionable harm to inshore fishing. In the face of that, and in the face of the other fact, that a great amount of injury is undoubtedly done in the Moray Firth to the line and drift-net fishermen, I ask this question—I asked it the other day, and the right hon. Gentleman was kind enough to get me the answer of the Fishery Board; but I am going to ask him to tell me to-night why, when it has been proved by evidence, given without contradiction, that considerable injury is done to fishing by the system of trawling, when it is admitted that there is a very large population on the Moray Firth of old men, many of whom have not the physical strength to go out for deep-sea fishing, the Moray Firth is not included in the area within which trawlers are not allowed to come? I am sure hon. Members of the Committee will agree with me that this is a very serious matter for Scotland. It is very hard for these men, when they have been going

to church on a Sunday, and have been keeping the Sabbath in the way it is the custom to keep that day in Scotland, to see, as I have seen, one of these steam trawlers come up within 200 or 300 yards of the shore of the Moray Firth, doing great injury to the fishery, and, at the same time, wounding their susceptibilities by fishing on a day which they think ought to be kept sacred. It is but natural that, under such circumstances, a feeling of indignation at the present state of things should be engendered in the minds of the fishermen of Scotland. With these facts before him, I sincerely trust the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. A. J. Balfour) will tell us to-night that he will reconsider the question of the inclusion of the Moray Firth in the area within which trawlers are not allowed. As the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Berwickshire said, there is ample room for trawlers elsewhere. They only go on certain occasions to inshore waters; and I do appeal to the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary for Scotland (Mr. A. J. Balfour) in face of the evidence generally, and of that of one Member of the Trawling Commission, most valuable evidence indeed—namely, that he was in favour of prohibiting inshore trawling altogether, to let us have some action in the matter if the Fishery Board or the Government is to be of any practical use at all. Trawling, as the right hon. Gentleman must be aware, is prohibited within three-mile limits on the Coast of France and Germany for the express reasons which have been urged to-night in favour of the prohibition on the Coast of Scotland. Do not let us hesitate in the matter any longer, and do what the Fishery Board is now doing—as far as I know with the sanction of the right hon. Gentleman—namely, starting on a career of fresh experiments. The Board say they do not propose to include the Moray Firth, because they are going to have some experiments in the Firth of Forth. I see that on the Board there is a Professor. I do not wish to say anything against this Professor; personally, I believe he is a very eminent man; but a Professor is a most dangerous person to have on any Board. This Professor seems to lead the Fishery Board completely by the nose, because they allow him to conduct whatever scientific investiga-

tions he likes. There is, I see, to be a scientific investigation into the specific gravity of the water of the Moray Firth. What on earth, I should like to know, is the value of that? He is not satisfied with that; but there are elaborate plans produced in this Report of which the hon. Member for Forfarshire (Mr. J. W. Barclay) speaks so highly. I hardly think the hon. Gentleman has examined it very carefully. There is to be a scientific investigation as to whether certain kinds of fish have red or white muscles; and there is in the Report a long disquisition as to the comparison between the muscular development of fish and poultry. The Professor goes on to investigate whether whiting can have fatty degeneration of the heart. Well, I am bound to say that these investigations may be very interesting; but it seems to me they spring from the inventive brain of this Professor. I imagine, too, that the idea of making an experiment in the Firth of Forth was also conceived in the brain of the Professor; and after you have experimented—after you have taken samples of water from parts of the Moray Firth, and analyzed it, and reported upon it; after you have made your investigations as to the muscular development of the unfortunate fish, you will be just where you are now. The Fishery Board has been a signal failure; it has been a signal failure for the very reason pointed out by the hon. Member for North Aberdeen (Mr. Hunter) and the hon. Member for Forfarshire (Mr. J. W. Barclay), and that is that you have not got on the Board any practical men. The Committee is probably aware that the Chairman of this Fishery Board is a bookseller in Edinburgh. Do let me ask the Committee what would be thought if, supposing it was thought necessary to appoint a Board for the purpose of protecting the bookselling industry, for some reason or other a fish curer was appointed Chairman of the Board—not at all a more absurd thing than you have done here. I do not agree with the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Berwickshire saying it would be difficult to get persons in the fishing trade to attend to the duties of the Board. I could get any number of men in the different branches of the trade who would be delighted to join the Board with the object of promoting the prosperity of their in-

dustry. What I wish to ask the Secretary for Scotland is this—and here I must ask for a specific answer—will Her Majesty's Government undertake to say that when this Board comes to an end next year there shall be placed upon it a practical man whose appointment will be looked upon by practical men with confidence? With the indulgence of the Committee I will refer to another point. I understand that by Act of Parliament—and here I think the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. A. J. Balfour) will agree with me—it is part of the duty of the Fishery Board to take cognizance of everything relating to the Coast and Deep Sea Fisheries, and take such measures for improvement as, in their judgment, seems right. I think the Committee will see that one of the most important matters that the Fishery Board can consider is the question of bait. We all know that the success of line fishing depends on the supply of bait. There is an Act of Parliament which provides that the beds shall not be interfered with; and I know that they are interfered with. And, therefore, I say that it is the province of the Fishery Board to take cognizance of this matter of mussel beds. I think the Committee will be astonished when I tell them what occurred in the month of June last to some 20 fishermen from Lossiemouth, who were engaged below low water mark in the occupation of dredging for mussels to be used for the purposes of their industry. I think most hon. Members, as well as the Solicitor General, and, I hope, the right hon. and learned Lord Advocate also, will agree with me that it is very hard to prevent the right of dredging for mussels below low water mark. It is above low water mark that the alleged private rights with regard to mussel fishing exist—alleged rights which I think it will be proper to investigate and abolish, because I am of opinion that upon investigation they will be found to have no valid foundation. I ask the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary for Scotland when a Return will be furnished as to the alleged granting of private rights for fishing on the Coast of Scotland?

THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Gentleman is travelling beyond the Question before the Committee.

MR. ANDERSON: I shall, of course, conform to your ruling, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Anderson

I am criticizing now the conduct of the Fishery Board for not taking action with regard to the case which I have just mentioned to the Committee. I was saying that there were 20 fishermen dredging for mussels below low water mark; whilst they were dredging a person appeared in a boat from the shore, who said he was the agent or factor of someone who lived at a distance. The fishermen took away the mussels, and they were followed and prosecuted; they were brought before the Sheriff of Tain, and I think, although the Committee must be astonished that such a right was put forward, they must be still more astonished to find that a Court could be found to convict these men in heavy penalties. That took place in the month of June last. Now, Sir, I ask this question—where was the Fishery Board on that occasion? It seems to me that they should have been the first people to come forward and protect these men. I will go further, and say that, in my opinion, they were bound to do so. I have asked if anything can be done with regard to the remission of these penalties, and the right hon. and learned Lord Advocate says that at present nothing will be done, because the matter is under appeal. I sincerely hope that something will be done, and that this matter of the Fishery Board will be taken into the consideration of Her Majesty's Government. I am afraid that I am wearying the Committee with these details. ["No, no!"] There is another important point to which I desire to allude, and that is in reference to the question of harbours on the Coast of Scotland. It was stated, and it is perfectly well known, that one of the main objects of the creation of the Fishery Board was that they should interfere for the purpose of making these small fishing harbours capable for boats to enter at all states of the tide. It was, as the right hon. Gentleman knows, manifest that, in consequence of the fishing harbours being closed at low tide, the men could not enter them, and that loss of life as well as loss of boats had occurred; and, moreover, tons and tons of fish had to be thrown overboard in consequence of the harbours being in this imperfect condition. Here we have loss of life, loss of boats, and loss of fish, and one would think that something would have been

done by the Board to remedy this state of things. I think that someone is to blame for the fact that, although you have created this Fishery Board and placed in their hands large powers, literally nothing has been done to improve these harbours, and to insure to a greater extent the safety of the fishermen who use them. When we consider the magnitude of the industry, and the importance of the various interests connected with it, I think the Committee will agree with me in the hope that Her Majesty's Government will take care that something is done in this matter. For these reasons, I venture to say that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Berwickshire was hardly accurate in saying that the Fishery Board was such a complete success. There are various other points about which the fishing population in Scotland have great cause of complaint, and which probably may be mentioned by other hon. Members in the course of this discussion; but I think I have said enough to show that the action of the Fishery Board calls for the most serious consideration on the part of Her Majesty's Government.

MR. A. SUTHERLAND (Sutherland): I have no desire to detain the Committee with any remarks upon subjects which hon. Members have already discussed; but, being interested in the question of the Fishery Board, I should like to have from the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. A. J. Balfour) some information with regard to the provisions of the Crofters' Act of last Session. In that Act the Fishery Board is empowered to procure money from the Treasury, in order to assist fishermen to purchase boats and nets. I find, however, no sum included in this Vote for the purpose I have mentioned. Possibly I may be wrong in supposing that this is the proper place for the money to appear. I understand, however, that the money voted now is the money which is to be available for the year; and, that being so, I shall be obliged to the right hon. Gentleman for some information on the point I have referred to. As to what has fallen from my hon. Friend (Mr. Anderson) in regard to the question of mussels for bait, I would say that, in any case, it is a matter which the Fishery Board might very well undertake to look after; because it is within

clude, in another Amendment which I will then move, the items to which my hon. Friend objects. The amount of the reduction I shall propose would be £1,200, and my Amendment would then include the items for the Bible Board, the Queen's Limner and Historiographer, and the Queen's Plates. It is very gratifying to find this feeling of economy amongst Scotch Members. I have generally found, in moving such a reduction, that Scotchmen have been inclined to think that all is grist that comes to the Scotch mill. I have, in this House, opposed Scotch Votes, and I have found even economical Scotchmen indignantly protesting against anything which the Saxon gave being cut off. They have generally acted on the principle of taking all they can get. I include the Historiographer and the Limner all the more readily for the explanation which the hon. Gentleman (Sir Herbert Maxwell) has given. The hon. Gentleman says that these are remnants of the Scotch Monarchy. The Scottish Monarchy has disappeared entirely. From his statement one would imagine that the hon. Gentleman was a Separatist. I do not see why we should pay salaries to two gentlemen of £184 and £97 respectively, merely to perpetuate the recollection of the existence of the Scotch Monarchy. The Scotch Monarchy is entirely merged into the English Monarchy. [Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL: No, no!] I see that I am now treading on dangerous ground, and I will, therefore, not continue my observations on this point; but simply ask leave to withdraw my Motion for the purpose of moving to reduce the Vote by £1,289.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*.

Original Question again proposed.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £1,466, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1887, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Department of the Queen's and Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer in Exchequer, Scotland, of certain Offices in Scotland, and other Charges formerly on the Hereditary Revenue."—(Mr. Labouchere.)

MR. JORDAN (Clare, W.): If there be not a single Bible Board connected with England and Ireland, I do not see why we should pay for a Bible Board for Scotland, except on the

ground that the Scotch people are much more religious than the people of the other two countries. With regard to the offices of Queen's Limner and Historiographer, I understand that these are remnants of a past Monarchy, and on that ground I think they ought to be abolished. Finally, as to the Queen's Plates, if there ought to be Queen's Plates, by all means let them be Queen's Plates in reality, but do not pay for them out of the taxpayers' money.

MR. CLANCY (Dublin Co., N.): I shall support the Motion of the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere). I do not support the hon. Member's Motion from any desire to cut down Scotch Votes, because I do not think that the people of Scotland get their fair share as it is; but I am perfectly prepared to vote for a similar reduction in the case of Ireland, and when we reach the point I shall propose to reduce the Estimate by the item of the charge for the Ulster King-at-Arms. I think, however, it would be more satisfactory if the hon. Member would exclude from his Motion the charge for the Bible Board. For my part, I am certainly in favour of retaining that particular portion of the Vote, because I do not think that a provision of this kind, tending, as many consider, to the well-being of religion, ought to be excluded. I am, therefore, willing to vote with the hon. Member for Northampton, provided the charge for the Bible Board is excluded from the proposed reduction.

MR. LABOUCHERE: I am unable to make that alteration. I must point out to the hon. Member that this Vote for the Bible Board has nothing to do with religion. The printers' reader takes a Bible of any particular edition, and sees that the words are the same as in the orthodox edition. The same sort of thing goes on in every printing office. The Law Agent is simply an idle gentleman who takes the salary, and employs a reader to do the work.

MR. HUNTER: I should like the Government to tell us who is the Historiographer, and who is the Limner.

MR. ANDERSON (Elgin and Nairn): Can the hon. Baronet tell us what is the arrangement with regard to the Law Agent and the Bible Board?

SIR HERBERT MAXWELL: The original arrangement was that this Vote

Mr. Labouchere

should be omitted from the Estimates for 1884-5. I am informed that a settlement of the question is at present pending; and it is to be considered whether the duties shall continue to be retained by the Office, or be transferred to the Office of the Secretary for Scotland.

MR. J. W. BARCLAY (Forfarshire): I should certainly think that the Secretary for Scotland, with a printer's reader, could do this work without the assistance of a lawyer. I understand that the effect of this arrangement is simply to create a monopoly in the book market. I suggest that the Secretary for Scotland might, with advantage, devote some of his attention to these matters, which take up a great deal of time year after year, and which, I think, could be very easily put on a satisfactory footing.

MR. O'HEA (Donegal, W.): I shall support the Motion of the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere); and I shall do so on the ground that I think a case has been abundantly made out on behalf of the taxpayers generally. These items ought not to be allowed, on the ground of economy, to remain on the Estimates, unless they are, at any rate, very considerably reduced. The remarks of the hon. Gentleman have been perfectly satisfactory to me, and I think they ought also to be so to the Committee. I altogether object to the extravagance of the sums proposed to be voted for this obsolete system. I understand that the function of the Bible Board has been to preserve the Bible in its condition of orthodoxy. Years ago there was a considerable outcry, and that outcry had the effect of extinguishing altogether in Ireland the circulation of Bibles purporting to be Douay Bibles, but in reality Bibles published by a proselytizing Protestant Society in England. The Catholic Episcopacy are quite able to attend to their own interests in this matter; and I think that the Scotch Presbyterians, in like manner, should themselves look after what they conceive to be the purity of their Bibles, and protect their own interests. An item which seems to me to be an unnecessary extravagance is that for the Queen's Limner and the Queen's Historiographer. If anybody wishes to make himself acquainted with the history of Scotland, he will find no difficulty in tracing that history down to the present time from the very earliest

period of antiquity—from the very era of fable—by going to the public libraries and consulting their comprehensive histories. I, therefore, fail to see why we want this item for a Royal Historiographer. [*Cries of "Divide!"*] Even the *cacoëthes loquendi* of hon. Members opposite will not prevent me from making such observations as I deem expedient. As to the item for Her Majesty's Limner, it is to be supposed, and to be hoped, that Scotland possesses picture galleries in addition to libraries and museums—that it possesses portraits of celebrities who figured in the Monarchical times of Scotch history; and now that photography has been brought to such perfection, if anyone wants to have a copy of any of these pictures, he can get a photograph of it for 1s. I think, therefore, that this item for Her Majesty's Limner might be very well dispensed with. I make these observations purely on the ground of economy, as I think this portion of the Estimates should be very considerably reduced.

MR. HARRIS (Galway, E.): I did not intend to take part in this discussion, though, indeed, I have felt for a long time that the Scotch people had been making fools of themselves with regard to this Limner and Historiographer. Next to this form of humbug, I think they are very much making fools of themselves about the Bible.

THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member will please address himself to the Vote, which is a financial question.

MR. HARRIS: I notice that in the debate on the Crofters Bill—[*"Order!"*—the right hon. and learned Gentleman the present Lord Advocate recommended that the only concession which should be made to the crofters should be to allow them to go to Manitoba, Kamschatka, or other places where they would be allowed to take their Bibles with them. Well, however valuable the Bible may be to the Scotch crofters—

THE CHAIRMAN: I must request the hon. Gentleman to attend to my advice, and to address himself to the Vote.

MR. HARRIS: Well, Sir, allow me to say that I support the hon. Member who has brought forward this proposition.

MR. HUNTER: We, as yet, have no information as to who this Limner and Historiographer are.

tions he likes. There is, I see, to be a scientific investigation into the specific gravity of the water of the Moray Firth. What on earth, I should like to know, is the value of that? He is not satisfied with that; but there are elaborate plans produced in this Report of which the hon. Member for Forfarshire (Mr. J. W. Barclay) speaks so highly. I hardly think the hon. Gentleman has examined it very carefully. There is to be a scientific investigation as to whether certain kinds of fish have red or white muscles; and there is in the Report a long disquisition as to the comparison between the muscular development of fish and poultry. The Professor goes on to investigate whether whiting can have fatty degeneration of the heart. Well, I am bound to say that these investigations may be very interesting; but it seems to me they spring from the inventive brain of this Professor. I imagine, too, that the idea of making an experiment in the Firth of Forth was also conceived in the brain of the Professor; and after you have experimented—after you have taken samples of water from parts of the Moray Firth, and analyzed it, and reported upon it; after you have made your investigations as to the muscular development of the unfortunate fish, you will be just where you are now. The Fishery Board has been a signal failure; it has been a signal failure for the very reason pointed out by the hon. Member for North Aberdeen (Mr. Hunter) and the hon. Member for Forfarshire (Mr. J. W. Barclay), and that is that you have not got on the Board any practical men. The Committee is probably aware that the Chairman of this Fishery Board is a bookseller in Edinburgh. Do let me ask the Committee what would be thought if, supposing it was thought necessary to appoint a Board for the purpose of protecting the bookselling industry, for some reason or other a fish curer was appointed Chairman of the Board—not at all a more absurd thing than you have done here. I do not agree with the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Berwickshire saying it would be difficult to get persons in the fishing trade to attend to the duties of the Board. I could get any number of men in the different branches of the trade who would be delighted to join the Board with the object of promoting the prosperity of their in-

dustry. What I wish to ask the Secretary for Scotland is this—and here I must ask for a specific answer—will Her Majesty's Government undertake to say that when this Board comes to an end next year there shall be placed upon it a practical man whose appointment will be looked upon by practical men with confidence? With the indulgence of the Committee I will refer to another point. I understand that by Act of Parliament—and here I think the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. A. J. Balfour) will agree with me—it is part of the duty of the Fishery Board to take cognizance of everything relating to the Coast and Deep Sea Fisheries, and take such measures for improvement as, in their judgment, seems right. I think the Committee will see that one of the most important matters that the Fishery Board can consider is the question of bait. We all know that the success of line fishing depends on the supply of bait. There is an Act of Parliament which provides that the beds shall not be interfered with; and I know that they are interfered with. And, therefore, I say that it is the province of the Fishery Board to take cognizance of this matter of mussel beds. I think the Committee will be astonished when I tell them what occurred in the month of June last to some 20 fishermen from Lossiemouth, who were engaged below low water mark in the occupation of dredging for mussels to be used for the purposes of their industry. I think most hon. Members, as well as the Solicitor General, and, I hope, the right hon. and learned Lord Advocate also, will agree with me that it is very hard to prevent the right of dredging for mussels below low water mark. It is above low water mark that the alleged private rights with regard to mussel fishing exist—alleged rights which I think it will be proper to investigate and abolish, because I am of opinion that upon investigation they will be found to have no valid foundation. I ask the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary for Scotland when a Return will be furnished as to the alleged granting of private rights for fishing on the Coast of Scotland?

THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Gentleman is travelling beyond the Question before the Committee.

MR. ANDERSON: I shall, of course, conform to your ruling, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Anderson

The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Berwickshire (Mr. Marjoribanks) has said that, in his opinion, trawlers ought to be excluded from fishing throughout the whole of the three-mile limit. I must point out that the danger is that legislation which steps in to protect one class may do so at the expense of another. The accusation against trawlers I understand to be not merely that they compete successfully with line and drift-net fishermen, but that, in the course of their operations, they destroy capital which the drift-net fishermen use. That introduces a complication of the question which leaves a doubt in my mind whether it might not properly be the duty of the Government and the Fishery Board to consider how far they ought, or ought not, to exclude a class of men who, in pursuing their ordinary calling, cannot help destroying the small capital of their poorer brethren. There now remain two other questions for me to touch upon—the one as to the constitution of the Board; and the other the question of the use to which they put their powers. I say that if this discussion is taken as an index of the feeling in Scotland, it must be admitted that a considerable amount of dissatisfaction exists because no practical fisherman has been put upon the Board. The hon. Member for Forfarshire has complained of that, and allusion has been made to it by the hon. Member for North Aberdeen (Mr. Hunter). I must point out that to take a fisherman out of his boat, and put him upon the Board to represent the whole of the fishing class in Scotland, will probably not give satisfaction to the fishermen themselves. It would be extremely difficult to get a fisherman who would take a national and not a local view of the question, and there would also be the question of payment. Hon. Gentlemen must recollect that the Fishery Board is not merely a scientific body, nor is it merely a body connected, except in a general way, with the interests of the fishing population. It has specific administrative duties of a very important kind. It has to look after fishing boats, to see that the trawling boats are numbered, and to do police work generally; it has to do with the inspection of inland fisheries; and it has, more than all, to exercise functions which may be described as semi-judicial in their character.

Well, Sir, what kind of fisherman do you intend to put on the Board? Are you going to have a drift-net fisherman, or a trawling fisherman? If a drift-net fisherman, you will have the whole trawling industry think that they will be ill-used; if a trawling fisherman, you will have all the clients of the hon. Gentleman opposite up in arms. This is a question of very great difficulty, and I think the best solution of it will be not to put on the Board a practical fisherman—that is to say, a man actually engaged in fishing; but, if you can, to put on it some gentleman intimately acquainted with the ins and outs of this great industry, who is accustomed to practical administrative work, and who shall supply to the Board that practical knowledge which is said to be now wanting. How far it will be possible to find such an individual I do not know; but the attention of the Government will not cease to be directed to this most important subject. A great deal of criticism has been passed on the Fishery Board on account of their management of harbours; and I will point out to hon. Gentlemen that, at all events, the construction of harbours is not a subject in which the advice of a practical fisherman would be of much use. ["Certainly, it would!"] The hon. Member for Forfarshire says—"Certainly, it would." I confess I have my doubts about that. What is required in the case of a harbour is not fishing knowledge, but engineering knowledge. The difficulty is not to know what you want, but how to get it. Therefore, I repeat that I do not think a practical fisherman would be of much use on the Board. The hon. Member for Forfarshire has criticized the Fishery Board for expending considerable sums of money on large works, and not spreading out the wretched pittance at their command over many small ones. I think that the hon. Member for Elgin and Nairn, and those who agree with him, are directly opposed to this opinion, because he says you should make your harbours such as will admit fishing vessels at all times. But I would point out that works of that kind, or anything like that kind, can only be carried out by the expenditure of considerable sums of money on each harbour. The engineers in the service

my own knowledge that fishermen often have to pay more for the mussels than they receive for the fish they catch with them. I have not sufficient confidence in the Fishery Board to make me so congratulatory and sanguine as the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Berwickshire (Mr. Marjoribanks). I have seen, on several occasions the gun-boats and steamers employed for the protection of the fishermen actually retarding the work of fishing. I fancy the only way in which these vessels are sometimes employed is in preventing the boats from going to sea. I think that, at least, some money might be given for the purpose of enabling poor fishermen, who have not got them, to purchase boats and nets. I hope the right hon. Gentleman will give us some definite information on this point.

THE SECRETARY FOR SCOTLAND (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.): Before replying to the observations made by hon. Members upon the general subject I will deal with the point raised by the hon. Gentleman who has just spoken. The hon. Member for Sutherland has reminded the Committee that under the Crofters Act of last Session, and another Act passed last year, there is power to grant loans on certain conditions to fishermen. But I must point out that before that portion of the Act comes into operation it is necessary that an Order in Council should be passed. I can assure the hon. Member that the matter will be completed as soon as possible; and I may also inform him that already a Circular has been issued by the Fishery Board to the fishermen in crofting parishes, putting certain questions to them in regard to loans, and that everything is being done to hasten the work, so that when the Order in Council is passed there will be no delay in supplying the fishermen with the funds in the manner provided by the Act. Coming next to the general question with regard to the Fishery Board, Her Majesty's Government have no reason to complain of the discussion which has taken place this evening. I am perfectly aware of the great interest taken in this question in every part of Scotland, especially those having a seaboard, which few counties of Scotland are without. But although I do not complain of the length or the tone of the discussion, I cannot give a

complete assent to some of the views which have been put forward by hon. Gentlemen opposite. I observe that hon. Gentlemen themselves are not wholly agreed in their criticisms upon the Fishery Board. The hon. Member for Forfarshire (Mr. J. W. Barclay) told the Committee that he did not complain of the scientific work done by the Board; but the hon. Member for Elgin and Nairn (Mr. Anderson) tells us that the scientific work of the Board is a signal failure.

MR. ANDERSON: I said that a great deal of the scientific work was unnecessary and useless.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I took down the words of the hon. Member, which I believe were that all the scientific work of the Board seemed to be useless. He protested against the presence of a Professor on the Board. He asserted that you ought not to have a Board dealing with the subject of fishing unless you have a fisherman upon it; surely then, by a parity of reasoning, you cannot have a Board to deal with scientific matters relating to fishing unless you have upon it a man scientifically acquainted with the subject. Then the hon. Member for Forfarshire complained of the fact that the Fishery Board had excluded trawlers from only a limited area on the Coast of Scotland. That area is from St. Andrew's along the Coast of Aberdeenshire. Those who complain appear to think that the Board intended by their action to protect fishermen using drift nets from fishermen who trawl—that the object of the Board is to protect one class of fishermen against another class.

MR. J. W. BARCLAY: I said that the area taken by the Fishery Board was too limited for the purpose that they themselves intended to carry out.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I am aware that that is what the hon. Member for Forfarshire said; but it is not all that other Members have said. Those hon. Members are attacking the system which he is in favour of; they appear to think that the Board had in view a protective object. Well, Sir, that is not the object of the Board. The Board considered themselves entirely precluded from taking the line of protecting one class of fishermen as against another, and selected the area simply and solely with a view to scientific investigation.

Mr. A. Sutherland

The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Berwickshire (Mr. Marjoribanks) has said that, in his opinion, trawlers ought to be excluded from fishing throughout the whole of the three-mile limit. I must point out that the danger is that legislation which steps in to protect one class may do so at the expense of another. The accusation against trawlers I understand to be not merely that they compete successfully with line and drift-net fishermen, but that, in the course of their operations, they destroy capital which the drift-net fishermen use. That introduces a complication of the question which leaves a doubt in my mind whether it might not properly be the duty of the Government and the Fishery Board to consider how far they ought, or ought not, to exclude a class of men who, in pursuing their ordinary calling, cannot help destroying the small capital of their poorer brethren. There now remain two other questions for me to touch upon—the one as to the constitution of the Board; and the other the question of the use to which they put their powers. I say that if this discussion is taken as an index of the feeling in Scotland, it must be admitted that a considerable amount of dissatisfaction exists because no practical fisherman has been put upon the Board. The hon. Member for Forfarshire has complained of that, and allusion has been made to it by the hon. Member for North Aberdeen (Mr. Hunter). I must point out that to take a fisherman out of his boat, and put him upon the Board to represent the whole of the fishing class in Scotland, will probably not give satisfaction to the fishermen themselves. It would be extremely difficult to get a fisherman who would take a national and not a local view of the question, and there would also be the question of payment. Hon. Gentlemen must recollect that the Fishery Board is not merely a scientific body, nor is it merely a body connected, except in a general way, with the interests of the fishing population. It has specific administrative duties of a very important kind. It has to look after fishing boats, to see that the trawling boats are numbered, and to do police work generally; it has to do with the inspection of inland fisheries; and it has, more than all, to exercise functions which may be described as semi-judicial in their character.

Well, Sir, what kind of fisherman do you intend to put on the Board? Are you going to have a drift-net fisherman, or a trawling fisherman? If a drift-net fisherman, you will have the whole trawling industry think that they will be ill-used; if a trawling fisherman, you will have all the clients of the hon. Gentleman opposite up in arms. This is a question of very great difficulty, and I think the best solution of it will be not to put on the Board a practical fisherman—that is to say, a man actually engaged in fishing; but, if you can, to put on it some gentleman intimately acquainted with the ins and outs of this great industry, who is accustomed to practical administrative work, and who shall supply to the Board that practical knowledge which is said to be now wanting. How far it will be possible to find such an individual I do not know; but the attention of the Government will not cease to be directed to this most important subject. A great deal of criticism has been passed on the Fishery Board on account of their management of harbours; and I will point out to hon. Gentlemen that, at all events, the construction of harbours is not a subject in which the advice of a practical fisherman would be of much use. [“Certainly, it would!”] The hon. Member for Forfarshire says—“Certainly, it would.” I confess I have my doubts about that. What is required in the case of a harbour is not fishing knowledge, but engineering knowledge. The difficulty is not to know what you want, but how to get it. Therefore, I repeat that I do not think a practical fisherman would be of much use on the Board. The hon. Member for Forfarshire has criticized the Fishery Board for expending considerable sums of money on large works, and not spreading out the wretched pittance at their command over many small ones. I think that the hon. Member for Elgin and Nairn, and those who agree with him, are directly opposed to this opinion, because he says you should make your harbours such as will admit fishing vessels at all times. But I would point out that works of that kind, or anything like that kind, can only be carried out by the expenditure of considerable sums of money on each harbour. The engineers in the service

of the Fishery Board cannot be described as incompetent, inasmuch as they belong to one of the most eminent firms in the country. It is easy to allege that some of the harbours have not fulfilled the expectations entertained of them; but no alteration of management would alter that state of things. Harbours are a standing reproach to engineers. Wherever you go in Ireland, Scotland, England, France, and Germany, the difficulties are so great, and the forces of nature so difficult to control, that, whatever command of skill and money you may have, to a certain extent failures must and will take place. The hon. Member for Elgin and Nairn has related to the House a certain number of failures that have occurred in connection with the Fishery Board; but I have no ground whatever to believe that the percentage of failures has been greater in the case of the Fishery Board in Scotland than we must expect. I do not know that I have anything more to add to the statement I have made. I think I have dealt with all the points raised by hon. Gentlemen who have taken part in this discussion; and I need only say, in conclusion, that it is very easy for hon. Gentlemen to criticize this Board. I never knew a Board that was not open to criticism. I will not say that I never knew a Board that did not deserve it; but what I do say is, that no alteration, no re-organization, no change in the class from which its Members are derived, no revolution in its constitution will ever make the Fishery Board or any other Board proof against all criticism. The truth is that the public naturally and inevitably expect more of such Boards than they can possibly do. I think that, though it may be true that, like all other human institutions, the Fishery Board of Scotland may have erred, they have, nevertheless, earned the gratitude of all who are interested in the fishing industry in Scotland. They may not be perfect,—it may be possible to improve the Board—but I would remind the Committee that a majority of the Board give their services gratuitously; that they laboriously work for the benefit of the fishing population, whose interests are so eloquently represented by hon. Gentlemen opposite; and if those hon. Gentlemen think it their duty to criticize the Board, I would yet ask them to recol-

lect that no Board can be perfect. I doubt whether it would be easy to find any body of men who would do more thoroughly and more efficiently the work which the public have entrusted to these gentlemen.

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joining it would not be likely to do him any credit. But if the right hon. Gentleman will exercise discrimination and common sense in making appointments, I think that the services of qualified persons might easily be secured. Why should he not appoint persons who have a practical knowledge of the subject with which they have to deal? I do not know that the Sheriffs are particularly well qualified to deal with matters affecting fishing. Probably the idea is that the Government will be able to get all the law required from them; but I fail to see that there is any great demand for law in connection with the work of a Fishery Board. Another point to which I would direct the attention of the right hon. Gentleman is the fact that no adequate steps are taken by the Fishery Board to protect the mussel fishing. In many instances the mussel beds have been taken by the landowners arbitrarily, the fishermen not having been able to resist them. The proprietors have done nothing to establish or cultivate these mussel beds, and yet they have seized upon them, and say that the fishermen shall not make use of them unless they pay. The rights which in this way are claimed are by no means natural rights; and it is, therefore, not extraordinary that the fishermen should complain. If the legal element on the Board would, in cases of this kind, advise the fishermen in contesting the legality of these proceedings on the part of the proprietors, their services would be valuable. They might inspect the titles of the landlords to the land, and ascertain to what extent they could lay claim to the mussel beds. In many cases, I believe, it would be found that the landlord's title is of the slightest description. The Sheriffs, I think, might be of use for this purpose, if they would apply themselves to the work; otherwise, I think it would be much better to have the Board composed of practical men.

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sure Gentlemen from Scotland, who are taking action in this matter, that they have all the sympathy of my countrymen, and will have all our support in their endeavour to obtain what they possibly can to develop their fishing industries. The statement which has been put before us, and which has been referred to so interestingly by Scotch Representatives, is of much interest to Irishmen also, because it shows conclusively that the State nourishment of the fisheries of every country is not merely good in itself, but is profitable to the State, and to the people who engage in these industries. Now, for instance, as has been pointed out by my hon. Friend the Member for North Sligo (Mr. P. McDonald) in a speech he delivered in the course of this discussion, the branding of herrings in Scotland has brought in a surplus of £5,200. If the same system were pursued in Ireland I am quite sure that the Irish fisheries would benefit in the same degree; but it is not merely, we conceive, from this statement in the matter of branding that the Government do all they can to encourage and develop the Scotch fisheries. We see that they grant annually in aid of piers and quays in Scotland sums which are required for the development of those works. We find that this year the sum of £3,000 has been allotted for that purpose. Now, nothing of that kind is done in connection with the fisheries of Ireland. We who represent Irish constituencies, and are familiar with Irish matters, know that wherever any money has been applied to the building of harbours it has been absolutely thrown away; but that is not the case in Scotland.

MR. AMBROSE (Middlesex, Harrow): Mr. Courtney, I rise to Order. I understand that the Question before you is an Amendment to reduce the salary of the Chairman of this Fishery Board; and I wish to ask you whether the hon. Member is entitled to enter into a discussion in regard to Irish harbours?

THE CHAIRMAN: The question as to the Scotch Fishery Board is not confined to the Chairman's salary; therefore the hon. Member is not out of Order.

MR. CRILLY: I was expressing my gratification, Mr. Courtney, in dealing with this Vote, that the Government had put down the sum of £3,000 for the building of piers and quays in connection with the Scotch fisheries; and I am glad that in

doing so I am not out of Order. I desire to be permitted to express a hope that the same generosity will obtain in regard to Ireland, because we know that the harbours built in that country are really monuments of the incompetence of the Irish Board of Works. But not merely does the Government grant large sums of money in aid of piers and quays in Scotland; but I find that there is a grant made in aid of telegraph extension. Where a line between a certain town or place and a fishing village will not pay the expense of working, the Government, very wisely, as I think, grant a sum of £392, and sometimes as much as £500, to sustain the telegraphic communication. This is as it ought to be. I am very pleased indeed to find that the sum of £26,780 has been allotted to develop and nourish the Scotch fisheries; and I believe that the right hon. Gentleman will carry out, or will do all he can to carry out, his promises to meet the representations which have been made to him by the Scotch Representatives. At present, undoubtedly, the Scotch Fishery Board does not seem to be an altogether capable one. On the contrary, on the face of it, I should say that it was an incapable Board; because we find that, although its main object is to maintain the fisheries of Scotland, the Chairman of that Body is actually a newsagent in Edinburgh, as if a newsagent or a stationer were the best man to discharge the onerous duties connected with the Chairmanship of the Scotch Fishery Board. I have nothing further to say, except to express a hope, incidentally, that the Government will show towards the Irish fisheries the same kindly generosity and desire for their nourishment and their development that they have shown in regard to the Scotch fisheries. I find, as I have said, that the Government have allocated £26,780 to this purpose; and I find on a later page in this statement of Estimates, that the paltry sum of only £4,000 is granted to develop the Irish fisheries. I trust, therefore, that the Government will see its way—

MR. AMBROSE: I am afraid, Mr. Courtney, that you did not clearly understand my point. Are we, Sir, discussing the Scotch Vote?

THE CHAIRMAN: The line of argument which the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Crilly) is now indulging in has been

admitted in Committee of Supply for many years. I cannot, therefore, interrupt the hon. Member.

MR. CRILLY: If the hon. Member opposite would only have a little patience he would find very little to complain of, as I am just now concluding my observations. I merely desired to address a few words to the Committee on matters that struck my attention on looking over the Estimates. I only hope that the Government will extend to the Irish fisheries the same consideration and generosity that they have extended to the Scotch fisheries.

MR. BYRNE (Wicklow, W.): I also congratulate hon. Members from Scotland on the interesting discussion which has taken place on the question before the Committee—the question of the Scotch Fishery Board. I beg to support the Amendment proposed. It appears to me to be a very proper Amendment. I think Scotland is very much more favoured than Ireland, although that is no reason why either I, or any of my Colleagues, should be jealous of the Scotch in this respect. On the contrary, I should like to see the Scotch sea fisheries very much better developed than they are. And it seems to me that the best way to bring about this development would be to appoint Scotch fishermen on the Board, and give them the management of their own affairs. I cannot believe that the best thing for these fisheries—and in this I differ from the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary for Scotland (Mr. A. J. Balfour)—is to appoint gentlemen to manage them who know nothing whatever about fishing. I think there should be at least two or three individuals on the Board who are well up in nautical affairs and understand all about fishing. It appears that the Chairman of the Scotch Board receives the large salary of £800 a-year, and that he is not a fisherman, nor in any way connected with nautical matters. He only gets his appointment as a matter of patronage. It seems to me that the Government are not doing their best in the interests of Scotland, or of Scotch fisheries, when they foist a man of this kind upon the Fishery Board. There is another thing upon which I congratulate the Scotch fishing industry, and that is that the Government have not only given them a grant for piers and quays, but have also granted

£2,000 for scientific investigations. I do not object to that at all; but I think it desirable that a thorough investigation should be made into the subject of preserving fish, and the best method of sending them into market; because, as well as being a benefit to Scotland, a satisfactory settlement of this question will conduce to the introduction of a larger quantity of fish into the centres of consumption in the United Kingdom and all over the world. The right hon. Gentleman says that the Scotch Fishery Board has employed a very clever and experienced engineer, although he admitted that this gentleman made serious mistakes. The right hon. Gentleman went further, and said that the making of mistakes in this manner was inevitable. Well, if you employ a man who does not understand the business—if you engage upon the construction of piers and harbours a fresh-water engineer who knows nothing about marine matters, no doubt he must make mistakes. A watchmaker may know a great deal about the wheels of a watch; but when he comes to deal with the wheels of a mill he may find himself without experience, and altogether incapable of turning out good work. Therefore, I contend that you should have upon the Scotch Board gentlemen who understand fishing matters. The Scotch people know perfectly well what they want and what they ought to have in this matter; and I trust that the Committee will assist in carrying out their wishes. A reformation is required on the Board, so that the fishing industry of the country can have the business of the Board more under its control.

MR. CALDWELL (Glasgow, St. Rollox): I cannot join in the condemnation of the Chairman of the Fishery Board which has proceeded from hon. Gentlemen who are not connected with Scotland. I do not suppose that hon. Members from Scotland will find any fault with the ability of Sir Thomas Boyd, the Chairman of the Board. That gentleman was, for a considerable period, Lord Provost of Edinburgh, and he has talent sufficient to undertake the duties of Chairman of this Board. There is, however, one practical suggestion which I would offer to the Secretary for Scotland, and it is this—I quite agree that there ought to be representatives of the fishing interest

on the Scotch Fishery Board. It seems to me that the salary of the Chairman might be reduced to about £500. I think that would be a reasonable remuneration for the Chairman of such a Board. With regard to the remaining £300, I would suggest that it should be given to representatives elected by the fishermen of Scotland. You might have either two representatives of the Scotch fishermen at £150 a-piece, or three at £100. In the case of Glasgow Harbour, it was found very beneficial to have representatives of the shipping interest on the Clyde Trust. That arrangement has worked remarkably well, several interests being represented on the Trust; and I venture to suggest that the interests of the fishermen can be represented in a somewhat similar manner. There is a roll made up of the shipowners in Glasgow, and there would be no difficulty in having a roll of fishermen made up, and in having an election of representatives of fishermen every five years to hold office for five years. If a plan of that kind were carried out it would satisfy the fishermen of Scotland, and would give them an opportunity of making any complaints they might have. I do not see any objection to this plan. One representative could come from the East, and another from the West; and this would give the fishermen a channel for communicating their suggestions, and would do away with any feeling that exists that their interests are being neglected by the Board.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.): I am sure we cannot settle to-night the difficult subject of sea fisheries. I only rise to express my satisfaction at what has been done in the Firth of Forth in regard to trawling. I am sure that all Scotch fishermen will have derived satisfaction from what has been done, and I trust that the result will be to show what the effect of stopping trawling is.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 65; Noes 154: Majority 89.—(Div. List, No. 26.)

Original Question put, and *agreed to*.

(8.) £2,482, to complete the sum for Lunacy Commission, Scotland.

Mr. Caldwell

MR. MOLLOY (King's Co., Birr): I am not going to raise any discussion on this Vote, because the Lunacy Commissioners in Scotland manage their business as well, I believe, as it is managed anywhere in England; but I want to ask you to make a comparison with another Lunacy Board. I wish to ask how many visits the Scotch Lunacy Commissioners pay to Scotch lunatic asylums during the year? I see there are only two Commissioners in Scotland. Can the right hon. Gentleman tell me how many visits they make?

THE SECRETARY FOR SCOTLAND (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.): This question I am unable to answer with precision. The hon. Gentleman is in error in saying that there are only two Lunacy Commissioners. There are seven who have to do with the inspection of Scotch asylums. I cannot tell the hon. Gentleman how many visits the Scotch Lunacy Commissioners make, for I believe the question has never been raised before.

Vote agreed to.

(9.) £3,089, to complete the sum for the Registrar General's Office, Scotland.

(10.) £3,340, to complete the sum for Board of Supervision for Relief of the Poor, and for Public Health, Scotland.

(11.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £2,516, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1887, for the Salaries of the Officers and Attendants of the Household of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and other Expenses."

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.): On this Vote I desire to bring before the notice of the Committee a matter which is of great importance, not only with regard to a particular Department of the Public Service, but as it appears in connection with the whole Tory administration of the Civil Service Estimates. We are asked, Sir, to vote a sum of, altogether, £7,516 for the Household of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; but it by no means follows that we can feel at all assured that this £7,516 is for the financial year in which we are asked to vote it. Now, Sir, with regard to the accounts of the last financial year which have now closed, it would

appear that when nearly the whole Vote was exhausted, there was sent in a claim for a sum of money of about £50 or £60. The Department was not able, out of the Vote for the year, to defray the charge, and accordingly they resorted to the very simple expedient of appropriating the sum of £27, which then remained to them unexpended from that year's Vote, in payment of part of the claim, and they deferred the balance of the claim until the next financial year. Naturally, the Comptroller and Auditor General took exception to the proceeding, and it came before the Committee of Public Accounts. The Committee of Public Accounts put it before the House, and stated that an important question of principle was raised by the Comptroller and Auditor General on this Vote.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (MR. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.): Would the hon. Gentleman say to what page he refers?

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: To page 6 of the Report of the Public Accounts Committee. They say that an important question of principle is raised by the Comptroller and Auditor General on this Vote. They point out that an amount of £55 5s. accrued to incidental expenses in one of the Departments, and of this £27 was paid on account, leaving £28 5s. to be defrayed out of the account for 1885-6. And they say that the deliberate postponing till next year of payments which have become due, for the purpose of avoiding expenditure in excess of the grant, is the common expedient in all Departments of the Civil Service. In the evidence taken before the Public Accounts Committee, with which I will not trouble the Committee at any length, reference was made to this matter. The representative official who was before the Committee was asked this question by the Chairman—

“Are the facts stated by the Comptroller and Auditor General in his Report correct—namely, that liability to the extent of £55 was incurred, of which only £27 was paid on account, and that the balance of £28 was left to be advanced out of the grant for 1885-6?”

The answer was “Yes.” The next question was, if the witness could state if the whole liability had been left to be defrayed out of the following year's account, what would have come before the Comptroller and Auditor General that would have shown him that the

Department could have incurred any such liability? The answer was—

“I do not think he would have found out the fact. I think no document would have come before him from which he would have observed the postponement of the payment.”

I draw attention to the significance of that answer. It amounts to this, that, under the present system, a liability incurred by a Department may not be defrayed in the year in which it was incurred, but may be defrayed out of such Votes as we are now taking—out of the Votes of a totally different financial year—and that it would be impossible for the Comptroller and Auditor General, or anyone else, until long afterwards, to find out anything about it. The witness was asked to explain what was the view of the Treasury after the observation made by the Comptroller and Auditor General as to this postponement of payment. The answer was—

“The Treasury would adhere to the view they took in the Minute of the 3rd of November that has been laid before the Committee. That is to say, that, in the first place, liabilities should not be incurred at all unless there was a prospect of being able to meet them; but if they are incurred, postponement is preferable to excess.”

In reply to definite questions put to him by various Members of the Committee, the Treasury official showed that the Treasury was exceedingly anxious to avoid, by hook or by crook, anything like an excess Vote. An excess Vote involves the Treasury coming down to this House and making a special explanation of the circumstances under which the amount voted in Committee has been exceeded by the Department in question. Of course, the necessity of the special explanation involved in an excess Vote exposes the Department to a good deal of criticism, and, possibly, to a close examination of the circumstances under which the excess has been incurred. It was admitted then by the Treasury official, that the Treasury are exceedingly anxious to avoid an excess Vote, no matter what the circumstances are under which the excess has been incurred—

“Where it is impossible to secure a postponement, you have an excess Vote?—Yes.”

And—

“Where it is possible—”

THE CHAIRMAN: Order! The question which the hon. Member for

East Donegal (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) is directing attention to is one of great importance, but it appears to have arisen in connection with the Vote for the Lord Lieutenant's Household in a former year. It is not pertinent to this particular Vote; indeed, it rather concerns the administration of the Civil Service altogether than any particular Vote. I think he is out of Order in entering upon it at this stage.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: I propose to move the reduction of the Vote by £27, which I hope to show to be necessarily connected with this financial year's and a past financial year's accounts, and which, if defrayed at all, must eventually fall upon this particular Vote—

"Where it is possible you avoid an excess Vote by adopting the plan which was adopted in this case?—Yes."

THE CHAIRMAN: I do not think it would be in Order to move a reduction of this Vote in order to correct what is said to be an irregularity in a former year.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: No; I do not want to correct an irregularity. I want to withhold from the Treasury the sum of £27, which, if withheld from them on this ground, they will be unable to appropriate from the Vote anything towards the expenses of a former year.

THE CHAIRMAN: They will be unable to appropriate that without a reduction. It is against the law to appropriate a part of this Vote towards an irregularity in a former year. A reduction of this Vote will neither increase nor decrease their power.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: It is precisely because it appears that it is not out of their power—it is so stated by the Treasury official, and it is so stated by the Comptroller and Auditor General—and it is because I am anxious to enforce the rule which you have laid down as the law, I am bringing the question before the Committee.

THE CHAIRMAN: I understood the hon. Member to complain of the difficulty of detecting irregularity.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: The irregularity has been detected, and through its detection the general system has been revealed.

THE CHAIRMAN: That being so, it would be improper to appropriate any

part of this Vote to cover an irregularity in a former year, which must come before the House by way of a Vote in Excess. It would be irregular to discuss the matter on this particular Vote.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: I will endeavour to confine myself closely to the remarks of the Public Accounts Committee on this Vote. The Public Accounts Committee report that the postponement of payments that have become due appears to be a common expedient in all Departments, and that it is defended by the Treasury as being the lesser of two irregularities. The Accounting Officers of the War Office and of the Admiralty state, on the other hand, that no such practice is ever adopted in their respective Departments, and they object, as a matter of financial principle, to the postponement of payments which have accrued, and which ought in the ordinary course to be paid.

"Your Committee concur with the Comptroller and Auditor General in the view that such practice withdraws from the knowledge of the Comptroller and Auditor General and of Parliament the fact of expenditure in excess of grant having been incurred."

In this case part of the excess has been paid, and the postponement of the payment of the residue obtained. If the whole, instead of part, had been postponed, the irregularity would probably never have been discovered until the accounts of 1885-6 were under audit. The Committee are strongly of opinion that if the practice heretofore sanctioned by the Treasury was allowed to continue, every payment postponed should be shown on the face of the Appropriation Account. Now, of course, Mr. Courtney, after your decision I am precluded from going over that portion of the ground which I had marked out for myself. If I were permitted to do so, I think I could show that it is practically impossible for the Department responsible for this particular Vote to defray the arrears of liability without infringing upon the Vote we are now asked to grant. But I think the noble Lord the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Lord Randolph Churchill) will recognize the importance, the far-reaching importance, of the question which has here been raised, and I think that every Member of this Committee, who has at all interested himself in the administration of public monies, will recognize at

once that this is a matter which ought to be dealt with, and dealt with authoritatively once and for all, because, if the allegation of the Treasury official—

THE CHAIRMAN: I must interrupt the hon. Member again by reminding him that the question before the Committee is the voting of a certain sum of money to defray the expenses of the Lord Lieutenant's Household.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: I will endeavour to put myself in Order as far as possible. I am exceedingly anxious to keep in Order, and I will, therefore, move the reduction of this Vote by the sum of £27, on the ground that I believe there is an item to that amount involved in the sum we are now asked to vote which does not belong to the present financial year, and, I may be allowed to add, that I believe that if the whole of the Civil Service Estimates were investigated closely, it would be found that, in a very large number of cases, there are items of a like description that would be equally open to challenge. In this particular case the amount involved is small, but, small as it is, the principle is great. The illustration of the application of the principle may be infinitesimal; but, under the circumstances, I think there is nothing more to be done than to move the reduction of this Vote by £27, and I will throw myself upon the Committee so far as to ask them to express their sense of the system which has been adopted. I am not in a position to go into those details which I consider necessary to vindicate the position I take up; but unless there is some explanation of the way in which this £27 has been got rid of, the way in which this money has been furnished to pay the liability of the year before last, I think the Committee will see there is very good ground for impressing upon the minds of the Treasury officials and upon the Heads of every Department in the Civil Service, the necessity of restricting their outlay to the Vote which Parliament makes for the Service of the financial year. I beg to move the reduction of the Vote by £27.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £2,489, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1887, for the Salaries of

the Officers and Attendants of the Household of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and other Expenses."—(*Mr. Arthur O'Connor.*)

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL) (Paddington, S.): I am sorry, in one way, that the hon. Gentleman has been interrupted, though, of course, I easily see it is absolutely necessary that the discussion on this Vote should be confined to the Vote itself, and that the Chairman's ruling is indispensable. It is difficult to connect the point which the hon. Member has raised with the Vote before the Committee; but I think I can satisfy him so far as to induce him not to press his Motion to a division. I understood the hon. Gentleman to point to the fact that the Comptroller and Auditor General and the Public Accounts Committee have agreed that a certain transaction of the Civil Service Departments is a transaction wrong in principle and in practice. [MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: Of the whole of the Services.] Just so. I think, in all probability, the hon. Member is right, and that he has acted properly in calling attention to the matter. My own opinion is this—that the Comptroller and Auditor General and the Public Accounts Committee, acting together, ought to be a superior authority to the Treasury, and that, if they distinctly lay down a rule as to the expenditure of money, it is the business of the Treasury to acknowledge their authority as superior to their own. Therefore, if the hon. Member will be content to leave the matter where it stands at present, I will undertake that the remarks he has made are carefully considered, and that an endeavour is made to bring the Treasury practice into accord with the recommendations of the Comptroller and Auditor General and the Public Accounts Committee.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: I am sure the Committee will feel with me that the reply of the noble Lord the Chancellor of the Exchequer is eminently satisfactory, and that I may venture to congratulate him upon the breadth of view with which he always looks at matters of this kind. In asking leave to withdraw my Motion for the reduction of the Vote, I may also add that I value the statement of the noble Lord very much indeed. He has committed himself, with the high authority of his Office, to the statement that the Comp-

troller and Auditor General and the Public Accounts Committee are together, when they agree, an authority, if not greater, at any rate as great as that of the Treasury. I am the more gratified, because, only this very year, when the Public Accounts Committee reminded the representative of one of the great spending Departments that the representations of the Committee, made in a previous year, had not been carried out, he answered us, rather jauntily, that he did not take instructions from the Public Accounts Committee or the Comptroller and Auditor General, but from the Treasury, and that, if the Treasury do not choose to act upon the representations of the Committee, the spending Departments pay very little heed to them. Considering what the noble Lord has said, I am extremely gratified with the result of my intervention.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*.

Original Question again proposed.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyronne, S.): I desire to move the reduction of this Vote by the sum of £1,563, the amount set down for Queen's Plates. I believe that money to be wasted. I voted with hon. Members below the Gangway in favour of the Motion to disallow £218 for the Queen's Plates for Scotland. I hope I shall now receive their support.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £953, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1887, for the Salaries of the Officers and Attendants of the Household of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and other Expenses."—*(Mr. Thomas Russell.)*

COLONEL NOLAN (Galway, N.): I would like to say that it is really unfair to make this Motion with regard to the Queen's Plates for Ireland. There are Queen's Plates run for in England as well as in Ireland, and the value of those in England is much greater than those in Ireland. Unfortunately, the money given in England is given out of the Queen's Privy Purse; while that given in Ireland is put on the Estimates. Men opposed to racing always attack the Irish Queen's Plates, while, in reality, any attack that is made ought to be made on the Plates in this country. I quite understand the hon. Member (Mr. T. W. Russell) has not made this Motion out

of any hostility to the Irish Plates in particular, but simply because he objects to Queen's Plates generally, and he cannot attack the English Plates. I put it to the hon. Gentleman, whether he is acting fairly? Would it not be much fairer that he should ballot for a place on Tuesday or Friday in next week, to propose a Resolution to the effect that no money should be given for Queen's Plates in England? If Queen's Plates are good things in England, they are equally good in Ireland. Indeed, in Ireland they are particularly wanted. In the first place, it is well known that the great difficulty in Ireland is to get proper sires; and we know also that racing encourages a good class of horses. If you take away the Queen's Plates, you take away the only incentive to keep up any thoroughbred horses in Ireland. Ireland is peculiarly well suited for the breeding of horses, though Irish racehorses are not as good as the English. [An. hon. MEMBER: Yes; for Queen's Plates.] If you take away the Queen's Plates, you strike Ireland in the most vulnerable point as regards racing. The soil of Ireland is good for breeding; but take away this money, and you will practically destroy the very few racing establishments there are in the country; compared with the number in England there are very few. I look upon this sum, small and wretched as it is, as really one of considerable importance. I believe the Jockey Club will not allow Irish horses to be entered for the English handicaps until they have run three times in England; in fact, at the present time Irish horses are "Boycotted" in England. ["No, no!"] Let anyone inquire, and he will find that within the last six or 12 months a rule has been passed by the Jockey Club by which Irish horses cannot compete for certain races until they have run a given number of times in England. This is a very small sum of money, and I hope the hon. Member will withdraw his Motion, and thus refrain from doing anything to destroy the incentive to breed good horses in Ireland. If he objects to racing, let him bring up a Motion condemnatory of the system as applied to England, Ireland, and Scotland generally.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.): It is really very sad to find some Irish Members who are always so ready to appeal to us with regard to Irish

Mr. Arthur O'Connor

grievances, and who, while attacking English and Scotch abuses, are still ready to defend some Irish abuses. It seems to me that this is one of the worst of Irish abuses. I do hope that in the interest of the people of Ireland we shall deprive them of these temptations to gamble. I believe that some day or other the Irish people will have self-government, and thus be able to regulate these matters for themselves; but, in the meantime, I shall support the Motion of my hon. Friend (Mr. T. W. Russell).

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton): I voted just now against Queen's Plates in Scotland, and, if I remember rightly, pointed out that what is fair for the Scotchman ought to be fair for the Irishman. If we are not to have Queen's Plates in Scotland we surely ought not to have them in Ireland. My hon. and gallant Friend the Member for North Galway (Colonel Nolan) said that the breeding of good horses depended upon Queen's Plates. I am not myself a racing man, but I do know something about horses in general. I know perfectly well that the more racehorses you have the worse horses you have. Racehorses can run very quickly with a very light weight on their backs, but they are a weedy set of animals. If you want to encourage the breed of horses you ought to send some good stallions about the country—good sound roadsters and such like horses. It is absurd to think that this £1,563, given in 15 Queen's Plates, will benefit the breed of horses in Ireland. If Irishmen want to have races, let them get them up themselves. I want them to legislate for themselves in everything, horse-races included. Let them have gala meetings if they like. They can easily get up races; they have simply to charge something for entrance, and give good prizes. I hope they will have the courage to support a true economic principle, even when applicable to Ireland, and that they will join with the hon. Gentleman (Mr. T. W. Russell) in protesting against Queen's Plates, just as Scotchmen themselves joined with the Irish in voting against Queen's Plates in Scotland.

Question put.

The Committee divided:—Ayes 36; Noes 178: Majority 142.—(Div. List, No. 27.)

Original Question again proposed.

MR. TUIITE (Westmeath, N.): I rise to move a reduction of the Vote by the sum of £3,469. My reason for doing so is the very unsatisfactory reply which I received this evening in connection with the Barbavilla conspiracy. In that case there are persons suffering penal servitude for a crime of which I believe, and the people of my country believe, they are innocent. They were convicted of an alleged conspiracy to murder, and I maintain that the real conspiracy is among the Crown officials who concocted that charge. It will be remembered that on April 2, 1882, a murder was committed in the county of Westmeath, the intended victim of which was a Mr. Smyth. The assassin missed his aim, and a lady was unfortunately killed.

THE CHAIRMAN: It would be more in Order if this discussion were raised on the next Vote, which relates to the Department of the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W., and Sligo, S.): May I ask you, Sir, if your ruling applies to the question of the Proclamation of Arms by the Lord Lieutenant?

THE CHAIRMAN: That will also properly be discussed on the Chief Secretary's Vote.

DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid): I rise to move the reduction of this Vote by the sum of £789 for the salaries to the Chaplain and others in the chapel of Dublin Castle. The Chaplain for the Castle receives the sum of £184 12s. 8d., and also an allowance of £150 for a furnished house. I understand that it is a distinct mistake to have any chaplain set apart for the private use of the Lord Lieutenant. Last year, this Chaplain was of no use whatever, because the Lord Lieutenant happens to have been a member of the Presbyterian Church. Of course, I do not know of what persuasion the present Viceroy is; but the late Viceroy was certainly Presbyterian, and the consequence is that this item of wasteful expenditure was of no use, except for keeping up a small fashionable church in one of the back parts of the City of Dublin. At the present day we are always trying to get rid of intolerance, no matter in what shape or form it may present itself. In Ireland, we have done away with the Established Church because it was unsuitable. This

Chapel Royal appears to be one of the lineal successors of a state of affairs which we have abolished; and I think hon. Members will agree with me that it is altogether superfluous, and that it would be a great deal better that we should do away with it. I hope that in Ireland we may soon have a Catholic Lord Lieutenant; and when that comes about these matters will be placed on a footing more in conformity with the susceptibilities of the majority of the people of Ireland who have been so badly treated in the past. I hope this House, even in its present mood, will see that this item of expenditure is certainly an unjust one—not only unjust, but stupid, and I hope it will disappear from the Estimates.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

“That a sum, not exceeding \$1,727, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1887, for the Salaries of the Officers and Attendants of the Household of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and other Expenses.”—(*Dr. Tanner.*)

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH) (Bristol, W.): I do not quite understand if the hon. Gentleman objects to the amount paid to the Chaplain, or whether he desires to abolish the office of Chaplain altogether? [*Dr. TANNER: Yes, Sir.*] Yes, says the hon. Member; but that really depends on the Office of the Lord Lieutenant. If the Office of the Lord Lieutenant is to be maintained, and I understand the hon. Member and those who sit near him wish that it should be maintained, it must be maintained in the state and dignity appertaining to it; and part of that dignity is the religious establishment which is attached to the representation of Royalty. The hon. Member suggests that some day there may be a Catholic Lord Lieutenant, and says that the late Lord Lieutenant was a Presbyterian. Whether it would be permitted that the Lord Lieutenant should be a Catholic, is a matter for future consideration; but, at present, they are Protestants, and, being so, they are provided with the religious establishment which appertains to the Office, which, in the present case, I hope the Committee will not be unwilling to grant.

Dr. Tanner

MR. M. J. KENNY (Tyrone, Mid): I do not think that my hon. Friend objects to the form of religion which Lord Aberdeen professed. I think arrangements might be made by which the Chaplain might be brought into conformity with the religion of the Lord Lieutenant for the time being. Everyone knows that if the Lord Lieutenant were to be a Catholic, there would be no objection to it from any quarter. I think, in these cases, we should come to some understanding by which a Catholic or a Presbyterian Lord Lieutenant would be provided out of the public funds with a chaplain of his own religion, and if this were done, I think that, in future, this Vote would not be challenged. In the absence of an assurance to that effect, I think my hon. Friend is quite right in challenging this portion of the Estimate, and I shall support him if he divides the Committee on his Motion for its reduction.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.): The late Lord Lieutenant attended more than once the Presbyterian church in Rutland Square and in Rathgar; but it is an error to suppose that he did not attend service in the Chapel Royal.

DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid): The hon. Gentleman who has just spoken has had the singular advantage of attending both places of worship, and I could expect nothing else from the hon. Gentleman. But I cannot at all agree with the right hon. Baronet, that the bringing forward of this Motion to reduce the Vote is striking a blow at the Lord Lieutenant. We understand that nothing would tend to make the position of the Lord Lieutenant more secure than the doing away with these absurdities. This rev. gentlemen, like the Vicar of Bray, will be Chaplain at the Castle whatever King may reign. I am rather astonished that the right hon. Baronet should make the suggestion that a man of this sort would be any ornament to the position of the Lord Lieutenant. On the contrary, I think that, having regard to the circumstances, it is a piece of decorative absurdity, and that if it were done away with it would be a great deal better for the Lord Lieutenant and the country.

MR. JOHN MORLEY (Newcastle-on-Tyne): Whether or not the office of Chaplain at the Castle of Dublin is futile, I will

not discuss; but as far as the late Lord Lieutenant is concerned, he, on a previous occasion, when the same point was raised, desired me to say that he found considerable edification from the ministrations of the Chaplain. And, that being so, hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway may think that there is no sort of moral to be drawn from the fact of Lord Aberdeen having attended a Presbyterian place of worship. I think Lord Aberdeen would desire that no interference should take place with this office. I say all that without prejudice to my own views.

MR. JORDAN (Clare, W.): I do not object, Sir, to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland having a chaplain; but I do not see why the Chapel Royal is a necessity in a city which contains Christchurch Cathedral and St. Patrick's Cathedral. I think that Christchurch would be as convenient a place as the Chapel Royal for the Lord Lieutenant to worship in. I remember being at Christchurch, Dublin, when the Prince of Wales was there; and I think that there would be nothing derogatory to the state of the Lord Lieutenant if he were to attend there. In my opinion, the Chapel Royal is unnecessary as a place of worship, and that the two Cathedrals offer quite enough facilities for the Lord Lieutenant in that respect. If the Household of the Lord Lieutenant wish to attend prayers on week days—and I much question whether they do—they may be theoretically held to go to the Chapel Royal; but I think very few of the Household find their way there. There are many other places of worship which they can attend, and, therefore, for the Lord Lieutenant's Household I think the Chapel Royal is wholly unnecessary.

MR. W. ABRAHAM (Limerick, W.): I desire to raise my voice against this charge. If it were necessary to put forward the claim that the Lord Lieutenant should have a chaplain, and that he should be of the form of religion which the Lord Lieutenant professed, I could understand that the Committee should be willing to vote a sum of money for the purpose. But when we consider the changes which the Office of Lord Lieutenant is likely to undergo, and the possibility of our having a Catholic, and, I trust, an independent Lord Lieutenant, it is most undesirable that we should have permanently in Dublin Castle a chaplain belonging to the

Church which has been disestablished in Ireland. Therefore, without wishing to do anything to lower the state of the Lord Lieutenant, I feel bound to object to this expenditure for a useless purpose.

MR. MAHONY (Meath, N.): I think, if the Lord Lieutenant requires a chaplain, an allowance should be made so that he may obtain one to suit his own views. I do not see that the Church will gain any advantage by being placed in a false position in this respect. The office seems to me to be clearly a relic of the old state of ascendancy, and, therefore, I shall vote against the charge if the hon. Member goes to a division. I see with great regret that the Episcopalian Church in Ireland is fast degenerating into a mere political sect.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 55; Noes 179: Majority 124.—(Div. List, No. 28.)

Original Question again proposed.

MR. CLANCY (Dublin Co., N.): Earlier in the evening I supported the Motion of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) to strike out of the Estimates a sum on account of the Lyon King-of-Arms, and I stated then I did so because I object to the retention of such offices, and that I should be quite prepared to move at the proper time a similar reduction in the Estimates for Ireland. I now beg to move the reduction of the Vote for the Lord Lieutenant's Household by the sum of £1,089, the amount of the salary of the Ulster King-of-Arms, and the salaries and allowances for clerks, messengers, and others connected with the office. We have heard to-night about mediæval mummeries; but surely this is as good a specimen of mediæval mummery as is to be found in the civilized world. What on earth the use of the Ulster King-of-Arms is I cannot imagine, except, as the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) has said, to present coats of arms and mottoes to persons who have not got them. I do not want to discuss this question at any length, especially as other subjects of importance are waiting to be introduced; but I cannot help saying that if the present Ulster King-of-Arms were not an extremely inoffensive and harmless gentleman, the probability is that this office would long since have been abo-

lished by the force of the Irish Party in Parliament. I think an effort should now be made to effect a reform in this Department of the Household of the Lord Lieutenant by the total abolition of the absurd office of the Ulster King-of-Arms. I beg to move the reduction of the Vote by the sum of £1,089.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £1,427, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1887, for the Salaries of the Officers and Attendants of the Household of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and other Expenses."—(*Mr. Clancy.*)

MR. CRILLY (Mayo, N.): I do not wish to take part in the division without knowing what I am voting for or against, as the case may be. Perhaps the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland will inform us what the duties of the Ulster King-of-Arms are, and also what the Athlone Pursuivant-of-Arms is supposed to do?

MR. O'HEA (Donegal, W.): There is a good deal of curiosity, and no wonder, as to the functions appertaining to the office of the Ulster King-of-Arms. If the Ulster King-of-Arms is the custodian of Irish pedigrees, he has not shown himself courteous in all his dealings with the public. I may mention the instance of a clergyman who was presented by his parishioners with a new card. He was anxious to obtain some explanation of the armorial bearings on the card, and he wrote to Sir Bernard Burke requesting him to supply him with an explanation. A week passed and the rev. gentleman received no reply. He wrote a second letter, and on this occasion enclosed a stamped envelope addressed to himself for the reply. He did not receive an answer to his second request. This is one of those ornamental offices, the expenditure on which is considerable, but the utility of which is only fanciful. The Ulster King-of-Arms may be a very ornamental personage, but he is not a useful functionary. I certainly shall vote with my hon. Friend (*Mr. Clancy.*)

MR. M. J. KENNY (Tyrone, Mid): It would be well if the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland would explain to us what particular functions are discharged by the Ulster King-of-Arms. I believe there are cer-

tain persons in Ireland—baronets and lords—to whom this functionary is of some service; but, as far as the general population is concerned, Sir Bernard Burke is of no assistance. I am not surprised that the rev. gentleman my hon. Friend (*Mr. O'Hea*) alluded to failed altogether in his object, because, although he sent a stamped envelope for the reply, he did not enclose the necessary fee. I suppose that for a fee Sir Bernard Burke will give anybody a pedigree dating from the Norman Conquest. But we have a gentleman in Ireland—*Mr. O'Hart*—who engages to supply anyone with a pedigree from the time of Brian Boru. Anyhow, we do not know what Sir Bernard Burke does except to give pedigrees to distinguished people. Now, in Holland and other Continental countries, there are in every parish Marriage Registrars who profess to give the pedigree of people for at least 500 years. There are no such officials in Ireland. If there is anything to be done in the nature of the King-of-Arms business, it ought to be carried on on popular principles, so that those who may desire to have an account of their antecedents can obtain one. With regard to the inheritance to property, it is very desirable that some establishment should exist in the country by which the pedigrees of families may be traced. In Ireland we have practically nothing of the kind. Up to within the last 50 years, in fact, more recently than that, there has been nothing in Ireland of the nature of a regular registry of marriages, and the result is there are frequent disputes with reference to succession to property. I trust that we may receive some explanation from the Chief Secretary with respect to the duties Sir Bernard Burke performs.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (*Sir Michael Hicks-Beach*) (*Bristol, W.*): I did not anticipate from what I have known of Sir Bernard Burke, and heard of him since I was first connected with Ireland, that any hon. Member would have objected to this office on the ground of unpopularity or misconduct on the part of Sir Bernard Burke. He is not only a gentleman who is universally respected and liked, but he thoroughly understands the peculiar duties which attach to this office. I must candidly confess I am unable to explain what the duties are; but the

office is a very ancient estate and dignity. It is more than 300 years old. Of course, it has charge of matters connected with the history of Ireland, and the history of individual families in Ireland, and although hon. Members may not attach as much importance to these things as was formerly attached to them, I do not think the office should be abolished, especially when similar offices are maintained in England and Scotland. Now, I may state that, as far as I can gather, this office is of no real cost to the State at all. When Sir Bernard Burke was appointed to the office he was paid entirely by fees. Hon. Members will see what his emoluments from the office are. In a period of five and a quarter years after the commutation of the fees no less than £6,000 was paid to the Treasury in fees; therefore, I think it will be clear that as the Treasury now receives the fees, and Sir Bernard Burke only a salary, the country is the gainer and not the loser by the bargain. This, however, is one of those offices which, when it falls vacant, will have to be considered. It is clearly understood with regard to this and several offices of the same kind that, in the event of a vacancy occurring, it will not be filled up without full consideration of the duties of the office and the pay which should be given to any person who may be appointed as the successor of Sir Bernard Burke. I am afraid I can say no more than this upon the subject; but I hope what I have said will show that the office is one of antiquity, and that it does not involve any cost to the State. It is part, no doubt, of the appanage of the Lord Lieutenant's Office, and as such I think that for the present, at any rate, it ought to be maintained.

MR. CLANCY (Dublin Co., N.): I believe I stated, Mr. Courtney, that I made no attack upon Sir Bernard Burke. I said, on the contrary, that he was a harmless and inoffensive gentleman, and that if he had not been of that character the office would probably have been abolished long ago, or, at least, an attempt would have been made to abolish it. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland now says the office is 300 years old. It has existed 300 years too long. This is the first time I have heard an abuse defended in this House on account of its antiquity. I

object to the absurdity of the office, and I do not think its absurdity is diminished in the least by the fact that Sir Bernard Burke collects a certain amount every year in fees. We find the Ulster King-of-Arms, who discharges duties which the Chief Secretary for Ireland is not able to describe, is paid £750 a-year; the Athlone Pursuivant-of-Arms, who has to discharge duties which the right hon. Gentleman has not attempted to describe, is paid £20 in lieu of official fees; the allowance to a clerk in the Office of Arms as official reporter during the Castle season, whatever that may be, is £30; the allowance for the clothing of one kettle-drummer is £12 6s., though in another place it is said to be £13. The only persons who, in my opinion, deserve to be paid are the office cleaner, and he or she receives £30 a-year, and the porter or messenger, who gets £76. I should like to allow these officials their salaries; but, of course, if we abolish the office we shall not want an office cleaner or messenger.

MR. O'HEA (Donegal, W.): I, and I have no doubt others, imagined when the right hon. Gentleman rose that he would give us some information as to the functions of the Ulster King-of-Arms; but beyond informing the Committee that it was an office dating back 300 years, and that its antiquity is a recommendation for its maintenance and continuance, he has said nothing to induce any hon. Members on this side of the House to alter the intention they had formed of voting against the items in the Estimates to defray the expenses of the office. Now, Sir, I think that the speech of the right hon. Gentleman confirmed us in the opinion we had formed of this office—namely, that it is one of those fossil remains that perhaps sprung from the feudalism which was in its expiring state some 300 years ago. I do not think antiquity could be put forward as the reason for the maintenance of any office in this country. I agree with my hon. Friend the Member for North Dublin (Mr. Clancy) that a hardship may be inflicted upon a couple of very deserving and, no doubt, very meritorious individuals by the abolition of this office; but perhaps there are other ways in which the services of these people may be brought into requisition. The Government have given no satisfactory explanation, and, therefore, I

trust the good sense of hon. Members will prompt them to take the step necessary for the abolition of the office.

MR. BIGGAR (Cavan, W.): This is one of the Votes upon which there is a discussion every year, and I appeal to the Government whether it would not be better to give Sir Bernard Burke a lump sum and abolish the office at once? It is all very well for the Chief Secretary to say—"We will take it into consideration when Sir Bernard Burke drops off." There is not the slightest doubt someone will exist then to whom it will be considered desirable by the Government of the day to give outdoor relief. This is the way in which the money of the British taxpayer is squandered in very considerable sums amongst a very considerable number of people. Why not treat this office like that of the Chaplain to the Castle of Dublin, in relation to which there is this foot-note—

"This allowance is personal to the present Chaplain, and will not be continued to his successor."

If, to-night, we put in the Votes that the office of Ulster King-of-Arms will not be filled up when Sir Bernard Burke ceases to hold it, there might be some reason for future Committees of Supply to pass the Vote over rather lightly; but as long as there is a risk that this office will be filled up again, it is perfectly certain that successive Committees will give the Vote their attention, and the Minister of the day the trouble of getting up to defend something which he knows to be perfectly indefensible. I think the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary should go so far as to say that the Department will undertake that when Sir Bernard Burke ceases to hold this office it shall not be filled up. This gentleman seems to be very liberally paid, because, besides the £750 he gets as Ulster King-of-Arms, he is paid £500 as the Keeper of State Papers in the Irish Record Office. Taking everything into account he has a very comfortable competency for a gentleman who seems to be very inoffensive, not to have much intelligence, but who is really a burlesque upon public officials.

DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid.): There does not appear to be any feeling of animosity amongst hon. Gentlemen sitting on these Benches against Sir Bernard Burke. On the contrary, everybody appears to coincide in the view

that Sir Bernard Burke is an extremely inoffensive gentleman. We have also heard, in the course of this really interesting debate, that another gentleman, a Mr. O'Hart, who has a love for genealogical research, and is good at supplying pedigrees of distinguished people, would be much more suitable for this post than Sir Bernard Burke. Mr. O'Hart, we are told, has looked up the genealogy of Her Majesty, and discovered that she is descended from Moses—

THE CHAIRMAN: I must ask the hon. Gentleman to address himself seriously to the Vote before the Committee.

DR. TANNER: Mr. Courtney, the reason why I called attention to Mr. O'Hart is that he has published a volume dealing with this very question of genealogy, which Sir Bernard Burke has never done. If you want to have a really good man in the absurd position of Ulster King-of-Arms, why not have the best man you can possibly get? If this country is called upon to pay the sum of £750 in order that Privy Councillors and others may get their pedigrees drawn up, it would be better to get the most capable man to do the job. For that very reason I have to advocate the cause of Mr. O'Hart against that of Sir Bernard Burke; if the post is to be kept up, it ought to be filled by the best man. There is another curious functionary provided for in this Vote—namely, the Athlone Pursuivant-of-Arms. One of my hon. Friends has asked what this office is. This may be an office in the Militia for aught we know. What is the position that this gentleman holds? There is also a very singular fact in connection with this account. The Athlone Pursuivant-of-Arms gets £20 in lieu of official fees. It does seem to me to be absurd that this Athlone Pursuivant-of-Arms, whoever he may happen to be, should be kept in office if there are no fees; if the office is a sinecure, it ought to be done away with. If the services of the Athlone Pursuivant-of-Arms are required by no one, and if, in lieu of employment, he has to be paid £20 a year, it is a palpable absurdity to keep up the office. There are many items of this character in the Estimates—in the English and Scotch Estimates—but surely it does not at all follow that because you happen to have

absurdities in one section of the Estimates, you should try to perpetuate them in another. Sir Bernard Burke has given great satisfaction on many occasions. I do not like to speak at too great length, but there are two or three facts in connection with Sir Bernard Burke I should like to mention. He was the man who originated the celebrated Dublin botanical—

THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Gentleman must be aware that his remarks are not pertinent to the Vote before the Committee. If he persists in irrelevancy, I must call upon him to resume his seat.

DR. TANNER: I had no intention of overstepping the limits of Order; on the contrary, I was only trying to illustrate what I was saying. My desire always is to keep in Order, and I now bow to your ruling, Mr. Courtney. I sincerely hope that those items will be erased from the Estimates. I will not detain the Committee longer.

MR. J. O'CONNOR (Tipperary, S.): If my hon. Friend (Mr. Clancy) goes to a division, I shall follow him into the Lobby with very great pleasure indeed; but only through a sense of *esprit de corps* shall I do so. I sincerely hope that we shall be able to prevail on my hon. Friend to withdraw his opposition to this Vote. This Ulster King-of-Arms is, to my mind, a relic of old decency in Ireland. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland took great pains to show that he was quite unacquainted with the duties of this office, which has occupied the attention of the Committee so long; in fact, it appears to me the Ulster King-of-Arms has nothing else to do but draw his salary, and that he does that with the greatest possible precision. At the same time, I do not think the Irish people are sufficiently democratic yet to abandon all the pride, pomp, and circumstance of glorious war in which they were once accustomed to indulge. Now, the Ulster King-of-Arms is a very martial term, and I am inclined to think the Irish people will stick to their martial terms as long as they possibly can. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary also said that this office is one of the appanages of the Household of the Lord Lieutenant. If we are to play at Royalty in Ireland, let us stick to all the appanages. I should be very sorry

to abolish the Ulster King-of-Arms if he adds *éclat* to the many parties we have at Dublin Castle from time to time. I have no doubt he impresses with very great solemnity the minds of the gay and festive young ladies and gentlemen who assemble at the Viceregal Lodge from time to time. Now, Mr. Courtney, I would not like to see such offices abolished, so long as we are to have a Lord Lieutenant at all. I believe it is contemplated by both sides of this House to dispense with the position of Viceroy of Ireland, if possible, in the very near future. Then let the Ulster King-of-Arms, and the Athlone Pursuivant-of-Arms, and the kettle-drummer, and the rest go with the Lord Lieutenant; but, until you are prepared to abolish the Viceregal system altogether, let us have everything that adds to its lustre and its glory. I have never seen the Lord Lieutenant in State in Ireland; but I believe that at times, it is a very glorious sight. I believe it pleases our people, because our people are not a democratic people. They have not been impregnated with your principles of democracy at all. The Irish people are by tradition and by religion, aristocratic. [*A laugh.*] It is a fact, and let us not deceive ourselves. The Irish people are by race, religion, and tradition, aristocratic; at all events, they are not democratic in the sense the word is understood in England. ["Oh!"] You do not understand the true meaning of democracy. The Irish people have never been inoculated with democracy. Let us have our Ulster King-of-Arms. If my hon. Friend (Mr. Clancy) recognizes the truth of these statements, he will withdraw his Motion, although, as I said at the outset, if he presses it to a division, I shall be bound to follow him into the Lobby.

MR. O'HANLON (Cavan, E.): I must join my hon. Friends in protesting against this Vote. The Conservatives in the district from which I come know little about the office of Sir Bernard Burke, and the Liberals are just in the same position as far as that is concerned. The Chief Secretary is unable to explain the duties of the Ulster King-of-Arms, and that, to my mind, is a most extraordinary fact. I cannot understand how it is possible for the Committee to be

into Committee with regard to the prisoners in the Barbavilla case. My hon. Friend was unable to go into that matter at that time, and it was ruled that he could do it on this Vote. I would ask the Government whether they think that that inquiry can be entered upon conveniently at this hour? My hon. Friend is willing to go on with it if the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland thinks it desirable.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH) (Bristol, W.): I feel there is some reasonableness in the appeal the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Sexton) has made. This is an important Vote, and the question the hon. Member (Mr. Tuite) proposes to raise will lead to considerable discussion; but we have been a very long time on the Votes we have taken, and the nature of the discussion we have had can hardly be said to have been important. I would rather appeal to the hon. Gentleman to endeavour to make progress with the Votes which are coming on. There are some following the one before the Committee which are not of great importance. I refer to the Votes dealing with the Record Office, the Registrar General's Office, the Ordnance Survey—and which, I think, may be taken practically as unopposed Votes. If hon. Gentlemen opposite will allow us to take those Votes, we will consent to postpone this Vote, and also the Vote for the Irish Local Government Board, so that they may be discussed at a more convenient hour. I think, however, we may be allowed to make some further progress with Supply.

MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W., and Sligo, S.): I understand from my hon. Friends around me that they would be willing for all the Votes mentioned by the right hon. Gentleman to be taken without discussion, except the Registrar General's Vote.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*.

(12.) £819, to complete the sum for the Charitable Donations and Bequests Office, Ireland.

(13.) £2,414, to complete the sum for the Record Office, Ireland.

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.): I do not wish to discuss this Vote for the Public Record Office; but I desire to ask the Government if they can give us any in-

formation as to who it is proposed shall fill the vacancy which has taken place? The position is an exceedingly important one, and I have heard a rumour on the question which I should like to have contradicted or verified.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH) (Bristol, W.): I do not think the matter is absolutely settled.

MR. DILLON: The appointment, I assume, rests with the right hon. Gentleman?

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: I think the Lord Lieutenant makes the appointment, with the consent of the Treasury.

MR. DILLON: I will not prolong the discussion, but I trust that the Chief Secretary will give us the information I seek as early as possible.

Vote agreed to.

(14.) £8,826, to complete the sum for the Valuation and Boundary Survey, Ireland.

Resolutions to be reported.

CLASS III.—LAW AND JUSTICE.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £29,041, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1887, of Criminal Prosecutions and other Law Charges in Ireland, including certain Allowances under the Act 15 and 16 Vic. c. 83."

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.): Surely it is not proposed to take this Vote to-night?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL) (Paddington, S.): It is proposed to postpone the contentious Irish Votes, and to proceed with the English Votes.

MR. DILLON: That would not be in accordance with the arrangement just arrived at. Several English Members below the Gangway on this (the Opposition) side of the House have come to us Irish Members to ask if the Irish Votes were likely to occupy the rest of the night. We have told them that they would, and I therefore do not think it fair, when those English Members have gone away, that we should take important English Votes in their absence.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: The hon. Member cannot expect the Government to agree to such an arrange-

public money on that barren insignia. The wish of the people of Ireland is that, at any rate, no more money should be spent upon it. But I wish to say, besides, that there is a principle involved in this sum of £60, because from time to time very much larger sums are called for in connection with the Order on the installation of Knights, when any Imperial persons happen to be in Ireland. Therefore, with the view of insuring that no more money shall be wasted on this Order in Ireland in future, I shall move that the Vote be reduced by the sum of £60.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £2,456, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1887, for the Salaries of the Officers and Attendants of the Household of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and other Expenses."—(*Mr. Dillon.*)

MR. MOLLOY (King's Co., Birr): I have no particular wish to see the Order of St. Patrick abolished. I think if the Lord Lieutenant is desirous of retaining these honours that the least he can do is to pay for them himself. We are, however, called upon to pay, and to this I strongly object. If a man wishes to have a banner in St. Patrick's Cathedral for his family, I do not see why he should come upon the taxpayers of the country for the expense; nor do I see why, if he wants his arms emblazoned for the purpose of magnifying himself in the eyes of those who think as he does in these matters, he should come almost as a pauper and ask the people to pay for them. The people never see these banners and never see these arms; in fact, they knew nothing about them, and it does seem to me a mean thing for men who want honours for their own gratification to call on the public to defray the cost. We are called upon year after year for these sums, although it is true that the present demand is not a large one. As far as my observation goes, these honours are not granted in Ireland for distinguished services. They are merely political grants, and I ask the Chief Secretary whether it is quite fair to call on the people of Ireland to pay for these honours? The noble Lord the Chancellor of the Exchequer belongs to a family of renown, and I put it to him whether he does not

think it right to put an end to this scandal and allow these gentlemen to pay for them themselves? I ask the Chief Secretary to give us some assurance that this scandal shall appear no more on the Estimates.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH) (Bristol, W.): It is not the case that when a person is made a Knight of St. Patrick the cost of his receiving that honour is paid by the country, unless special circumstances arise, in which case a special Vote is proposed. As a rule, the fees paid by the Knight amount to £300; and, besides, he has generally to pay £250 or £300 for the collar and badge. These are honours appreciated by those who receive them. The charge in this Vote is for a banner, a helmet, and so on, which are placed in St. Patrick's Hall, Dublin Castle, just as the banners of Knights of the Garter are placed in St. George's Chapel, Windsor; and they cost very little indeed as compared with the large expense charged on the Knights themselves. All I would say is that if the Order of St. Patrick is to be maintained, and I understand that it is the desire of hon. Members that it should be, you must have this expenditure. How far it should be borne by the country is a matter for consideration.

MR. CLANCY (Dublin Co., N.): I object to the Order of St. Patrick altogether. I have here a list of the members of the Order to whom I should like to call attention. Excluding the Royal Princes and one or two others, amongst them Viscount Powerscourt, there is scarcely any one of the Order deserving of the respect of the people. The Order is composed of men who stand in the position of convicted rack-renters.

THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member is using language unworthy of this Assembly. He must withdraw it.

MR. CLANCY: I withdraw the words in obedience to your ruling. I was explaining that these persons have been found guilty of having extorted exorbitant rack-rents for many years past, and, accordingly, their rents have been cut down by the Land Commission. For instance, there is the Earl of Kenmare, and I ask what respect can Irishmen have for men like him? The Earl of Cork is in a similar position; and then there is Lord Wolseley, who some time ago expressed the intention of leading

a portion of the people of Ireland against the Queen's troops. ["Question!"] This is the question; and I say, further, that to this charge Lord Wolseley has never given a denial. There is also the noble Lord who has a residence in my constituency, but who is very seldom there, and he is about the greatest obstacle to the welfare of the little town near which he lives. What title have these gentlemen to be Knights of St. Patrick? Let them call themselves by any other name than this. I think that half my objection to the Order would vanish if this anti-Irish gang called themselves by any other name than that of the Apostle of Ireland. It is absurd that, in the 19th century, Parliament should vote money for the sake of having a few gentlemen pretending to be Knights and ready to wage war on horseback, when most of them can hardly keep their seats on the steadiest old nags that can be bought in Ireland. I shall persist in the Motion for the reduction of the Vote.

MR. M. J. KENNY (Tyrone, Mid): I remember that last year there were two installations of noblemen in the Order of St. Patrick, and it was made a pretext for expending £1,000 in doing up a room in Dublin Castle for the purpose. My hon. Friend, therefore, is quite right when he says that the expenditure does not end at £60. It goes on, and no one knows where it stops. In the Estimates of last year there was a charge of £1,000 on account of the installation of these gentlemen. Although they themselves paid £500, they put the country to the expense of £1,000 for preparing the room in Dublin Castle for their gratification; and this is the reason why I, for one, oppose this Vote. The amount of taxation upon the people makes it essential on our part to oppose this useless outlay. I am bound to say that if these gentlemen would pay for the cost of installation there would be no objection on my part to their being made Knights of St. Patrick; but so long as the cost is thrown upon the country, so long shall I resist this Vote.

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.): The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary says that the hon. Member for King's County (Mr. Molloy) does not object to this Order. I, however, do object to it, and I say that it is a distinct grievance that the country should be called on to

pay large sums in connection with it. I object to the Vote chiefly because I object to the Order. It is an Order of so-called merit, and is conferred upon men who are detested by the people of Ireland. Not a single individual who enjoys the respect and confidence of the people of Ireland is a Knight of St. Patrick, and I will go further and say you could not get any person enjoying the respect of the Irish people to accept the Knighthood. As sensible men we ought to get rid of this Order at once, and the fact that you cannot get a single man who enjoys the confidence of the people to accept the Knighthood is alone sufficient to condemn any Order; and to call upon the Committee to support such an imposture as this is mischievous.

MR. O'HANLON (Cavan, E.): I observe that the amount charged for insignia and banners for last year was £50; whereas this year the charge is £40; and I should like to know what is the cause of this reduction? With regard to the insignia, we have had no explanation whatever from the right hon. Baronet as to why this expense is charged upon the Estimates at all. And although the right hon. Baronet has told us that everyone who is installed as a Knight of St. Patrick has to pay fees amounting to £300, he has not explained whether this amount goes to relieve the taxes of the people? These are two points which I think the Chief Secretary for Ireland should fully explain.

MR. P. J. POWER (Waterford, E.): I think the Irish Representatives would be wanting in duty if they did not protest against this charge. It would be interesting to know what the Members of this Order have done for Ireland, because it seems to me that it is on account of their having done a good deal of good for England that they have been made Knights of St. Patrick. In my opinion, they have done nothing whatever for Ireland, where they have simply acted as an English garrison. Why, then, should we be called upon to pay anything towards the expenses of these Knights? I say that it is our duty to enter a protest against this sham, which most Irishmen look upon as a disgrace and dishonour.

MR. A. BLANE (Armagh, S.): We are here asked to vote money not for the use of the Lord Lieutenant, but for a purpose which we are told is highly or-

Mr. Clancy

namental. I say it is strange that these sums should be uselessly expended in the face of so many complaints of bad trade and want of employment on the part of the people throughout the country, and which is constantly made the excuse for not voting money for useful purposes. I protest against these Votes for ornaments in society; they are utterly worthless, and the sooner they are brought to an end the better. This Vote is only one instance of the way these persons foist themselves upon the public purse, and I shall, for the reasons I have given, vote with my hon. Friend against this charge.

Question put.

The Committee divided:—Ayes 56; Noes 165: Majority 109.—(Div. List, No. 30.)

Original Question again proposed.

MR. CRILLY (Mayo, N.): Before we leave this Vote I desire to enter my protest against a system associated with it which I consider to be unjust and vicious. It appears to me, in studying these Estimates, that establishments such as the one we are discussing are merely vehicles for reckless expenditure. They are, it seems to me, establishments for providing snug places for various persons—they are offices in which the duties are in an inverse ratio to the pay. The duties are light and the pay is heavy; and not merely do we find gentlemen associated with one situation such as th's, but we find them cropping up continually like Jack-in-the-box. They are, to use an illustration which was adopted some time ago, as thick in these Estimates as barnacles on the bottom of a Transatlantic liner. I intend to move the reduction of the Vote before I have done. I find that the Master of the Horse is put down here to receive £200, and I also find that, in the Vote we have passed, this gentleman is also down as Deputy Ranger of the Curragh of Kildare at a salary of £276. I find, further, that a gentleman described as Surgeon to the Household, is down for £100, and in addition to that I see he receives a salary of £245, and a large sum for travelling expenses, as Surgeon to the Dublin Metropolitan Police, and £150 from the Public Education Department in Ireland. Before we leave this Vote I want to enter my protest against it, because I object on principle to the coupling of offices in the way I have

described. It is, in my opinion, wrong and immoral; and amongst other things it has this injurious effect, that it prevents deserving men from receiving salaries. The salaries go to people who are in occupation of four or five or even half-a-dozen different positions in the Public Departments in Ireland. To put myself in Order I will move that the Vote be reduced by £362, which is made up of £200 paid to the Master of the Horse, £100 paid to the Surgeon of the Household, and £61 13s. 3d. paid to the State Porter.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £2,154, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1887, for the Salaries of the Officers and Attendants of the Household of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and other Expenses."—(Mr. Crilly.)

MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W., and Sligo, S.): No one in this part of the House will disagree with the remarks of the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Crilly). It occurs to me that the observations he has made upon this Vote could, with equal justice, propriety, and relevance be applied to every other Vote for Ireland; but as this question can be raised on almost every other Vote, and as we have had a long discussion upon the matter before the Committee, perhaps my hon. Friend will not persist in his Amendment, but allow the Vote to be taken.

MR. A. BLANE (Armagh, S.): I find that under this Vote the Queen's Plates in Ireland are provided—["Order, Order!"]

THE CHAIRMAN: Does the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Crilly) withdraw his Amendment?

MR. CRILLY: Yes; of course, Sir.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*.

Original Question put, and *agreed to*.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £17,866, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1887, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Offices of the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in Dublin and London, and Subordinate Departments."

MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W., and Sligo, S.): My hon. Friend the Member for North Westmeath (Mr. Tuife) endeavoured to raise his Motion preliminary to going

MR. DILLON: To tell us that the Vote for Public Education in England, one of the largest and most important Votes on the Estimates, should be taken *sub silentio*, is most absurd. I must say that the Government have endeavoured to make a most singular bargain, and a most extraordinary feeling appears to prevail on the opposite Benches.

An hon. MEMBER: You have not the control of the House.

MR. DILLON: Someone over there says we have not the control of the House. That is perfectly true. But I wish to point out to the Committee, as I have already said, that some English Members came to us earlier in the evening and asked this question—whether or not we thought that the Irish Votes would occupy the whole of our time to-night? We, of course, answered in the affirmative, and that answer went round amongst hon. Members. As a mere matter of courtesy to these hon. Gentlemen who have gone home on the understanding that the Irish Votes would occupy the whole of the evening, I think we are bound to postpone these important English Estimates. It is a very common arrangement, as hon. Members know, to give each other information of this kind, as far as we can anticipate the course of proceeding on matters in which we are especially interested. We were notoriously within our knowledge in saying that if the Votes were taken as they were on the Paper, and discussed in the ordinary manner, the Irish Votes would consume the whole of the evening. Even if we had discussed them in a much more perfunctory manner than we have adopted these Irish Votes would naturally have consumed the whole of the evening. I maintain that it was a legitimate thing to tell English Members, when they applied to us, that the Irish Votes would consume the whole of the evening. We have given this information for the convenience of English Gentlemen; and they, therefore, went home under the impression that the English Education Vote could not come on until to-morrow.

MR. F. S. POWELL (Wigan): I hope the Committee will allow me to remind them that already considerable discussion has taken place on the Vote for English Education. The right hon. Gentleman the late Vice President of the Council (Sir Lyon Playfair) made the

usual official statement in an extremely valuable speech, and one full of detail, in the late Session. The present Vice President also submitted his views, and other Members laid before the Committee facts and arguments in support of their opinions. I, therefore, do trust that the former discussion may be regarded as sufficient, and that this Vote may pass without discussion.

MR. J. O'CONNOR (Tipperary, S.): I, to some extent, agree with the hon. Member who has just sat down. No doubt the late Vice President of the Council (Sir Lyon Playfair) did make a very interesting statement. It was one to which I listened very attentively; but we must remember that that statement was not made in the Parliament now sitting. It was made in the late Parliament, and there are many new Members in this House who did not hear it, who have not read it, and who have come amongst us with totally different views with regard to education to those which were entertained by hon. Members who sat here last Session. Under the circumstances I think that facilities should be given to those hon. Members to discuss the question of English education at a time when their speeches will have effect. I think upon this matter they ought to be allowed to put themselves right with their constituency. I appeal to the noble Lord (Lord Randolph Churchill) to allow Progress to be reported. ["Order, order!"] I submit that I am in Order; but as I do not wish to come into conflict with the Chair I shall not continue the remarks I had intended to make. I wish to put myself right with the Chairman; and I wish to say that I distinctly heard the Motion for Progress made. In pursuing my argument in reference to that matter I do not think I am out of Order.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Motion was not put from the Chair.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.): With regard to the Motion to report Progress, rather than proceed with the Votes in Class IV., I must say I am astonished at the condition of memory of the noble Lord (Lord Randolph Churchill). I would remind him that on two separate occasions I pointedly put questions to him, and to another right hon. Member of the Cabinet sitting on the Front Bench, as to the order in which these Votes were to be taken.

The noble Lord informed us that the Army Estimates would be taken first, the Navy Estimates next, and then the Civil Service Estimates in the order in which they appeared on the Paper. Trusting to that assurance, I, for one, have relied upon the Estimates being taken exactly in their proper order. So far was I from anticipating the possibility of Class IV. being taken this evening that I have not brought with me papers I had intended to use in regard to the case of a certain school in which I take some interest. I should not be able to do justice to the question in the absence of these papers. With regard to the second Vote in Class IV., it is within my knowledge that hon. Members who take considerable interest in technical education in Ireland have reserved themselves for another day, expecting that it would be impossible for Class IV. to be reached this evening. Under these circumstances it appears to me hardly fair that we should be asked suddenly to consider Estimates with regard to which we have not thought it necessary even to look at the papers. If any further Supply is to be taken, I trust that we shall proceed with the Votes as they are on the Paper. I am sorry that the pledges given by the Front Bench opposite are considered by right hon. Gentlemen opposite as so little binding upon the Government.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL) (Paddington, S.): No doubt the Government have made a mistake in this matter, and it is one which they are not likely very soon to be guilty of again. They sought to consult the convenience of hon. Members opposite by postponing a certain Vote in which those hon. Members were interested. They believed that hon. Members opposite desired that Vote to come on at a convenient hour to-morrow. A request for the postponement of this Vote was made at half-past 12, and an arrangement was made in a space of time that did not cover more than a minute. It evidently was the intention of hon. Gentlemen opposite that these proceedings in Committee of Supply should come to a conclusion there and then; but that was certainly not the intention of the Government. Half-an-hour has now been taken up with frivolous discussion as to whether Committee of Supply should proceed or stop. Hon.

Members should be clear as to what their attitude is. An hon. Gentleman opposite has risen in his place and made a demand on the Government which is altogether unreasonable. ["No, no!"] Yes; that is the position taken up by the hon. Gentleman. The demand he makes, so far as the Government are concerned, it is impossible to comply with. We do not feel at all inclined to give way, without very strong protest, to a demand which appears to have another object than to prevent the Supplies of the year being voted with expedition and decency. As to what has fallen from the hon. Member for East Donegal (Mr. Arthur O'Connor)—namely, that he received an assurance from the Government that the Votes would be proceeded with in the order in which they appear upon the Paper, I must say that, although we entered into a contrary arrangement with the hon. Member's Friends just now, we very much regret it after what has happened. We did it to consult what we thought was the convenience of hon. Members opposite; but for the future we will be very careful not to take any Votes out of their order.

MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W., and Sligo, S.): We understood that the Votes would be taken in a certain order. Certain Irish Members have, in reply to inquiries from English Members sitting not on one side of the House alone, but on both sides, informed them that the discussion of the Irish Votes would occupy the whole evening. If these English Members came down to-morrow and found that over £250,000 had been taken for education in England without discussion, they would have a perfect right to consider themselves ill-treated. I can understand the anxiety of the noble Lord (Lord Randolph Churchill) to get on with Supply. If any of us were in his position we should feel the same anxiety; but I would ask the noble Lord to look back upon the evening and to say whether, as a matter of fact, the progress we have made has been really so slow as to warrant all these comments? When you get 14 Votes, many of them highly contentious, it is only right to say that good progress has been made. Hon. Gentlemen on both sides of the House will confirm me when I say that to take 14 Votes of this kind in one evening is not a bad night's work.

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As I said, I understand the anxiety of the noble Lord; but I think I may claim the right to say that in representing facts from the Front Bench opposite he ought to endeavour to make at least an approximate approach to accuracy. He says that the Government agreed to postpone certain Votes for our convenience. What happened was this. When the Vote for the Chief Secretary's Office was called on I rose and submitted to the Government whether they thought it would be convenient—["Oh, oh!"] Yes; those were my very words. I submitted to the Government whether they thought it would be convenient to go on with a Vote of this importance at such a late hour? I said that my hon. Friend the Member for Westmeath (Mr. Tuite) was willing, if they desired it, to enter upon the consideration of the Barbavilla case, and I appealed to the Leaders of the Government whether they considered that such a discussion should be taken at such an hour? Well, they evidently did not think it would be convenient. I did not; in fact, nobody did. A discussion of that kind once entered upon certainly could not be finished to-night, and no one would have gained anything by the arrangement. I put it to the noble Lord, therefore, whether the Irish Members did not appeal to the Government in a spirit, not impeding, but meant to facilitate the progress of Supply? ["Oh, oh!"] I put it to the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach). He rose and said that four Votes were not contentious. We gave way upon those Votes, and allowed the Government to take them without discussion. The noble Lord seems anxious to make a statement to the public. Well, he has made it; and I make mine. The action we took showed that we had no desire whatever to impede the Government; but that, so far as was consistent with the due discussion of Votes on which questions of great importance are to be raised, we were willing to give the Government, from now to the close of Supply, every reasonable facility for getting through the Business.

Mr. DILLON (Mayo, E.): I must say that the account given by the noble Lord (Lord Randolph Churchill) of what took place is extremely inaccurate. I do not mean to insinuate that it is wilfully inaccurate; but it is distinctly

Mr. Sexton

wrong. What took place was this—and I am open to correction if I myself am inaccurate in the statement I make—but I wish to give my version of what transpired, seeing that the noble Lord has made a rather angry charge against us, a charge which I maintain is absolutely unfounded—the Chief Secretary got up and said the Government were willing to withdraw the contentious Irish Votes provided we allowed certain other Irish Votes which were named as Votes of an uncontentious character to be disposed of. That is exactly what took place. When the Votes were put one of them was found to be of a contentious character. We pointed out the fact, and the Chief Secretary, admitting the justice of our representation, assented to its postponement. Three Irish Votes were therefore taken without discussion. Nothing was said about the Votes in Class IV. What I complain of is this—that during the negotiations which passed across the floor of this House—and every hon. Member knows that I am stating the truth—three uncontentious Votes were disposed of without comment. Not one word of discussion took place upon them, and then the Government tried to spring upon us a number of Votes of which no mention had been made. I say it is unfair and unjust on the part of the noble Lord the Chancellor of the Exchequer to turn round upon us and say that we have not acted loyally. I think, so far as the Irish Members are concerned, we have a right to resent such an accusation. It may suit the noble Lord to charge the Irish Members with Obstruction; but let him try it. We have not obstructed, and he is perfectly aware of the fact. He has shown us a good example in this respect. In former years I have sat here for many long hours whilst he has taught us the science and art of Obstruction, and perhaps the time may come when we may benefit by his teaching and follow in his footsteps. There is not the slightest reason why we should be bullied by charges of this kind when we have adhered most loyally to our part of the bargain. We certainly shall have to take a division against proceeding with the Vote before the Committee.

MR. CLANON (Dublin Co., N.): There are certain questions involved in the Votes in Class IV. in which I take

great interest. For instance, there is the question of the Science and Art Department. [*Laughter.*] Hon. Gentlemen opposite may laugh; perhaps they do not know that our Science and Art Department in Dublin is governed from London. Yes; it is. It is actually governed from London just as much as is any other Irish Department. Then this Vote for Public Education concerns a large number of Irish people in England; and while we Irish Members are here we are determined, so far as we can, to safeguard the interests of our fellow-countrymen in this country. I can only say, with reference to what has fallen from the hon. Member for Wigan (Mr. F. S. Powell), that I hope his constituency, to whom he has given the idea that he is a supporter of denominational education, will watch his conduct this evening, and see that, when an opportunity is offered for forwarding the cause of denominational education, he has taken the very reverse course, and has insisted on the Education Vote being taken as it stands on the Paper without discussion and comment. ["Order, order!"] If I am out of Order I presume the Chairman will correct me.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Question before the Committee is that I report Progress, and ask leave to sit again.

MR. CLANCY: I am willing to obey you, Sir; but I am not willing to obey the instructions of amateur Chairmen. I repeat that there are several questions on these Estimates that we are quite as much interested in as we are in Irish questions, expressly so called.

MR. CONWAY (Leitrim, N.): I myself am very much interested in this question of education, and am prepared to bring forward several questions which I think will commend themselves to the Vice President of the Privy Council (Sir Henry Holland), if I have a fair opportunity of doing so. We to-night understood from the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) that in giving way on these Votes which we have just passed, on one of which I had intended to speak—I have voluminous notes here which I had intended to use—I say that we understood in giving way that only Irish Votes would be dealt with. I am prepared to deal with the Education Question even now; but

it is only fair to take into consideration the interests of those English Members who have been led astray with regard to the action of the Committee to-night, and who have gone away believing that we should not proceed beyond the Irish Votes. These hon. Gentlemen would feel a serious grievance if no opportunity is given them of discussing such an important Vote as this for education. As to what has fallen from the hon. Member for Wigan (Mr. F. S. Powell), I would point out that last Session we had no opportunity of discussing the Education Question at all. ["Oh, oh!"] Hon. Gentlemen may say "Oh, oh!" but the "Oh, oh's!" were not here then. They know nothing about it. Where ignorance is bliss it is folly to be wise. A statement was made by a Minister of the Crown on the Education Estimates in the last Session of Parliament; but we who take an interest in the question were limited to one speech. The speeches made were so very few that they attracted no public attention at the time. Only some half-a-dozen Members spoke, and their remarks were mainly devoted to the subject of technical education. On the question of education as it stands we shall be able, if we have a proper opportunity, to enter into the particulars of the grievances we have in regard to the Science and Art Department and the ordinary school institution. The hon. Member for Wigan (Mr. F. S. Powell) knows right well that we had no opportunity of bringing up these matters in the last Parliament. No opportunity was allowed, and we depended upon the new Parliament for an opportunity being given to discuss the Votes at length. On this Education Vote I am prepared to ventilate other grievances, and there are other Gentlemen who are equally interested in the matter, and I appeal for them as well as for myself. I do protest against our being called upon at this late hour to discuss Votes of such importance, especially after the understanding which has been come to. The other day I was proud to bring forward a grievance with regard to denominational schools. There are particular cases in connection with that matter that I wish to bring forward on the Education Vote. I and others will be prepared to deal with these matters if the Government will give us a little time.

Mr. SEXTON (Belfast, W., and Sligo, S.): Does the noble Lord opposite (Lord Randolph Churchill) see any use in prolonging this discussion? Had we not much better go on with the Belfast Riots Bill, and pass it through Committee?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL) (Paddington, S.): The Government have their own idea of what is best for the convenience of the Committee, and certainly are not inclined to take any suggestion, after what has happened, from that quarter.

Mr. DILLWYN (Swansea, Town): I never remember important Votes like these in Class IV., which affect our constituencies so vitally, being entered upon at so late an hour as this. I heard what took place between the hon. Member for Belfast (Mr. Sexton) and the Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach), and there seemed to me to be a clear understanding between them that the three Irish Votes which have been passed should be taken without criticism. ["No, no!"] Yes; that was what I understood. We were to take the three Irish Votes which were not contentious, and then report Progress. I certainly think it would be very unfair to go on with the Education Votes, seeing that English Members have gone away on the understanding that these Votes would not be taken. I repeat that the Vote is one which materially affects the English constituencies.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH) (Bristol, W.): I thought the desire of the hon. Member for Swansea (Mr. Dillwyn) to promote progress in Supply would be the same whatever Government was in Office; but I appear to have been mistaken. I remember very different sentiments from those which have fallen from the hon. Gentleman being expressed by him when his own Party were in power. I distinctly deny that an understanding was entered into by me to the effect that Progress would be reported after the three uncontentioned Irish Votes were passed. I never said anything of the kind; on the contrary, in assenting to what I understood to be the request of the hon. Member for Belfast (Mr. Sexton) that the Vote for the Chief Secretary's Office should not be proceeded with to-night, I asked hon.

Members to consent to take what I believed to be three or four unopposed Votes which would obviously not occupy time, and which as a matter of fact, did not occupy more than a minute in being put from the Chair. Then I went on to say that I apprehended that in no case would the Committee consent to report Progress at so early an hour as 20 minutes to 1 o'clock. ["No, no!"] I venture to say that it must have been obvious to the Committee that it was in my mind that we should proceed with other Votes after disposing of the three uncontentioned Votes relating to Ireland. I had thought that Class III. would be taken, for I was not aware that the English Votes in that class had already been voted. But when the hon. Member for Swansea (Mr. Dillwyn) says that the Vote which it is proposed to proceed with is of an important character, and therefore ought not to be taken to-night, I would venture to remind him of the important statement made by the right hon. Gentleman the late Vice President of the Council (Sir Lyon Playfair). The Education Vote has already been discussed. I must say I am sorry I acceded to the request of the hon. Member for Belfast (Mr. Sexton), seeing the turn matters have taken. I did so with the view of promoting progress, but it seems to have had a contrary effect.

Mr. SEXTON (Belfast, W., and Sligo, S.): If the right hon. Gentleman thinks it desirable we are perfectly willing to go on with the Estimates in their proper order.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: The hon. Member for East Mayo (Mr. Dillon) repudiates the charge of Obstruction. I do not wish to say anything about Obstruction; but I will say this—that if we are to spend as much time on the Votes which have to come as we have spent in an absolutely useless discussion of the Vote for the Lord Lieutenant's Household, it will be a very long time before we are fortunate enough to arrive at the close of the present Session.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR (Liverpool, Scotland): I do not wonder at the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland refraining from all reference to Obstruction, because I suppose he wishes to spare the blushes of the noble Lord the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Lord Randolph Churchill). I am surprised

at the argument which has come from the hon. Member for Wigan (Mr. F. S. Powell). He says that the Education Vote does not require discussion, because the late Vice President of the Council (Sir Lyon Playfair) made a long statement on the subject in the last Parliament. Surely the hon. Gentleman is not forgetful of the fact that the statement to which he refers was made by an ex-Minister in a dead Parliament. Does the hon. Gentleman mean to say that the present Parliament is exactly the same as the last Parliament? I was not particularly in love with the last Parliament; but I must say that I looked upon it as a good deal better than the present Parliament. Certainly there is a very great difference in its constituent elements. [*Laughter*]. Yes; that, no doubt, affords gratification to hon. Gentlemen opposite; but it affords equal satisfaction to hon. Gentlemen on these Benches. But their gratification and our satisfaction are founded upon the state of facts—namely, that this Parliament is different from the last, and that any statement of a Minister in the last Parliament is not to be taken as in any sense binding upon the present Parliament. I must say that the friends and supporters of the last Government on the Education Question would be more than astonished if they found that a demand made at half-past 1 in the morning that an opportunity should be given for the adequate discussion of the Education Vote had been refused, and that the discussion had been shelved for a Session. The constituencies at the last Election would have been very much surprised if they had known that on the first opportunity the Tory Party had of discussing the Education Question they would take the course of endeavouring to smuggle the Vote through without comment by what I will call a stratagem, because I do not like to call it a trick. I protest in the strongest manner to the addition which the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland has made to his original statement. I am sure that no one could intend less than I to cast any aspersion on the *bona fides* of the right hon. Gentleman. I was not present when he made his statement; and, therefore, I am not going to give an account of what happened on my own authority. Hon. Gentlemen appear

to be unaware that it is customary for an hon. Member to stand up in this House and express the views of hon. Gentlemen with whom he is acting. Well, all my hon. Friends agree that what the right hon. Baronet (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) believes he said, and what he may have wished to say, he really did not say. None of my hon. Friends have any recollection of his saying that he hoped the Committee would not report Progress at five minutes to 1 o'clock. The understanding was that if these non-contentious Irish Votes which had been referred to were passed, and the Vote for the Chief Secretary's Office passed over, Progress would be reported. It was on these terms that my hon. Friends abstained from debating the three Irish Votes that were passed; but, in spite of their having performed their part of the engagement, up got the Government and sprang upon them a new Class containing one of the most important Votes in the whole Estimates. Now, Sir, fortunately, we Irishmen are not fighting alone in this matter. The hon. Gentleman sitting below me (Mr. Dillon), who is so high an authority on the Order of this House and the Procedure of this House, joins with us in stating that this Education Vote is one in which a large number of Members in all quarters of the House consider of the highest importance. Well, a great number of Members, as has already been pointed out, have already gone away, not anticipating for a moment that the Education Votes would be reached. Hon. Members went away after putting questions on this subject to my hon. Friends. ["No, no!"] Hon. Gentlemen opposite seem to have no hesitation in casting doubt upon the statement of one of the most honourable men in the House. Let them get up and say that they do not believe my hon. Friend (Mr. Dillon), if they think it decent to do so. My hon. Friend has distinctly made the statement that several hon. Gentlemen have gone away—["Name, name!"] I would suggest to the noble Lord opposite that for the sake of decency, and to save himself from that which would be a subject of future regret, he should abstain from casting doubt upon the veracity of my hon. Friend (Mr. Dillon). [*Renewed cries of "Name!"*] If hon. Gentlemen

are to be interrupted by these—I am at a loss for a word—these noisy demonstrations, then all decent discussion is at an end. My hon. Friend said that several Liberal Members had gone away under the impression that the Education Votes could not be taken to-night. Would it not be a singular thing and a surprising thing to these hon. Gentlemen to find that in their absence, at this hour of the morning, the Committee were plunged into one of the most interesting controversies which can take place within these walls? If the noble Lord opposite (Lord Randolph Churchill) wishes to enter upon a career of bulldozing and brow-beating the Committee, I can promise him that the heroic spirit that he himself practised for five years on the Bench below me has not been lost upon us.

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.): On behalf of myself and my Friends, I wish to say that, whatever feeling the Government may profess to entertain with regard to our action, it is outrageously untrue to charge us with disloyalty to our engagements. It was monstrous to say that we have been guilty of any disloyalty in this transaction. The right hon. Baronet the Chief Secretary for Ireland said he would withdraw the contentious Irish Votes in order to make Progress. Those Votes were accordingly postponed in order that three other Votes might be taken. These we immediately gave him. There was no further understanding as to what should be done after that. I do not state that he or any other Member of the Government gave us to understand that after that Progress would be reported. I say that frankly. But, on the other hand, he never said one word that reached our ears that he would not report Progress. I fully understood that the Government did intend to report Progress. What occurred after that transaction? Why, the Government have clearly shown that they did not look ahead at all. Let them remember what has occurred. Class II. being disposed of, one would have thought that the Government would have looked ahead; but they proposed to take Class III., the first Vote of which is for "Criminal Prosecutions and other Law Charges in Ireland." I, of course, got up and protested against that Vote being taken, and the Government at once ad-

mitted that it was another contentious Irish Vote. I say they did not look ahead, and no one on the Government Bench knew what was about to be done. They had to hold a hurried consultation, and when they found that all the Votes in Class III. were contentious they passed on to Class IV. I submit that that is not the way to do business at a quarter to 1 in the morning. I say, even they themselves did not know that this Education Vote was coming on. On the face of it, it is clear that they could not originally have intended to bring on for discussion at this hour of the morning a subject which is decidedly of the greatest importance, and a subject upon which in the present Parliament not a single syllable has yet been said. The course proposed is preposterous; and I say, if the noble Lord (Lord Randolph Churchill) thinks he is going to frighten us by hinting at Obstruction, he is very much mistaken in the effect it is likely to produce.

MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Cambridge): It was I who moved the Motion to report Progress, and I wish to say a word—[*Cries of "Divide, divide!" and interruption.*] I wish to point out—[*Cries of "Agreed!" and continued interruption.*] When hon. Gentlemen opposite have finished I will go on. I was going to point out that, whatever may be the merits of this agreement with the Chancellor of the Exchequer or the Chief Secretary for Ireland and hon. Members who came from Ireland, that agreement does not bind us who are English Radicals. We come here, as I have had occasion before to remark, in the fulfilment of our duty. One of the most important duties we have to fulfil is to look after the interests of our constituents in regard to this matter of education. Education is one of the most important questions that can come before the House; and when we are asked to vote money at this hour of the morning amidst an exhibition of childish impatience—when I see we are asked to vote away more than £1,000,000, which represents an enormous proportion of the total Education Vote, I think it is quite time that we insisted on Progress being reported. [*Cries of "Agreed!" "Divide!" and continued interruption.*] I say without the slightest hesitation that in face of the persistent interruption of hon. Gentlemen opposite no

decent progress can be made. There are many of us who did not have an opportunity of taking part in the discussion of the Education Estimates in the late Parliament on the statement of the Vice President of the Council (Sir Lyon Playfair), although we had many important questions to raise and many important matters to discuss. I am glad to agree with the noble Lord the Chancellor of the Exchequer on the point he has put before the Committee. He has expressed his desire of seeing these Votes passed with expedition and decency. We are desirous of seeing them passed with decency, and if decency can be had together with expedition all the better for us. All I can say is that neither decency nor expedition is likely to be served by exhibitions of angry feeling on the part of Gentlemen on the opposite Benches. I have only one word more to say, and it is this—if the Chancellor of the Exchequer thinks he is going to get this Vote passed to-night he is mistaken, for it will not be passed.

MR. P. J. POWER (Waterford, E.): I desire to say that the remarks which the Chancellor of the Exchequer states that he addressed to the Committee did not reach this portion of the House. I think the position taken up by the Government is more than unreasonable. They have already taken 14 Votes for Ireland and Scotland, and I can assure hon. Gentlemen who have had but a short experience in this House that to obtain that number of Votes in the evening is very good work. If the noble Lord the Chancellor of the Exchequer will go back to the time when he sat on these Benches below the Gangway, and when he was a thorn in the side of Sir Stafford Northcote, he will recollect that one Vote at a Sitting was considered sufficient. I say that the programme of to-night has been adhered to. We understood that when certain uncontested Votes were taken we were to report Progress; and we contend that the Vote which the Government are now seeking to take is, perhaps, one of the most contentious on the Paper. It is one in which Irish Members have a very great interest, and in which the people of Ireland have a strong interest; and I assure the Government that it is one in the discussion of which we intend to take an active part. The Government will perceive

from the attitudes of some of their followers that the Committee is not in a proper frame of mind to go to-night into this complicated matter, which will require for its consideration more coolness than is likely to be displayed on the opposite Benches. Be that as it may, we are determined that the Government shall not proceed with the Vote until we have exhausted all the Forms of the House to prevent it.

MR. BIGGAR (Cavan, W.): The Committee will be aware that in the Parliament of 1880 we had some experience of late Sittings; but in the Parliament of 1874-80 half-past 12 o'clock was looked upon as the proper time for reporting Progress. It was then understood that Supply should not be continued after 1 o'clock in the morning; and I do not think the noble Lord the Chancellor of the Exchequer has any right to make a very strong protest against alleged Obstruction, seeing that no Motion to report Progress was made until half-past 12 to-night. In addition to that I may say that I recollect that on one occasion the Scotch Fishery Vote occupied the whole of the Sitting; at any rate, the debate was very prolonged. But to-night the discussion on the Fishery Vote has been confined entirely to Scotch Members. Well, Sir, taking the matter for all in all, I think that the number of Votes obtained by the Government ought to satisfy the noble Lord. The last Vote was eminently one for discussion, and I do not think it can be said that we have discussed it at any great length. It is unreasonable to tell us, under the circumstances, that we are to go on with a Vote of a very contentious kind at half-past 1 in the morning.

MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W., and Sligo, S.): I think hon. Members on both sides of the House will agree that the Chairman is as likely to draw a correct conclusion as to what was said as any Member of the House. You will recollect, Mr. Courtney, that you put from the Chair the Question that you should report Progress.

MR. MOLLOY (King's Co., Birr): Several of my hon. Friends have left the House on the understanding that this Vote would not be proceeded with; and I am sure that if any one of them had had the slightest idea that this important question would come on, he would have remained to take part in the discussion.

My hon. Friend the Member for Poplar (Mr. Buxton), believing that there was no more important Business to come on, went away, and I am certain that it never entered into his mind that this important Vote would be taken. I appeal to the Government as to whether it is fair, in the absence of Members more intimately acquainted with education even than the Government themselves, to bring on a Vote which these hon. Members can have no opportunity of discussing? I do not think it fair that the Education Vote should be brought forward.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.): Before we go into the Lobby for the first of what may be a long series of divisions, I appeal to the noble Lord the Chancellor of the Exchequer to say whether it would not be more conducive to the dignity of the House and to our own convenience to settle this question without going into the Lobby at all? It is desirable that we should not perambulate the Lobbies for an hour, or an hour and a-half, to settle this dispute; because that is what will undoubtedly happen unless the Government agree to report Progress. But there is no reason why it should happen. The right hon. Baronet the Chief Secretary for Ireland has told us that he made an announcement to the Committee, having in his own mind a clear understanding of what the intention of the Government was. The statement of the right hon. Baronet is, to my mind, sufficient; but I am quite satisfied that hon. Members on these Benches did not hear it, and did not come to the same understanding. I appeal to the memory of hon. Members of this and of the last Parliament whether there is any more fruitful cause of dissension than these so-called "understandings?" The reason of this is to be found always in some departure from the recognized position. Now, the understanding we had was that the Votes were to be taken *seriatim* in the order in which they appeared on the Paper. The Government asked to be allowed to take one or two non-contentious Votes, and these we allowed to be taken; then a departure from that position occurred, the Government proposing to go on to Class IV.; but it certainly was never in the mind of Members on either side of the House that this Vote should be proceeded with.

Under these circumstances, you cannot get a very considerable section of the House to enter upon the consideration of the Education Estimates; and even if you try, you will do nothing more than walk about the Lobby for an hour and a-half, at the end of which time everyone will be thoroughly disgusted with the proceedings. There is an easy way of avoiding this. ["No, no!"] I suggest that the Vote put from the Chair—namely, the first Vote of Class IV.—should be withdrawn, and that we should recur to the Vote which we ought to have taken up according to arrangement.

MR. J. NOLAN (Louth, N.): The noble Lord the Chancellor of the Exchequer has made repeated charges of Obstruction against Members on this side of the House. Now, I respectfully submit that the charge of Obstruction cannot be brought against me, inasmuch as I have not ventured to address the Committee throughout the evening. I have listened to the very temperate addresses made by my Colleagues to the Leader of the House, and also to the appeal made to him by one of the oldest and most respected Members of this Assembly. A deaf ear has been turned to these appeals; and I venture to say with all respect, no matter what the consequence may be, that I, for one, am determined to persist to the end in the present opposition to the Government. I protest against hon. Members being forced to enter upon the consideration of a most important Vote in an undignified manner. I think we may safely appeal to the feelings of right hon. Gentlemen opposite to put an end now to what otherwise is likely to be a very prolonged discussion, and one which is likely to degenerate into an unseemly wrangle. Hon. Members opposite have not displayed during the past hour that feeling which would lead us to expect that they would give a fair, calm, and impartial consideration to the Vote which the Government wish to bring on. As my hon. Friend has stated, the question of education is not a purely English question; it is one in which the Irish Members take a very deep interest. I have been for years engaged in the work of education in this country, and I know that there are hundreds and thousands of Irishmen in England, the education of whose children is a thing

which is very dear to them; and, with the exception, perhaps, of my hon. Friend the Member for the Scotland Division of Liverpool (Mr. T. P. O'Connor), there is no Representative in the House to put forward their views. For these reasons I unite with my Colleagues in their appeal to the Government to allow the Business to come to a close.

Mr. DEASY (Mayo, W.): I am sorry to see that the noble Lord the Chancellor of the Exchequer appears to be about to leave the House. It must be patent to everyone who has had experience in matters of this kind that it is useless to prolong the present discussion in opposition to the large number of Members who support the Motion before the Committee. Suppose we were to give way on the question and allow the Education Vote to be discussed, what would be the consequence? There would be very few Gentlemen on this side of the House who would not have many observations to make. Irish Members are deeply interested in this question. A great number of us have been through England during the last Election, and we know from actual contact with Irishmen in this country that there are many grievances which they desire to have redressed. I may remind the Committee that my hon. Friend the Member for King's County (Mr. Molloy) has given the names of Gentlemen—Members of the Royal Commission—who have left the House, but were very anxious to speak upon this Vote. It is evident that many English Members above the Gangway have also this question at heart. For myself, I take a very deep interest in the Education Question, and I shall certainly have something to say on the subject if I have the opportunity; but at this hour none of us can agree that this is a proper opportunity, and we think, on the other hand, that we cannot reasonably be expected to sit here till 7 o'clock in the morning, which will be the case if the Government choose to keep us. I, therefore, appeal to the Government to make no attempt to force on the discussion of the Education Vote. I remember that in one Session the discussion on the Lord Lieutenant's Household occupied the entire night, but on this occasion it has not occupied more than an hour and a half; and with regard to other Votes I may say that the consideration of the Vote for the Board of Works and other

similar matters might reasonably have occupied more time than has been expended upon them to-day. I must say that if we had understood the Chief Secretary to make the statement which he alleges he did make in the course of his speech, we should have taken a very different course with regard to three of the Votes which have been passed. I think that the progress made to-night in taking 13 Scotch, English, and Irish Votes, including one most important Irish Vote, ought to satisfy the ambition of hon. Gentlemen opposite. We are not anxious to remain here—on the contrary, we are quite as alive to the desirability of getting home as other Members of the House. We may not have quite the same inducements; but, at the same time, we have a great deal to do in Ireland, and after a very long and laborious Session we are entitled to have a long rest, and that rest will be quite as much needed by us as by Gentlemen opposite. I can assure the Committee that the Education Vote, when it does come forward, will be discussed point by point. If we bring it on now it is clear that Gentlemen opposite are not in a position to discuss it in a temperate and proper manner. The scenes we have witnessed for the last hour have had the effect of placing us in a state of mind by no means conducive to the proper consideration of the Vote. The word "Obstruction" has been hurled at us freely. I am bound to say that we have had no intention whatever of obstructing the Business of the House. We desire nothing more than a full and open discussion of a question in which we take a deep interest, and we have certainly not pushed our opposition to an improper length. ["Oh, oh!"] I would ask hon. Members to go back and say what time this Vote would have occupied in a former Session of Parliament, more especially under the conduct of the noble Lord when he sat on these Benches. I do not think there are any grounds whatever for charging us with Obstruction; and certainly, as far as I am concerned, I repudiate the idea that I have made any attempt in this or any other Session to obstruct the Business of the House. It seems to me quite right that we should take any steps that may be necessary to prevent any further progress in the Estimates being made to-night. We were first told to consider Class III.,

but this was changed, and we were then told to go on with Class IV. It appears to me that the Government did not know what Class to go on with, and I am sure that had they known at the time that the Education Vote was the first of the Class they would have agreed to Progress being reported. But they have got into a line, and they are determined to keep to it.

MR. TOMLINSON (Preston): I rise to Order, and wish to ask whether the hon. Member is speaking to the Motion before the Committee?

THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member is very discursive in his remarks, and I must invite him to be more precise.

MR. DEASY: I wish to impress upon the minds of hon. Members opposite that their interruptions will not have the effect of advancing the Business of the Committee. I shall conclude by expressing a hope that on no consideration will the Vote which the noble Lord wishes to be taken be given to the Government to-night, and, if for no other reason, because the Committee is not in a condition to discuss it in a proper spirit.

MR. YERBURGH (Chester): I think it must be very evident to hon. Gentlemen who have listened to the remarks made on both sides of the House that there is a misunderstanding in this case. It is clear to me that right hon. Gentlemen on the Treasury Bench have put forward an arrangement which in some way has been misunderstood. There is an entire misunderstanding between the Government and hon. Gentlemen opposite, and I would appeal to both sides whether it is not possible for some understanding to be arrived at.

Question put.

The Committee divided:—Ayes 54; Noes 150: Majority 96.—(Div. List, No. 31.)

Original Question again proposed.

MR. J. O'CONNOR (Tipperary, S.): I beg to move, Mr. Courtney, that you do now leave the Chair.

Motion made, and Question put, "That the Chairman do now leave the Chair."—(Mr. John O'Connor.)

The Committee divided:—Ayes 55; Noes 154: Majority 99.—(Div. List, No. 32.)

Original Question again proposed.

Mr. Deasy

MR. HUNTER (Aberdeen, N.): I beg to move, Sir, that you do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again. It is now 24 minutes past 2 o'clock, and it cannot be expected that at such an hour we should pass on to the discussion of such an important subject as the English Education Estimates. I am one of those who consider that the Committee would best consult its own dignity and the advantage of the country if it adjourned not later than half-past 12 o'clock every night, and I am quite prepared to join every League that may be established for early closing. It seems to me that it is most unreasonable to expect those of us who are private Members, and are not, like the Government, paid for their attendance, to remain until the small hours of the morning—those of us, particularly, who have to get up in the morning to do our own private work. I trust the Government will be reasonable, and will come to the conclusion which I think every reasonable man should come to—namely, that half-past 2 o'clock in the morning is not the time to begin the discussion of important Estimates.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(Mr. Hunter.)

COLONEL NOLAN (Galway, N.): I would appeal to the noble Lord the Chancellor of the Exchequer not to persist in his refusal to allow Progress to be reported. He said earlier in the evening that he would not allow Progress to be reported without making a strong protest. Well, he has made a strong protest. He has taken two divisions, and has been supported by a considerable majority. ["Hear, hear!"] I quite allow it. No less than 150 Members have stayed with the Government, all Conservatives; but the noble Lord will allow that there is a formidable minority, and that for 55 Gentlemen to be kept together at so late an hour in order to resist what they conceive to be an inconsiderate method of dealing with important Estimates is a most unusual thing. The noble Lord may choose to keep us here until 5 or 6 o'clock in the morning; but he must remember that he is dealing with Scotch and English Members as well as Irish Members, and that they do not think that British Esti-

mates ought to be dealt with at half-past 2 o'clock in the morning. ["Oh, oh!"] Well, there may be some English and Scotch Members who would like to go on with Supply; but, as I say, there are others who do not think that such matters should be proceeded with at half-past 2 in the morning. My opinion is—though, perhaps, it is not worth very much—that the view of the 55 Members is worth more than of the 154. I maintain that it is no use continuing this wrangle, and that nothing is likely to come of it beyond the keeping of us out of bed two or three hours longer. Enough has already taken place to inspire the Conservative papers—["Oh, oh!"]—yes, they will all be able to write upon it to-morrow. The whole of this thing has been got up in order that to-morrow the Conservative papers may write that the Irish Members are offering undue opposition to the Estimates. ["Hear, hear!"] Hon. Gentlemen opposite bear me out. Well, but we are not opposing the Estimates, nor have we been doing so. We have only been insisting upon the proper consideration of them; and I think such of the newspapers as are not blinded by their prejudices will say that, on the whole, there is a good deal to be said in favour of not proceeding with the Education Estimates at half-past 2 o'clock in the morning. I would point out to the noble Lord that he will not strengthen his protest by taking more than two divisions. Whether he takes six or two, it will come absolutely to the same thing.

GENERAL GOLDSWORTHY (Hammersmith): As an independent Member sent here to represent my constituents, and to assist in carrying on the Business of the country—["Hear, hear!" and laughter]—I must protest against the proceedings of this evening. No doubt, half-past 2 o'clock is not a reasonable hour at which to begin the consideration of the Education Estimates; but I must say that half-past 12 was, under the circumstances of the present Session, a very reasonable hour. Hon. Members have been wasting time since half-past 12 o'clock. ["Hear, hear!"] I cannot consider that any good would be served by dividing the House because the Chief Secretary for Ireland did not know the name of a subordinate in one of the offices. Yet

this was proposed by the hon. Member for the Camborne Division of Cornwall (Mr. Conybeare). I wonder if the hon. Member is acquainted with the name of the housekeeper in the office to which he referred. Unnecessary delay has taken place, simply because certain hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway on the Opposition side have made arrangements with other Members occupying seats on the same side that certain Estimates shall not be taken. They have practically done that. Practically, then, the arrangement of the Business of this House is to rest with hon. Gentlemen opposite, rather than with the noble Lord the Chancellor of the Exchequer. I myself am prepared to stop here to any hour which may be considered necessary as a protest against the waste of time which has taken place this evening. The hon. Member who last spoke—[An hon. MEMBER: Hon. and gallant.]—yes; the hon. and gallant Member who last spoke—I give him the "gallant" willingly, for we served together some years ago. He said that the remarks on some of the Estimates had not been unreasonable. I say that those remarks were unreasonable, because, as hon. Gentlemen opposite have desired to commence consideration of debateable matter at that hour when it suited them, I hold that the majority ought to rule the minority. I hope that will always be the case, especially where the majority is so large as it is on the present occasion.

MR. KIMBER (Wandsworth): Mr. Courtney, I beg to call your attention to Standing Order No. 11, which is in these terms—

"If Mr. Speaker, or the Chairman of a Committee of the Whole House, shall be of opinion that a Motion for the Adjournment of a Debate, or of the House during any debate, or that the Chairman do report Progress, or do leave the Chair, is an abuse of the Rules of the House, he may forthwith put the Question thereupon from the Chair,"

and to ask your opinion whether, as Chairman of this Committee—["Order!"]—I think I am in Order, Mr. Courtney, in asking your opinion as to whether, having regard to the way in which the last two hours have been consumed, and to the fact that the present Motion is the third of the same kind that has been made within the last two hours, this Motion is not an abuse of the Rules of the House?

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR (Liverpool, Scotland): On the point of Order I would like to ask you whether the plain meaning and spirit of that Rule is that the Chairman of Committees shall form that opinion of his own motion and initiative; and I would like, further, to ask you whether, if any suggestion be made to the Chairman of Committees on a question like this, it should not come from a Minister of the Crown?

THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order! The observations of the hon. Member (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) are out of Order. Neither is it a question of Order to ask the Chairman what his opinion may be as to what transpires in this House.

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.): The hon. and gallant Gentleman (General Goldsworthy) who has just addressed the Committee before this disorderly interruption took place gave it as his opinion that in all cases the majority in this House should rule the minority. Now, if that doctrine had always been put into force no reform would ever have taken place in this country, because I never heard of any reform or change being made without its first of all being advocated by a minority. ["Question!"] The question is, whether our position was a reasonable one when this wrangle was started? ["No!"] I say it was. I say it was a position assumed in good faith, and according to what we understood to be an agreement; and, furthermore, laying aside that altogether, I maintain that the hour at which the proposition to report Progress was made from these Benches was not an unreasonable hour to make such a Motion. Hon. Members have totally misrepresented the position which we took up. My hon. Friend the Member for West Belfast (Mr. Sexton) said to the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland—["Agreed, agreed!"] We have not agreed. My hon. Friend told the Chief Secretary for Ireland that we were quite prepared to go on with certain Irish Votes if the Government thought it was convenient. The Government said they did not consider it was convenient. The hon. Member for West Belfast distinctly said we were prepared to go on with these Votes if it was convenient; but the Government got up and said—"No; we admit that it is not a suitable time of the night to enter on so important a discussion as that for Law Charges in Ireland; but

we consider that if we postpone this Vote we are entitled to ask for the assistance of hon. Members in taking three Votes," which were named. We accepted that arrangement, and, so far as we are concerned, it has been honourably carried out. I maintain, therefore, it is preposterous to charge us with any failure to carry out the agreement which was arrived at. The hon. and gallant Gentleman (General Goldsworthy), who was particularly inflamed, seemed to think that we claimed to regulate the Business of the House; he said that we had made an arrangement with English Members. Now, nothing could be more distant from the real facts of the case. The hon. and gallant Gentleman is a new Member of the House; but any Gentleman who has sat for any considerable length of time during discussions in Committee of Supply knows perfectly well that nothing is more common than for one class of Members interested in one class of Votes to come to others and ask the question—"Can you tell us whether your discussion will occupy the whole night or not?" These exchanges are the ordinary courtesies of the House. What happened to-night was this—a number of English Members came to us and said—"Do you believe the Irish Votes will occupy the whole of this evening?" We said we did believe they would. The hon. and gallant Gentleman is quite wrong in supposing that we regulate the Business of the House; it is not we who regulate the Business—

MR. DE LISLE (Leicestershire, Mid): Mr. Courtney, I beg to ask you whether the hon. Gentleman is not guilty of tedious repetition?

THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order! That is not a point of Order at all.

MR. DILLON: The hon. and gallant Gentleman (General Goldsworthy) accused us of undertaking to regulate the Business of this House. We have not undertaken for a single moment to regulate the Business of this House; but we did understand that the Business of the House had been regulated by the Government, and upon their regulation we relied when we endeavoured to give information to English Members, which I have now learned for the first time is to be considered a crime in this House—when we endeavoured to give information to English Members, what we

relied upon was the regulation by the Government of the Business of this House. We had frequently asked the Government what was the order in which they would take Supply, and they had always replied that they would take it in the order in which the Votes appeared on the Paper. Now, I want to impress on the Committee what the effect of that statement was. The Government, as I have already pointed out, had stated that they proposed to take Supply in the order in which it was placed on the Paper. Now, nobody can deny that fact; it was stated over and over again by the Government. When they stated that they would withdraw a certain contentious Irish Vote if we consented to take the remaining Votes in Class II, we were entitled to suppose they would go on with Class III. They commenced with the first Vote in that Class, and it was not until I protested against Class III being taken that they hopped on to Class IV. I put it to the Government whether that is a business-like way of carrying on the Business of Supply; is it a mode by which order and decency can be maintained? — ["Yes!"] I say that it is not a way in which order and decency can be maintained. If you commence by trying to take one large Class of Estimates, and then, when a protest is made against one of the Votes, skip over 20 Votes and hop on to another Class, it is manifest that the proceeding will end in confusion. If the Government desire to carry on the Business of this House as it has been carried on during the whole of last week and this evening—namely, in a way which is satisfactory to the country—[*Laughter.*] Hon. Members laugh at my statement; but I would refer them to a leading article in the *London Times* of last Saturday, a paper not over favourable to us, in which *The Times* declare that Supply has been carried on in a perfectly fair and legitimate way. I do not think that *The Times* is doing us more than justice, and therefore I am justified in saying that the Business of Supply has been carried on in a way to satisfy the *London Times*. If the Government desire to carry on Supply in a fair and honourable spirit, they certainly ought to treat us with more courtesy than they have treated us to-night. The beginning of this trouble arose, as I contend, from a departure from the under-

standing which we loyally kept; we loyally adhered to the agreement, so far as we understood it and heard it; and for the distinct attack made upon us by the noble Lord the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Lord Randolph Churchill) there is not one shred of justification. I regret exceedingly the condition into which things have got. While it is perfectly true that in all great matters the majority in this House must prevail over the minority, I must say that in all my experience—and it is very considerable—I never have seen an attempt on the part of a majority, so small as the present is as compared with the present minority, to bear down the minority by brute force in such an unreasonable way as it has been attempted to be done to-night. I have seen minorities in this House of 5 to 1 stand up with less cause and win. In this instance you are not 3 to 1, and the majority is made up, with the exception of five or six hon. Gentlemen, from Members on one side of the House.

THE CHAIRMAN: I wish to correct a misapprehension which has arisen as to the Business before the Committee. It is not the fact that the Education Vote is before the Committee, though it is proposed to go on with it—the Irish Vote was never formally withdrawn; that is the Vote before the Committee on which the Motion was made to report Progress.

MR. CONWAY (Leitrim, N.): There is one lesson to be deduced from the proceedings of this evening, and that is that the constituencies of Great Britain will know upon whose shoulders the responsibility for the present state of affairs rests. Sir, I know many of the constituencies in the North of England—

THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order! The hon. Member must remember that the Motion before the Committee is to report Progress, and that he must confine his observations to that Motion.

MR. CONWAY: I wish to point out that we have been asked to discuss the Education Vote, and that hon. Gentlemen have been returned to this House on the question of education. Many hon. Gentlemen obtained the Irish Votes on the understanding that they would look particularly to this Vote. I see many hon. Members opposite who were sent to this House on the under-

standing that they would give their heartiest support to denominational education——

THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member is not confining his observations, as he must, to the Motion to report Progress.

MR. CONWAY: With regard to this Vote, Sir, am I not in Order in referring to the Education Vote, which there has been an attempt to take?

THE CHAIRMAN: It is irregular to refer to that Vote at all.

MR. CONWAY: With regard to the Motion to report Progress, I will point out that it is the Vote for Education that blocks the way.

THE CHAIRMAN: I have told the hon. Gentleman twice that he must not discuss the Education Vote, but must keep himself to the Question before the Committee.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR (Liverpool, Scotland): It is somewhat significant of the state of confusion to which the Committee has been reduced by this discussion that we require to be reminded by you, Mr. Courtney, what the Vote is which is really before us for discussion. I wish to say that nearly every hon. Member of the Committee was under the impression for the last two hours that the Vote before the Committee was that for education. ["No!"] Well, hon. Gentlemen on the opposite Benches give a negative to that statement; but I repeat the statement. Every Member of the Committee, without distinction of Party, whether on the Conservative Benches or—["No, no!"] Well, if my statement be contradicted before I make it, it shows the state of intelligence and impartiality in which hon. Members on the opposite Benches are. Now, Mr. Courtney, I will attempt once more to make my statement. My statement is that every Member of the Committee, without distinction of Party, whether on the Conservative or the Liberal Benches, was under the impression that the Vote before the Committee was the Vote for English Education—["No!"] Well, all I can say is this—that when we were discussing the Vote before the Committee, and discussing it as the Education Vote, not a single Member on those Benches corrected us. Hon. Gentlemen opposite cannot boast that they were particularly modest in the cries in which they indulged, and therefore it is not too

Mr. Conway

much to suppose that had hon. Gentlemen known the Education Vote was not before the Committee they would have corrected us. Now, Mr. Courtney, we are surely not now in a position to conduct with decency, decorum, and dignity the Business of Supply. I do not make any appeal to the Government. I regret to say that it appears to me that debates of this kind in Committee will not, so long as the present Chancellor of the Exchequer (Lord Randolph Churchill) is Leader of the House, be conducted in a spirit of mutual concession. The noble Lord has, for the first time in the history of the Leadership of this House, thought discourtesy a good mode of expediting Supply—[*Cries of "Withdraw!"*] I have not the smallest objection to withdraw the observation, though I think it is more than justified by the circumstances. We met the Government to-night in a perfectly fair spirit—we met them with fairness and impartiality, which, I think, might well have been imitated by some of the right hon. Gentlemen on the Treasury Bench. They made an offer; we accepted that offer—we carried out the offer; the Government broke the offer. The Government asked for four Votes; we gave them three of the Votes without a word of discussion, without a moment's delay; and when we had done that the gratitude and fair play of the Government was to forget their own promises, to swallow their own pledges, and even to try and force down the throats of the Committee one of the most important Votes in the whole Estimates. The country will judge between the Government and us. I think it will be seen that the Government are trying to make a case for themselves. They have no idea and no intention of carrying any further Votes in Committee to night; they are making a sham demonstration; they rely upon the ignorance of the outside public in closely watching the course of the proceedings in this House to lay the blame, not on the shoulders of the Government where it really lies, but on our shoulders. I am glad to think that when the case comes before the public the Government will not be able to represent this as a case of purely Irish Obstruction. We have been supported by the most able and the most experienced Members of the Liberal Party—["Oh, Oh!" *laughter, and cries of Name!*]—men who were in-

telligent and honoured Members of this House long before some of the Gentlemen who jeer at them were politically born, and men who will remain honoured Members of this House long after those Gentlemen are politically dead. The last Motion for Adjournment has been moved by my hon. and learned Friend the Member for Aberdeen (Mr. Hunter), one of the most highly respected Members returned from Scotland; we have been supported in the Lobby by nearly every Member of the Liberal Party in this House—[*Ironical laughter.*] The hon. Gentleman who, though sitting upon the Liberal Benches, really belongs to the other side of the House thinks it right to jeer. I do not count him amongst the intelligent.

THE CHAIRMAN: I invite the hon. Gentleman to adhere more closely to the Question before the Committee.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR: I think you will acknowledge, Mr. Courtney, it is rather hard to adhere to the Question when one is constantly interrupted by unseemly conduct on the part of hon. Gentlemen. I call upon the Chancellor of the Exchequer, if he has any regard for the decency of his Leadership and for the dignity of the House of which, by a temporary accident, he happens to be Leader, to put an end to the unseemly wrangle on which he has rashly embarked. We have fulfilled our part of the undertaking; we mean that the Government shall fulfil theirs if we can possibly do so; and we defy any misrepresentation of our conduct outside the House.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 56; Noes 148: Majority 92.—(Div. List, No. 33.)

Original Question again proposed.

MR. DILLWYN (Swansea, Town): It seems to me that I cannot consent to go on with an important Vote of this kind at so late an hour; and therefore I move that you, Sir, do now leave the Chair.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do now leave the Chair."—(*Mr. Dillwyn.*)

MR. LEAMY (Cork Co., N.E.): A few moments ago, when the hon. Member for the Scotland Division of Liverpool (Mr. T. P. O'Connor), stated that

for the last two hours we had been under the impression that the Vote before the Committee was the Education Vote, several hon. Members on the opposite Benches cried "No, no!" The Chief Secretary for Ireland and the Chancellor of the Exchequer have both given their reasons for not accepting the Motion for Progress.

THE CHAIRMAN: I think it right to say that I stated it was intended to go on with the Education Vote, and to withdraw the Vote for Criminal Prosecutions in Ireland, and that it was still technically before the Committee. I simply wish to prevent hon. Members and the Committee falling into error.

MR. LEAMY: I have no objection that you should think it necessary that you should come to the defence of these right hon. Gentlemen, because it is the best proof that we were right in this contest. A moment ago you brought forward this contentious Vote, one of the Votes which it was agreed should be excluded, and you expect that the noble Lord would agree to the Vote being withdrawn. Well, Sir, the noble Lord I think has confessed that we were right, and that he has been in error. It is proved conclusively—and let hon. Members take notice of it—that for two hours the noble Lord, as Leader of the House of Commons, sat in his place and did not know what was the Business before the Committee. I beg to support the Motion of the hon. Member for Swansea.

MR. BIGGAR (Cavan, W.): I think it must be acknowledged on all sides of the House that to commence any contentious Business at a quarter to 1 in the morning is out of the question. It is a course which I do not think the Government ought to propose; and I must say, also, that nothing is more natural at so advanced an hour than that we should move to report Progress. I do not think the Government are right in prolonging this discussion, and of course it is impossible that at this hour the public outside can have any report of what is taking place on this question. It is all very well for the Government to ask to take non-contentious Votes at an unreasonable hour, but this is a very different thing; and I am of opinion that it would be much better to get to other Business on the Paper, and close the evening in a satisfactory manner.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL) (Paddington, S.): The hon. Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar) says that he does not think it reasonable that the Government should proceed to contentious Business after 1 o'clock in the morning. To a certain extent I think the hon. Member is right in that proposition; but we do not hold that the Business we are asking the Committee to proceed with is of a contentious character. The Education Estimates having been discussed at great length in the last Parliament, we were distinctly of opinion that the Committee would be ready to make progress with them. We do not hold that the proposal made to the Committee is of a contentious character; but what hon. Members seem to forget, and what it is right that they should be reminded of, is that the right hon. Gentleman who is in the position of Leader of the opposite Benches, in the absence of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone), got up and asked the Committee to say that it was a reasonable course. Therefore, we have the high authority of the right hon. Gentleman opposite for saying that the course of the Government is a reasonable one, and that the course which hon. Members below the Gangway are pursuing is unreasonable. This is a fact that should be brought strongly before the public, and that the Government have taken three divisions against this very great waste of time, for which hon. Members opposite must bear the responsibility, and particularly those Members of the Liberal Party who, although in former days they were the greatest possible advocates of more expeditious despatch of Business, are now the Leaders of Obstruction. I repeat that the Government have taken three divisions, and have been supported by a large majority of the Committee. There is no particular use in continuing this discussion under the circumstances. The public will judge of the position which the Government occupied, and of the difficulty with which they have to contend in conducting the indispensable Business of the country. I have no doubt that the proceedings of to-night will leave their mark on the public mind, and will produce the feeling that a very considerable alteration

should be made in the procedure of the House.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*.

Original Question again proposed.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.): I ask whether it is understood that in future the Government will take the Votes precisely in the order in which they stand?

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: The Government in future will certainly make no concession demanded by hon. Gentlemen opposite which does not suit their convenience.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR (Liverpool, Scotland): What the noble Lord had better understand is, that we have never asked for concession; we never will ask him for concession; and we are quite willing to have open war with him.

MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camberne): I wish to add that it will be well for the Government to understand once for all that, as Radicals, we are determined to see that the interests of the people are properly represented in this House. [*Interruption.*]

MR. O'HEA (Donegal, W.): I rise to Order. I beg to ask if it is in Order that these continuous interruptions should take place, which, when a Member of the House is speaking, makes his voice inaudible at the Chair?

THE CHAIRMAN: If the hon. Member attempts to speak under such circumstances it is in Order to express dissent.

MR. CONYBEARE: I think I am justified in saying that, as far as hon. Gentlemen are concerned, they had better go out of the House if they are exhausted. [*Interruption.*]

THE CHAIRMAN: As far as I can catch the observations of the hon. Gentleman they are not addressed to the Question before the Committee.

MR. CONYBEARE: But, Sir, I have not been allowed to make any observations. I am attempting to finish the sentence I commenced with. I was giving the noble Lord to clearly understand, in connection with the Motion for Progress, that we shall continue to protest against having sprung upon us important Votes

in the manner that was done at an earlier period of the evening, even if we have to remain here for weeks.

Motion agreed to.

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow*.

Committee also report Progress ; to sit again *To-morrow*.

SUPPLY.—REPORT.

Resolutions [10th September] *reported*.

Resolutions 1 to 9, inclusive, *agreed to*.

(10.) "That a sum, not exceeding £8,326, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1887, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Public Record Office."

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.): I have already informed the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury that I should be obliged to raise a question of importance on this Vote. I propose to move a reduction of the Vote by £100, part of the amount voted for the translation and editing of Irish Papers relating to the Brehon Laws. This is a question of the utmost interest in Ireland, and in order that the Secretary to the Treasury may be able to cut short the discussion I hope that he will see his way to make this concession. My object is that this Vote may appear on the Estimates of next year, and not after an interval, as has hitherto been the case. If the hon. Gentleman will consent to strike off £100 of the Vote, it can be taken in the Estimates, of next year. We trust, by having an opportunity of bringing forward this question on the next Estimates, we shall be able to effect a reform which is of pressing importance.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £8,226, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1887, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Public Record Office."—*(Mr. Dillon.)*

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.): I hope the hon. Member will not press the Motion for the reduction of this Vote. As I understand the matter, his object is to have a further opportunity next year of bringing forward this question. I think it is almost certain he will

have the opportunity he desires. My own impression is that the £200 placed on the Estimate will not be expended ; indeed, I think it may be taken for certain that it cannot be expended. I may say, as a matter of fact, that the gentleman now engaged upon the work is paid only when the work is wanted—he is paid for the publication of one additional volume, and has not to proceed with the whole. I think the hon. Gentleman will see that the amount now voted will not be expended in the financial year.

MR. M. J. KENNY (Tyrone, Mid) : Do we understand from the Secretary to the Treasury that the editing of the remaining volumes—for there are, altogether, 10 in Irish, six of which have already been translated by the most eminent scholars, whilst the seventh is in process of being translated, so that there are only three that remain to be dealt with—I say, therefore, are we to understand that the work of translating and editing will be regularly continued ? I understood the hon. Member to say, when he was addressing the House, that the amount we are now voting would not be expended within the financial year. [Mr. JACKSON: I believe so.] Well, it is an unusual thing to ask for money to be voted when it is not for the financial year. I think it is irregular. There was no money voted last year for the purpose for which the present Vote is asked. I do not know that there has ever been money specifically voted for this purpose before. Hitherto, I believe, the question has always been raised in connection with other Irish Votes. Well, I should like now to know, if this sum is not to be expended during the current financial year, what assurance we shall have that we shall have an opportunity of discussing the question some other year ? If we do not get some assurance on that point I think my hon. Friend ought to force on his Amendment, so as, if possible, to reduce the Vote, render it necessary for application to be made to Parliament next year, and in that way afford us another opportunity of discussing the subject.

MR. T. P. GILL (Louth, S.): I think if the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury will recall the fact that there has been no Vote for this purpose for the last few years he will be much more ready to accept the proposal of my hon. Friend the Member for East

Mayo (Mr. Dillon). The whole question of these translations requires looking into; and we ask that such provision shall be made for the reduction of the Vote as will secure that the subject shall be brought up again next year, when we hope to open up matters of great importance. The translating and editing of these works is a matter of great importance from an archæological, historical, and legal point of view. Students in all parts of the world take great interest in it. This Commission has been sitting and drawing money from Parliament for the past 34 years. Three Members of it were originally necessary to form a quorum; but the House will be astonished to hear that there is only one Commissioner now living, and that it is impossible for him to form a legal quorum—I refer to the Bishop of Limerick, Dr. Graves.

MR. JACKSON: I do not wish to interrupt the hon. Member; but perhaps he is unaware that the Commission has been reconstituted.

MR. T. P. GILL: That is a fact I was not entirely certain about. The information, at any rate, is not to be found in any of the Records of this House. I have been for some time engaged in looking up every bit of information that is to be found—in the Libraries, the Stationery Office, the Record Office, and everywhere else where information is procurable—in regard to this matter; and so far the information with which I have been furnished goes to prove that there is no evidence to show the existence of a Commission. On the contrary, there is no Report to be had since 1864. The Report of 1864, I understand, was the last Report published by the Brehon Laws Commission; consequently there is every reason why we should have this matter gone into. There is the greatest dissatisfaction amongst those who take an interest in Celtic studies in Ireland, in England, and, I may say, all over Europe, at the way in which the work connected with these Brehon Laws is being done. M. d'Arbois de Joubainville, and other leading Celtic scholars in France, Germany, and elsewhere have made complaints that there has been a Commission sitting 34 years that has published four volumes, and is only now publishing a fifth. The thing is an absurdity. We ask a very reasonable thing in requesting that this Vote should

be reduced, so that the matter will be brought before us next year. There was no Vote for the Commission last year, and we have no security that the same thing will not happen next year, and that it will be impossible for us to renew this discussion for years to come. All that the Motion before the House will do will be to give us another opportunity for discussion. The demand we now make, therefore, is not an unreasonable one. It will rob no one, and will only secure that the subject will be brought under notice again next year.

MR. LEAMY (Cork Co., N.E.): I hope the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury will consent to the suggestion made by my hon. Friend the Member for East Mayo (Mr. Dillon). Of course, the hon. Gentleman will understand that we who take part in this discussion are in entire sympathy with the work of the Commission. We desire to see the Brehon Laws translated, and all we want now is that we shall have an opportunity of discussing the work done by the Commission during the last 30 years. We are not quite satisfied with the work. It is, however, too late to enter into a discussion of that matter to-night. It is more than probable that the hon. Gentleman would not be able to give us the information we want. He, presumably, does not himself possess sufficient knowledge of the matter to be able to inform us upon it.

MR. JACKSON: I can promise that an opportunity will be afforded for the discussion of the subject next Session.

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.): Then I have the greatest pleasure in withdrawing the Motion.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*.

Resolution *agreed to*.

Remaining Resolutions *agreed to*.

SUBMARINE TELEGRAPH ACT (1885) AMENDMENT BILL.—[BILL 45.]

(*Baron Henry De Worms, Sir James Fergusson.*)

COMMITTEE.

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 1 *agreed to*.

Clause 2 (Confirmation of declaration).

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR (Liverpool, Scotland): I would ask the hon Gentle-

Mr. T. P. Gill

man in charge of the Bill whether it has anything to do with Submarine Telegraph Companies, whose monopoly costs the public so much inconvenience?

THE SECRETARY TO THE BOARD OF TRADE (Baron HENRY DE WORMS) (Liverpool, East Toxteth): The Bill has nothing to do with any Company. It is the confirmation by this country of an international arrangement for the general protection of all cables.

Clause agreed to.

Bill reported, without Amendment.

BARON HENRY DE WORMS: Perhaps the House will allow the Bill to be read the third time.

Bill read the third time, and *passed*.

EXPIRING LAWS CONTINUANCE BILL.

(Sir Herbert Maxwell, Mr. Jackson.)

[BILL 46.] SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.): I move that this Bill be now read a second time.

MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W. and Sligo, S.): I beg to propose that it be taken to-morrow.

Second Reading *deferred till To-morrow*.

House adjourned at a quarter before
Four o'clock in the morning.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Tuesday, 14th September, 1886.

MINUTES.]—SUPPLY—considered in Committee — CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES; CLASS II. — SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS, Vote 36.

Resolutions [September 13] reported.

PUBLIC BILLS—Second Reading—Expiring Laws Continuance * [46].

Committee—Report—Disturbances at Belfast Inquiry [35].

QUESTIONS.

POST OFFICE—ROBBERY OF MAILS ON THE RAILWAY BETWEEN LONDON AND DOVER, APRIL 8, 1886.

MR. J. G. HUBBARD (London) asked
Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whe-

ther his attention has been drawn to a robbery of Her Majesty's mails, reported to have taken place between London and Dover, on the night between the 8th and 9th of April 1886; whether, for a month previous to the robbery, the bags of letters destined to the Continent, or some of them, were forwarded from London to Dover in an ordinary unprotected truck, not intended for mail purposes, which had been pressed into the service temporarily, and had neither lock upon it nor guard within it; whether the judge who tried a man convicted of feloniously receiving a portion of the property stolen from these bags, expressed his amazement at the little care taken of them by the Post Office authorities; whether any attempt has been made, and with what result, to ascertain who was responsible for this apparent carelessness, and to ensure that there shall be no repetition of it; whether the Government will consider the propriety of paying some compensation for losses resulting from what appears to be a gross case of negligence on the part of the Post Office; whether the position of the Railway Company in regard to this loss has been investigated, and whether the Company was bound by the terms of its contract with Government to provide secure and proper carriages for the transmission of the mails; and, whether Her Majesty's Government will allow a Copy of the Contract with the Railway Company to be produced?

THE POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. RAIKES) (Cambridge University): As the matter referred to concerns the Post Office, I have been requested by my noble Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer to answer the Question of my right hon. Friend. The circumstances connected with this robbery were very clearly elicited at the time of the trial of Henry Andrews, who was convicted on the 4th June last, and sentenced to eight years' penal servitude. The report of the trial is given in *The Times* of the 5th of June, and the facts stated in the Question are substantially correct. The whole subject of the arrangements made by the Post Office for the transit of the mails in the past, and for their safety in the future, was, together with the responsibility of the officer in charge of the branch, carefully considered by my Predecessor; and steps

have been taken to prevent the repetition of such occurrences as took place during the repair of the mail van. The position of the South Eastern Railway Company has also been looked into, and Lord Wolverton satisfied himself that it would not be practicable to fix that Company with the responsibility for this most unfortunate transaction. As regards the question of compensation, this matter was also examined by my Predecessor, who came to the conclusion that beyond giving compensation to the extent provided under the regulations respecting registered letters it was impossible to make good further losses.

MR. J. G. HUBBARD: I beg to ask my noble Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether he will consider the question of compensation for at least part of the losses incurred through the official misconduct of the Post Office, which has a monopoly from the State, and out of which it makes a considerable profit?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL) (Paddington, S.): Of course, I shall be glad to give a very careful consideration to any facts which my right hon. Friend may think it his duty to lay before me. But he must not suppose that I pledge myself to anything he may recommend, seeing that I may not be able to take the same view with regard to compensation as my right hon. Friend. My impression is, that the immunity of the Crown in respect to such losses as these, which occur in the carriage of mails, is almost absolute.

RAILWAYS (INDIA)—EXTENSION OF THE RAILWAY SYSTEM.

MR. MACLURE (Lancashire, S.E., Stretford) asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether, taking into consideration the present low price of steel rails, Railway plant, and other necessary materials, the Indian Government will now proceed with the construction of those Railways which have been declared to be of urgent public utility for the benefit of that Country?

THE UNDER SECRETARY (Sir JOHN GORST) (Chatham): Her Majesty's Government desire to see the railway system of India developed as rapidly as financial prudence will permit. They recognize the low price of railway plant as an element which

tends to hasten the construction of those railways which have been declared to be of urgent public utility. The capital expenditure of the current year will amount to more than 10 crores of rupees, rather more than half of which will be expended directly by the State, and the rest by Companies under the guarantee of the State. The Secretary of State desires me to add that he is quite alive to the necessity of developing the resources of the country through the extension of the railway system without delay.

THE CONSTABULARY FORCES OF GREAT BRITAIN—SUPERANNUATION.

MR. HOWARD VINCENT (Sheffield, Central) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether, for nearly twenty years, successive Governments have held out hopes to the Constabulary Forces of Great Britain, that the matter of their superannuation, after long and faithful service, might be placed on a more satisfactory footing by legislation; if such hopes remain unfulfilled; and, if, at the earliest opportunity in the ensuing Session, he will introduce the Bill his predecessor promised to bring in directly after last Easter?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): Yes, Sir. I am aware that repeated efforts have been made during recent years to legislate on this subject; but, so far, without success. I am fully alive to the importance of this matter, and during the Recess I shall consider the whole question, with a view to legislation; but it will probably be found that this subject will have to be dealt with in connection with the larger subject of Local Government.

CRIME AND OUTRAGE (IRELAND)—FIRING AT THE PERSON BY ORANGEMEN AT RATHFRILAND, CO. DOWN.

MR. H. CAMPBELL (Fermanagh, S.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he is aware that members of the Castlewellan Conservative Flute Band, after leaving Rathfriland on Saturday the 28th August last, fired off revolvers on the county road convenient to Rathfriland; whether a bullet from one of these revolvers

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was fired into a field in which a woman named Downey was milking; whether the illegal conduct of the party was reported to the police at Rathfriland, and on what date; whether several shots were fired close to the house of Patrick Rafferty, of Letalian, his son standing in the door at the time; whether a man named M'Cornish, of Dromena, complained that the same party fired deliberately at him, and that shots were also fired close to several persons who were travelling on the public road at Dromena; and, what action do the authorities intend to adopt with reference to these outrages?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. HOLMES) (Dublin University) (who replied) said, the information he had received in reference to the transaction referred to in the Question, as well as to that of the hon. Member for Mid Cork (Dr. Tanner), had led him to direct a prosecution. As that prosecution would take place in due course, whilst it was pending it would be obviously improper for him to discuss the matter further.

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT—SCHOOL ACCOMMODATION—BOARD *v.* DENOMINATIONAL SCHOOLS.

Mr. MACLURE (Lancashire, S.E., Stretford) asked the Vice President of the Committee of Council, Whether it is the practice "according to the present system of the Education Department," even in cases where established denominational schools are willing to comply with the requirements of the Department in every particular, and also in cases where responsible persons are willing to provide suitable accommodation equally conformable to the regulations, to grant School Boards the authority to erect schools at the expense of the ratepayers; and, whether he will undertake that the Department will defer their consent to such an authority being given, until the Report of the Royal Commission on Elementary Education has been presented?

THE VICE PRESIDENT (Sir HENRY HOLLAND) (Hampstead): I understand the Question of the hon. Member to apply only to a district where a School Board has been set up. In such case, as I have before stated, the primary duty of supplying further accommodation, if needed, is imposed by Statute

upon the School Board; and the Department are advised that they cannot insist upon the School Board taking into consideration the accommodation offered by any voluntary body. This subject is under the consideration of the Royal Commission; and, pending their Report, it would not be expedient to alter the existing law.

BOARD OF WORKS (IRELAND)—INCREASE OF GRANT FOR BUILDING SCHOOLHOUSES, CLARE ISLAND, CO. MAYO.

Mr. DEASY (Mayo, W.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the Reverend J. Quinn, P.P., Clare Island, county Mayo, has made an application for an increase of the loan sanctioned by the Board of Works for the building of school houses in his parish; if he has received a reply; and, if not, why; and, if, having regard to the great difficulty of procuring building material on the island, as well as to the fact that skilled labourers demand much higher wages for their labour on the island than on the main land, the Board of Works will make the required addition to the sum approved of?

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.) (who replied) said, the Question related to a grant, and not to a loan. The Rev. Mr. Quinn applied on August 28. The matter was inquired into, and he was answered on the 6th of September, and an increase of the grant has since been approved.

ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—EXTRA POLICE, CO MAYO.

Mr. DEASY (Mayo, W.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he would state the number of extra police constables (if any) in the county of Mayo, and the total cost of their maintenance?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH) (Bristol, W.): The extra force of Constabulary in the county of Mayo at present consists of 23 constables. The total cost is about £1,530 per annum, of which about £750 falls on the county.

POOR ASYLUMS (IRELAND)—ASYLUM AT MONAGHAN.

Mr. P. O'BRIEN (Monaghan, N.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord

Lieutenant of Ireland, if he is yet in possession of the result of the inquiries promised by the Commissioners of Asylums for the Poor in Ireland on the following questions:—

"Whether the architect to the Commissioners of Asylums for the Poor in Ireland, after his inspection of the Asylum at Monaghan in 1883, recommended to the Board of that Institution several important alterations in the construction of the buildings as necessary for the safety and comfort of the inmates;

"Whether the recommendations of the official in question included the carrying of the several dividing walls of the different departments, which at present terminate at the ceilings, over the roofs, and the reconstruction of some of the ceilings which are cracked and in danger of falling;

"Whether the carrying of dividing walls over the roof is always insisted on by architects in similar and other public Institutions under Government control in England, as a precaution against the spread of fire;

"Whether the Board of the Monaghan Asylum sanctioned the recommendations referred to, and received tenders for the execution of the works;

"Whether they have yet carried out the alterations referred to;

and, whether, if the Commissioners have made this inquiry, he will communicate the result to the House?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH) (Bristol, W.), in reply, said, he had no further information on the subject at present. It was only the other day that an inquiry was directed by the Board of Control, and an architect had been directed to make inquiry on the spot. He should be happy to communicate the result of the inquiry to the hon. Member when he received it.

FISHERY PIERS AND HARBOURS (IRELAND)—BUNDORAN PIER.

Mr. BERNARD KELLY (Donegal, S.) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether a pier has been lately erected at Bundoran, county Donegal, by the Board of Works, at a cost of about £4,000; if it is so short that it does not meet with the absolute necessities of the place, and that a small steamer which had been put on for the conveyance of passengers and fish from Killybegs to Bundoran, which is the nearest railway station, had to be given up in consequence of not being able to come alongside and discharge either passengers or fish; if the fisheries of Donegal Bay have lately been largely developed, and

large quantities of fish sent therefrom to the English markets, but that the trade is overweighted by the expense attendant on sending the fish a very long distance by road before it reaches a railway station, whilst a near one exists at Bundoran, if only the harbour were made convenient for landing at; and, if the Commissioners of Fisheries would approve of the extension of the pier and improvement of the harbour, so as to effect the object so much desired; and, if so, would he authorise the Board of Works to make the improvements so necessary, and thus help the fishing industry of a poor district of country?

THE SECRETARY (Mr. JACKSON), in reply, said, the bulk of the Question related to matters which were not within his Department; but he might say that a pier had been erected at a cost of £3,500, the scheme and the amount spent having been recommended by the Fishery Piers and Harbours Commissioners. If the same authority recommended an extension, and the funds were forthcoming for it, the Board of Works would be ready to carry out the work.

POST OFFICE (TELEGRAPH DEPARTMENT)—FOREIGN TELEGRAMS—THE SUB-MARINE TELEGRAPH COMPANY.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.) asked the Postmaster General, Why Great Britain charges for telegrams to be sent abroad a rate (1*d.* per word) much exceeding that charged by France and other countries, and double that charged in the United Kingdom; where the papers are to be found showing how and on what terms the Sub-Marine Telegraph Company obtained a monopoly of the communications between this country and France, and are enabled to charge more than 1*d.* per word for the few miles across the Dover Channel; on what terms that Company is intrusted with the working of the Government lines to Holland and Germany; whether last February several firms in the City petitioned the late Postmaster General against the renewal of this monopoly of the Sub-Marine Company, and only got a reply to say that the Sub-Marine Company did not admit the charges against them; and, whether he will promise that this monopoly shall not be renewed without full

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opportunity of discussion in Parliament, and that the matter shall be dealt with in time to provide public cables if Parliament shall see fit?

THE POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. RAIKES) (Cambridge University): Not a few telegrams contain only three or four words; and the hon. Member has not observed that, whilst a telegram of three words can be sent from England to France for 7*d.*, a telegram of the same length in this country costs 6*d.*, and in France half-a-franc. Where there is a word rate, pure and simple, it is not unreasonable that the charge should be higher than where the word rate is qualified by a minimum. At the same time, I may say that the matters to which the hon. Member draws attention are of considerable importance, and that they will form the subject of careful consideration when the relations between the Post Office and the Sub-Marine Telegraph Company are reviewed, prior to the termination of the subsisting Agreement. The monopoly to which the hon. Member refers was granted many years ago by the French Government; and I can only suggest that the Papers may have been published in the Official Journal of that Government. The terms on which the Sub-Marine Telegraph Company is entrusted with the working of the cables to Holland and Germany are stated in the Agreement scheduled to the Telegraph Act of 1868. This Agreement will be found in the Appendix to the Report of the Select Committee on the Bill. Fifteen firms connected with the Stock Exchange sent in a Petition in February, calling attention to delay and irregularity in the transmission of messages from the Continent, and expressing a hope that when the monopoly of the Sub-Marine Company terminated, in 1888, the Post Office would make arrangements to improve the service. The complaint was general; and an answer was sent to the effect that the Company did not admit that there was undue delay when the wires were in working order, but that, if particulars of specific cases were furnished, inquiry would be made. With reference to the latter part of the hon. Member's Question, I would point out that the monopoly was not granted by this country, but by the French Government.

POST OFFICE—THE NORTHERN DISTRICT TELEPHONE COMPANY.

SIR HENRY HAVELOCK-ALLAN (Durham, S.E.) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether he is aware that the Post Office authorities have recently refused the Northern District Telephone Company permission to run wires, for the purpose of telephonic communication, over parts of the North Eastern Railway Company's system, although the Railway Company is willing to allow the necessary posts and wires to be erected; whether he is aware that, in consequence of that refusal, the Telephone Company is unable to connect several of the principal firms in Hartlepool with their telephone exchange system, thus depriving these firms of the advantage which other traders in the district possess of telephonic communication with the Tyne and Tees Districts, and with Sunderland; and, whether in view of the answer, he will state what course the Government propose to take in the matter?

THE POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. RAIKES) (Cambridge University): My hon. Friend (Mr. Jackson) has asked me to answer the Question of the hon. and gallant Member. The Post Office has, subject to the concurrence of the Railway Company, granted permission in some cases to the Northern District Telephone Company to erect telegraphs on the North-Eastern Railway, and in some cases has refused it. I am not aware that several firms in Hartlepool have been deprived of telephonic communication. In May last a gentleman in West Hartlepool wrote to my Predecessor, representing that in consequence of a refusal on the part of the Post Office to allow the Telephone Company to erect a wire on railway property he was unable to have his office placed in communication with the Company's Exchange; and, in reply, it was stated to him that the case in which he was interested could not be traced, but that, if he would arrange with the Telephone Company to make an application for the purpose of extending a wire to his office, it would receive favourable consideration. Such application has, apparently, not reached the Department. On the 31st of last month a

similar representation was received from another firm in West Hartlepool. It has been under inquiry, and I hope to be able to acquiesce in the wishes of the applicants.

METROPOLIS—DOG REGULATIONS.

MR. NORRIS (Tower Hamlets, Limehouse) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether the Regulations as to the muzzling of dogs are issued by the Chief Commissioner of Police under the Metropolitan Streets Act of 1867, or the Dogs Act of 1871, or on the direct authority of the Secretary of State; whether, under present Regulations, he will consider the desirability, in order to avoid disputes and litigation, to define clearly, for the guidance of magistrates and the information of the police, what is meant by a dog being under "proper control;" and, whether he will issue stringent regulations that all dogs should be muzzled in the streets and roads within the Metropolitan jurisdiction, whether accompanied by their owners or not?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (MR. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): In answer to my hon. Friend I have to say that regulations, in as wide and stringent terms as possible, as to dogs are issued under both the Statutes named by the Commissioner of Police for the Metropolitan District, and referred to in the Question, and not by the Secretary of State. The Metropolitan Streets Act, 1867, enables the Commissioner of Police to direct that dogs in the district of the Metropolitan Board of Works shall be muzzled or led. The Dogs Act, 1871, only enables the Commissioner of Police to direct that dogs in the Metropolitan Police District shall be subject to restrictions unless they are under "control." That phrase is one used by the Legislature, and it is for the magistrates to interpret it. There are now in existence regulations under both Statutes which appear to me sufficient.

Subsequently,

MR. NORRIS said, that the right hon. and learned Gentleman had not answered the latter part of his Question.

MR. MATTHEWS: I stated that regulations had been issued under both Statutes, in as wide and stringent terms as those Statutes admitted of. I cannot do any more.

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LAW OF COPYRIGHT—LEGISLATION.

MR. HUNTER (Aberdeen, N.) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether Her Majesty's Government intend to bring in, next Session, a Bill to consolidate and amend the Law of Copyright?

THE SECRETARY TO THE BOARD OF TRADE (BARON HENRY DE WORMS) (Liverpool, East Toxteth) (who replied) said: The Board of Trade fully recognize the necessity for legislation in connection with the Law of Copyright; but they are not at present in a position to give a pledge as to the exact time when they will be able to deal with this important subject. The Board will not fail, however, to give the matter their best consideration during the Recess.

RAILWAYS (ENGLAND AND WALES)—IMPROVED COUPLINGS.

MR. W. J. CORBET (Wicklow, S.) asked the Secretary to the Board of Trade, Whether his attention has been called to recent Correspondence in *The Times* relative to improved couplings on Railways; whether it is true, as stated, that in seven years 1,081 men have been killed and 9,265 injured during shunting operations; whether he is aware that a trial of improved couplings was held at Nine Elms lately, and that a further trial is to take place; and, whether he will direct the Government Inspector to be present, so as to insure an impartial Report on the merits of the different methods?

THE SECRETARY (BARON HENRY DE WORMS) (Liverpool, East Toxteth): I am aware that a correspondence has recently taken place in *The Times* relative to improved couplings on railways. Upon a reference to the Return in the last general Report of the Board of Trade upon Accidents on Railways, it appears that during the last seven years 831 servants were killed, and 9,088 injured, during shunting operations, and not 1,081 killed and 9,265 injured as stated by the hon. Member. I am aware that a trial of improved couplings was held at Nine Elms lately; but I am not aware that a further trial is to take place. In the event of a further trial, there will be no objection to an Inspector of Railways being present; but, as I stated to the hon. Member for North St. Pancras (Mr. Cochrane-Baillie),

on the 9th of this month, the Board of Trade cannot take upon themselves to express an opinion upon the results of such a trial, as they do not wish to assume a responsibility which must necessarily rest upon those who have the control and management of railways.

BULGARIA—ABDICATION OF PRINCE ALEXANDER.

SIR HENRY TYLER (Great Yarmouth) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether the Emperor or Government of Russia have, in compelling Prince Alexander to abdicate the Throne of Bulgaria, which he occupied under the joint authority of the Great Powers of Europe, claimed to act under any right or title, by Treaty or otherwise; and, when Her Majesty's Government will be prepared to lay before Parliament the communications that have passed in reference to that abdication, so as to show how far the other Powers to the Treaty of Berlin have acquiesced in or protested against the course adopted by Russia, apparently in opposition to the wishes of the people of Bulgaria?

MR. DILLON asked whether the Question, which was, as he contended, couched in very offensive language towards a friendly Foreign Power, and which contained an expression of opinion on the action of that Power, was strictly in Order?

MR. SPEAKER: The Question only refers to the fact whether certain communications passed between the Powers; and whether they acquiesced in, or dissented from, the course adopted by one of the Powers.

MR. DILLON: The Question expresses an opinion that the course taken by Russia is in opposition to the feelings and the wishes of the people of Bulgaria.

MR. SPEAKER: The word "apparently" occurs before the words "in opposition to," and the Question is in Order.

THE UNDER SECRETARY (SIR JAMES FERGUSON) (Manchester, N.E.): Her Majesty's Government have no official information that would justify them in stating that the Emperor or Government of Russia have compelled Prince Alexander of Battenberg to abdicate the Throne of Bulgaria. They cannot, therefore, make the assumption on which the hon. Member's

Question rests. Prince Alexander was seized and carried out of the country by an act of mutiny and treachery on the part of a portion of his Army. He returned to Bulgaria, and thereafter abdicated, for reasons which he stated in a public document. I am unable to undertake at any definite date to lay before the House the communications that have passed on this subject. I have already submitted to the House that in the opinion of Her Majesty's Government no good purpose, but probably the reverse, would be served thereby. We know that the Constitutional forms proper to the occasion are being followed by the Regency, and that all the different parties in Bulgaria appear to be determined to co-operate for the maintenance of peace.

ARMY—CHARGES AGAINST THE ORDNANCE DEPARTMENT.

MR. E. ROBERTSON (Dundee) asked the Secretary of State for War, If his attention has been called to the following statement attributed to Colonel Hope, in *The Daily Chronicle* of 13th September:—

"As regards the initial conspiracy, I have charged in my statement, and I charge now, two ex-officials (whom I have named) of the highest class in the Ordnance Department, one of them at the time in the full pay of the Royal Artillery, and both, at that time, in a fiduciary position, and having the power of giving out contracts, with conspiracy to defraud the Nation, by doing certain things which I described in my statement;"

and, whether any statement submitted by Colonel Hope to him did in fact contain such charges?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (MR. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): I have seen the paragraph referred to; but I have nothing to add to the answer I have repeatedly given in this House, to the effect that the statement of Colonel Hope contained nothing which would justify me, in the opinion of the Law Officers and of myself, in submitting it to any Court which could be considered competent of dealing with it judicially. The document has been returned to Colonel Hope in compliance with the condition he made in sending it to me, and after all that has passed he would appear to me to be bound in honour to publish it to the world intact, if he believes the allegations contained in it to be true. Hon. Members would then be able to

judge for themselves of the nature of the charges he brings, and of the character of the evidence by which they are supported.

TREATY OF BERLIN—ARTICLE LXI.—
ARMENIA.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE (Bradford, Central) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople has recently, by direction of the late Government, made representations to the Sultan of Turkey on the continued misgovernment of Armenia, and the entire neglect of reforms on the carrying out of which the obligations of this Country in respect of Armenia are based; and, whether he will lay any Papers on this subject before the House?

THE UNDER SECRETARY (Sir JAMES FERGUSSON) (Manchester, N.E.): The late Government directed Sir Edward Thornton to take an opportunity at his discretion of pointing out to the Sublime Porte the delay in carrying out the needful reforms in Armenia, and the importance in the interest of the Turkish Empire of removing causes of complaint. Sir Edward Thornton, on the 16th August, placed in the hands of the Foreign Minister a Memorandum on the subject. Her Majesty's Government take the same view as was expressed by their Predecessors on the 7th June, that the publication of the Correspondence is at present undesirable.

THE PARLIAMENTARY FRANCHISE—
DISABILITIES OF THE POLICE
FORCE.

MR. LAFONE (Southwark, Bermondsey) asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, If he will consider the desirability of introducing a Bill next Session to relieve the Police Force of the United Kingdom of their present electoral disabilities?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL) (Paddington, S.): This question of relieving the Police Force of their electoral disabilities in connection with the Parliamentary Franchise has hitherto been left by the Government in the hands of private Members, and I am not aware of any intention on the part

of the Government to depart from that practice.

THE PARLIAMENTARY FRANCHISE—
ELECTORAL POWER OF
WOMEN.

MR. LAFONE (Southwark, Bermondsey) asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, If he will, in the next Session, introduce a Bill to extend the present electoral power of women to enable them to vote for Members of Parliament?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL) (Paddington, S.): This question, also, of conferring electoral power in the shape of the Parliamentary Franchise on women, is one that has also been left to the enterprize of private Members; and as I think it more than probable that a very great difference of opinion exists among the Members of the Government on the subject I do not think it would be possible for the Government to take it up.

RAILWAYS—ACCIDENT ON THE LAN-
CASHIRE AND YORKSHIRE RAIL-
WAY AT BROCKHOLES — AUTO-
MATIC BRAKES.

MR. CHANNING (Northampton, E.) asked the Secretary to the Board of Trade, Whether the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway Company have sent in to the Board of Trade a report of the alarming accident at Brockholes, between Huddersfield and Holmfirth, on Saturday last, when it is stated that a portion of the train which left Huddersfield at noon, on being detached, rushed down an incline at high speed, and came into collision with goods waggons in a siding at Berry Brow; whether the Inspectors of the Board of Trade have repeatedly recommended Railway Companies to adopt automatic brakes, with the view of preventing accidents of this nature; whether Colonel Rich, in his Report on a collision which occurred on the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway at Daisyfield Junction on the 7th of August 1880, owing to the parting of a train on an incline, stated that that collision would probably not have occurred if the train had been fitted with an automatic brake; whether General Hutchinson, in his Report on the serious accident near Southport, on the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway, on 2nd November 1882, stated that the automatic

vacuum brake in use on the train saved the part of the train which remained on the rails from disaster by stopping it within seventy yards; whether it appears from the last Returns under the Continuous Brakes Act that the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway Company has 998 vehicles fitted with automatic and 1,488 fitted with non-automatic brakes; and, whether the Board of Trade will, in consideration of these facts, urge on the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway Company the necessity of a more rapid adoption of automatic brakes on the whole of their rolling stock used for passenger trains?

THE SECRETARY (Baron HENRY DE WORMS) (Liverpool, East Toxteth): The Lancashire and Yorkshire Company have not sent in a Return of the accident to which the hon. Member refers; but the Board of Trade have directed an inspecting officer to hold an inquiry into the circumstances connected with it. The Railway Inspectors of the Board of Trade have repeatedly recommended Railway Companies to adopt automatic brakes. Colonel Rich, in his Report on the collision which occurred on the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway at Daisyfield Junction, on the 7th August, 1880, did state that the collision would probably not have occurred if the train had been fitted with an automatic brake. Major General Hutchinson also reported, as stated by the hon. Member in his Question. It does appear from the December Returns, under the Continuous Brakes Act, that the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway Company has 998 vehicles fitted with automatic, and 1,488 fitted with non-automatic brakes; and I will direct a copy of the hon. Member's Question to be forwarded to the Company for any observations they may have to offer.

IRELAND—BOWLING GREEN MILLS,
CO. GALWAY—REPORT OF COLONEL
SMITH, R.E.

MR. PINKERTON (Galway) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, If he can state the reason why Colonel Smith, R.E., did not include the Bowling Green Mills, Galway, in his Report to the Treasury in 1879; whether Colonel Smith was precluded by his instructions from inquiring into the case of those mills; and, whether the Treasury is

prepared to lay Colonel Smith's Report upon the Table of the House?

THE SECRETARY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.), in reply, said, the Question had only appeared on the Paper that morning, and as it related to matters, information about which would have to be obtained from Dublin, he was unable to answer it. He was informed, however, that the Question had been considered before; and if the hon. Member desired it he would make further inquiry, and communicate the result to the hon. Member.

MR. PINKERTON said, he would repeat the Question on Thursday.

IRELAND (SOUTH WESTERN DISTRICT)
—ACTION OF SIR REDVERS BULLER.

MR. M. J. KENNY (Tyrone, Mid) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether General Buller has yet supplied the Government with a Report upon the state of Kerry and Clare and the other districts under his authority; and, when the Report, supposing it to have been supplied, will be laid on the Table of the House?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH) (Bristol, W.): I am, of course, in official communication with Sir Redvers Buller, and also with other officials holding the position of Divisional Magistrate in Ireland; but I have no Report from General Buller which is not of a confidential nature, and which I could lay on the Table of the House.

MR. COX (Clare, E.) asked, whether it is true, as stated in the papers, that General Buller has reported that the rents are uniformly much too high in the counties of Kerry and Clare?

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: No, Sir.

SUPPLY—ORDER OF TAKING THE
ESTIMATES.

MR. LEWIS (Londonderry) asked, When the Government proposed to proceed with the Irish Constabulary Vote?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL) (Paddington, S.): It depends on what progress we may make. We did not do much good last night by altering the usual course of Supply; and, therefore, we will adhere regularly to the Votes as they stand in the Civil Service Estimates, with the exception of the Irish

Constabulary Vote, an arrangement having been entered into with respect to it; but the time for taking it I cannot yet fix.

THE CURRENCY—THE ROYAL COMMISSION—THE MONEY ARTICLE OF "THE TIMES."

MR. T. SUTHERLAND (Greenock) asked the Secretary for Scotland, in his capacity as Chairman of the Royal Commission on the Currency, Whether his attention had been called to a paragraph in the Money Article of *The Times* of that day of an extraordinary character? The paragraph was as follows:—

"Hopes have been raised in many quarters that the Royal Commission recently appointed to investigate the effects of the fall in the value of silver upon international commerce might possibly recommend our Government to listen to the appeals which have been made to them to join other Powers in some attempt to restore that metal to the price from which it had fallen. It will be satisfactory to those who entertain fears in that regard to learn that one Member of the Commission, at least, whose practical experience and sound views will be likely to exercise considerable influence on his Colleagues, does not hesitate to let it be known that he intends to put his foot down at an early stage of the proceedings, and to stifle any attempt to discuss the question of tampering with the Currency system under which this country has reached unrivalled prosperity and economical development. The Member of the Commission referred to is of opinion that, as far as this country is concerned, all we have to do is to examine into the Currency system of our Indian Empire, and to determine whether or not the time has arrived for assimilating that system with our own, by establishing there a gold standard."

He (Mr. Sutherland) would like to ask the right hon. Gentleman, Whether the expression of such an opinion as that here attributed to a Royal Commissioner is at all consistent with the terms of the Reference to the Royal Commission in question, or could possibly have been expressed by anyone holding such an appointment?

THE SECRETARY FOR SCOTLAND (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.): As far as I caught the quotation, it appears to be an unsigned article about an unnamed Member of the Commission. I cannot believe that any Member of the Commission could have expressed the opinion there attributed to him, because, as the terms of the Reference show, the English Currency as well as the Indian Currency distinctly comes under the terms of that Commission.

Lord Randolph Churchill

CHANNEL FISHERIES — FISHERIES REGULATION, 1843 — DETENTION OF ENGLISH FISHING SMACKS AT HAVRE.

MR. ROUND (Essex, N.E., Harwich) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether he has any information which he can communicate to the House with reference to the detention of English fishing boats at Havre?

THE UNDER SECRETARY (Sir JAMES FERGUSSON) (Manchester, N.E.): Yes; we have a telegram from the Consul General at Havre, stating that the crews and boats referred to have been released.

QUEEN'S SPEECH—HER MAJESTY'S ANSWER TO THE ADDRESS.

THE COMPTROLLER OF THE HOUSEHOLD (Lord ARTHUR HILL) reported Her Majesty's Answer to the Address, as followeth:—

I thank you sincerely for your loyal and dutiful Address.

It is gratifying to Me to receive your assurance that, although summoned to meet at a period of the year usually assigned for the Recess, your careful consideration will be given to those measures which are essential to the conduct of the Public Service during the remaining portion of the financial year.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

SUPPLY—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES.

SUPPLY—considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS.

(1.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £17,866, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1887, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Offices of the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in Dublin and London, and Subordinate Departments."

MR. TUIE (Westmeath, N.): Upon this Vote I wish to call the attention of the Committee to the continued imprisonment of the Barbavilla prisoners; and so strongly do I feel as to the innocence of these unfortunate men, that so long as I am a Member

of this House I shall never tire of bringing their case forward. I believe the prisoners to have been unjustly convicted. Evidence has been forthcoming since the trial to show that the basis of the verdict found against them was altogether false, and that the evidence was a tissue of concocted perjury. The police assisted the Crown witnesses to make up the story, or series of stories, told in the several depositions made from time to time; and it is to the character of the evidence given at the trial that I mean to direct the attention of the Committee, as also to the character of the Crown witnesses by whom the depositions were made. Now, Sir, it will be remembered that in the early part of the year 1882 a diabolical murder took place in the county of Westmeath. A gentleman named Smyth was returning from church in his carriage when he was fired at; but the assassin missed his aim, and a lady—Mrs. Smyth—who was riding in the same carriage, was unfortunately killed. The whole country denounced the crime, and in no district was it more denounced than in that in which it was committed. The crime was denounced on the following Sunday from the altars of the Roman Catholic churches, and the persons who knew anything of the matter were implored to come forward and bring the real perpetrators of the crime to justice. What took place? Several persons were arrested under the Crimes Act on suspicion of having committed the murder; but not a single charge was made against them. Secret inquiries were carried on from time to time, at which no material evidence was produced against the prisoners. All the time the police of the district were at work offering bribes and using every kind of intimidation to induce witnesses to come forward and implicate the unfortunate men who were in custody, and who, I venture to assert, were entirely innocent of the crime. A bribe of £2,500 was offered by the Government, and that, in itself, was no small inducement to the wretches among whom the police of the district were at work to trump up a charge. Night and day the police went among the scum of the locality, endeavouring to extract something by which they would be able to make somebody amenable. The fact was that no matter how the conviction was to be obtained, no matter how the

money was obtained, and no matter in what form so long as the officials and the Government in Ireland were satisfied, a conviction must be had. Well, Sir, 11 men were put upon their trial. They were tried in two batches. In the first batch the allegation of the Crown was that the prisoners were the actual murderers; but there was not sufficient evidence against them to sustain that charge. Therefore, an extraordinary proceeding was allowed by the Judge, who permitted the evidence for the murder to be used against the prisoners charged with conspiracy. They were tried under the provisions of the Crimes Act, and that Act enabled the most outrageous form of jury-packing which has ever prevailed in any civilized community to be resorted to. Roman Catholics, as they came forth, were told to stand aside: and no juror, unless he was known to be hostile to the prisoners, was allowed to go into the jury box. As an instance of the manner in which the jury was empanelled, I may state one fact that will, I think, be sufficient to convince any fair-minded man that justice could not be done to any person or persons under such a system. A Mr. Amos Vereker, when called, stated at once that he was a personal friend of Mr. Smyth, the gentleman whose life was attempted. Thereupon the prisoners' counsel challenged him for cause. Mr. Vereker was then examined, for the purpose of ascertaining whether he ought to serve on the jury, and he swore that he was a member of the same Orange Lodge to which Mr. Smyth belonged. Nevertheless, the triers found him competent to serve upon the jury. That lost the counsel for the prisoners one of the six challenges to which he was entitled. Finally, I believe, Mr. Vereker was challenged peremptorily by prisoners' counsel, and was not allowed to sit upon the jury. The circumstance shows the *animus* with which the jury was empanelled; and, notwithstanding the manner in which it and the juries at the subsequent trials were packed, there were several disagreements. In one instance there were 10 jurors in favour of an acquittal, and only two for a conviction. That fact alone is, I think, sufficient to prove the weak case of the Crown against the prisoners, and the unreliability of the evidence. At length convictions were secured, and the pri-

him he drank and squandered, and he had to leave Collinstown and then went to Belfast to live. He had to leave Belfast during the time of the Fenians and went to England. He came back and had not a rag on his back, but drank all. He went about several places. . . . During the whole time he was constantly drinking, and had his wife and children starved."

Here is what the same individual says of the younger M'Keon—

"He is, in fact, worse than his father. He was always plundering and thieving, and breaking into houses. The only character I could give of him is the worst of the worst."

Another relative, an aunt with whom he lived, says of him—"He is a liar, a rogue, and a great blackguard." Surely, men of this kind are not men who should be allowed to be brought forward by the police to swear away the liberties of respectable men. I have had the pleasure of knowing some of these unfortunate men; I believe the whole of them to be innocent, and I know some of them to be among the most respectable men of their class in the country. One of them, William M'Cormack, farms close upon 400 acres of land, and belongs to one of the most respectable families in the county of Westmeath. I am satisfied, in my own mind, that he is no more capable of taking part in a conspiracy to murder than any hon. Member of this House. I believe the same may be said of almost every man who is suffering for this crime; and is it upon the evidence of wretches like M'Keon that you are going to refuse a further inquiry? But what an inducement the Government offer to these men to commit perjury. What must a sum of £2,500 have been to wretches of this description? Would they not swear anything for it? Would they not have been guilty of the most diabolical crime in order to obtain it? And yet upon the evidence of such men the prisoners were convicted. The chief witness for the Crown on the trial of the second batch of the Barbavilla prisoners was Patrick Cole. The second batch could not have been convicted without the evidence of that man; and since the trials he made a declaration that all the evidence he gave against the prisoners was a mass of perjury. I believe it is the fact that since then the Solicitor General for Ireland has thrown him over, and has withdrawn the Emergency men who were employed

for his protection. These Emergency men were kept with him until the time he made his statement. The elder M'Keon was in the employment of a Mr. Brogan, of Castlepollard, and it can be proved that M'Keon worked with Mr. Brogan upon the days that he asserts he was in Kilpatrick, when the conspiracy at Collinstown was hatched. The entries in Mr. Brogan's books prove that he was at work on the 23rd and 24th of March, and that he received wages on those days. The book containing these entries has been offered to the Executive Government, but they refused to accept it. It is quite evident that they were afraid of entering into a searching investigation for fear that the true circumstances of the case might be brought to light. What I contend is, that this man was working five miles away from where the conspiracy was alleged to have been plotted, and where he says he was present; and I assert that it can be proved by independent witnesses that he was drunk at Castlepollard, and had no opportunity of attending the meeting. Perhaps hon. Members will look at the depositions. It is stated that at this meeting a circle was formed, that there were two or three men from Dublin who were members of the Invincible Association, and who came down especially to concoct this conspiracy. It is sworn that at that meeting a book was passed round, and all the men present took the oath except the two Crown informers. Now, I appeal to the Committee whether it is not a gross improbability that men who were about to embark on a desperate deed of this kind would allow two men to be present while the conspiracy was being concocted, and not compel them to take the oath. I maintain that the evidence with regard to that meeting is a tissue of falsehoods, and that the prisoners ought never to have been convicted upon it at all. One of the Phoenix Park Invincibles is stated to have been there; but it can be proved that he was in Dublin, and his employer will bear testimony to that fact, showing that not only could he not have been present at the meeting, but that it was physically impossible for him to have been at Collinstown. I certainly believe that but for the evidence of Cole, who has now been thrown overboard by the Government, the second batch of prisoners could not have been convicted. Cole

come forward and state what he knew. At that time he stood first for promotion; but what was the course of treatment he received? He was sent to the wilds of Donegal, and there he has since remained without promotion, simply because he had the courage to come forward and make an effort to save these unfortunate men, perhaps from death, but, at any rate, from the terrible imprisonment which they are now undergoing. Now, what is the character of Constable Fitzgerald? I have received a copy of the character he has received from various superior officers, and here is one from Sub-Inspector Jacques, a gentleman who was very much mixed up with this prosecution, and who has profited by it to a very large extent. This character, I may say, was given before Constable Fitzgerald made his statement. On the 18th of March, Inspector Jacques wrote to Captain Butler—

“I beg to state that Sergeant M. Fitzgerald has been working under my observation since September, 1882. He is a most hard-working and zealous man. If ever faithful service deserved success his should have done. This is not my opinion only. It is also that of the Crown Solicitor, who more than once spoke to me on the subject. I fully agree with Mr. Chatterton, D.I., that unless this man's services are in some way recognized he stands in a much worse position than if he had never exerted himself in the discharge of his duty.”

That testimonial is signed by Sub-Inspector Jacques, who was the Inspector of the district in which Constable Fitzgerald was stationed. Here also is a letter from Captain Butler, the Divisional Magistrate to the Crown Prosecutor—

“29th August, 1883.

“Dear Mr. Julian,—I quite agree in the opinion you express of Constable Fitzgerald, and will be glad to bear testimony to his intelligence and zeal.—Sincerely yours,

“A. BUTLER.”

Twenty-five magistrates in Westmeath petitioned for his speedy promotion to a Head Constablenesship. The Mullingar Town Council, on the 7th of May, 1878, unanimously passed a resolution of high appreciation of his character and services in Mullingar. Captain Butler attests that he acquitted himself with credit in the Barbavilla cases. County Inspector Carr says in a Report dated the 8th of May, 1884—

“Sergeant Fitzgerald is a most excellent policeman, and his services are deserving of every recognition.”

Inspector Carr is at present chief officer in Belfast. So much for Constable Fitzgerald and his character, and so much for the truth of the statement he has made. Now, Sir, four of the jurymen stated most distinctly that if they had known that the Crown witnesses had had an opportunity of obtaining access to each other while in the hands of the police, they would certainly have acquitted the prisoners. One of the jurymen writes—

“I have no hesitation in stating that I would have acquitted the prisoners if it had been proved on their behalf that the M'Keons (*i.e.* the two chief witnesses) had an opportunity of communicating with one another while in the hands of the police.”

What was the result of all this plotting? On the 17th of July, when M'Keon swore to the meeting, it is well known that he was in the hands of the police. M'Keon stated at the outset that he knew nothing whatever of that particular meeting, but by the connivance of the police he was afterwards brought to swear that he was present at it. Having, in the meantime, had an interview with old M'Keon, Head Constable Lynch swore that during the investigation the witnesses had no means of communicating with each other. I am prepared to prove that that statement is complete perjury, and I demand the prosecution of Head Constable Lynch. If not, why not prosecute Father Curry for having stated that Lynch committed perjury? I say that it is the duty of the Government either to prosecute Father Curry or Head Constable Lynch. Father Curry asserts that Head Constable Lynch has committed the grossest perjury in this case, and he is prepared to prove his assertion by evidence if the Government will grant the full inquiry we now demand. Now, Sir, what is the character of the M'Keons? They have a most disreputable character—a character as bad as that which the worst member of society can possibly bear. At the time young M'Keon was arrested, there was also a charge of housebreaking and perjury against him. But let me read what the father of the elder M'Keon, and the grandfather of the young M'Keon, says of his own son—

“Since he was a boy 16 years of age he was nothing but a drunkard, a vagabond, and a rogue; in fact, he could not get too bad a character. He married at about 17 years of age, and I set him up in Collinstown. All I gave

him he drank and squandered, and he had to leave Collinstown and then went to Belfast to live. He had to leave Belfast during the time of the Fenians and went to England. He came back and had not a rag on his back, but drank all. He went about several places. . . . During the whole time he was constantly drinking, and had his wife and children starved."

Here is what the same individual says of the younger M'Keon—

"He is, in fact, worse than his father. He was always plundering and thieving, and breaking into houses. The only character I could give of him is the worst of the worst."

Another relative, an aunt with whom he lived, says of him—"He is a liar, a rogue, and a great blackguard." Surely, men of this kind are not men who should be allowed to be brought forward by the police to swear away the liberties of respectable men. I have had the pleasure of knowing some of these unfortunate men; I believe the whole of them to be innocent, and I know some of them to be among the most respectable men of their class in the country. One of them, William M'Cormack, farms close upon 400 acres of land, and belongs to one of the most respectable families in the county of Westmeath. I am satisfied, in my own mind, that he is no more capable of taking part in a conspiracy to murder than any hon. Member of this House. I believe the same may be said of almost every man who is suffering for this crime; and is it upon the evidence of wretches like M'Keon that you are going to refuse a further inquiry? But what an inducement the Government offer to these men to commit perjury. What must a sum of £2,500 have been to wretches of this description? Would they not swear anything for it? Would they not have been guilty of the most diabolical crime in order to obtain it? And yet upon the evidence of such men the prisoners were convicted. The chief witness for the Crown on the trial of the second batch of the Barbavilla prisoners was Patrik Cole. The second batch could not have been convicted without the evidence of that man; and since the trials he made a declaration that all the evidence he gave against the prisoners was a mass of perjury. I believe it is the fact that since then the Solicitor General for Ireland has thrown him over, and has withdrawn the Emergency men who were employed

for his protection. These Emergency men were kept with him until the time he made his statement. The elder M'Keon was in the employment of a Mr. Brogan, of Castlepollard, and it can be proved that M'Keon worked with Mr. Brogan upon the days that he asserts he was in Kilpatrick, when the conspiracy at Collinstown was hatched. The entries in Mr. Brogan's books prove that he was at work on the 23rd and 24th of March, and that he received wages on those days. The book containing these entries has been offered to the Executive Government, but they refused to accept it. It is quite evident that they were afraid of entering into a searching investigation for fear that the true circumstances of the case might be brought to light. What I contend is, that this man was working five miles away from where the conspiracy was alleged to have been plotted, and where he says he was present; and I assert that it can be proved by independent witnesses that he was drunk at Castlepollard, and had no opportunity of attending the meeting. Perhaps hon. Members will look at the depositions. It is stated that at this meeting a circle was formed, that there were two or three men from Dublin who were members of the Invincible Association, and who came down especially to concoct this conspiracy. It is sworn that at that meeting a book was passed round, and all the men present took the oath except the two Crown informers. Now, I appeal to the Committee whether it is not a gross improbability that men who were about to embark on a desperate deed of this kind would allow two men to be present while the conspiracy was being concocted, and not compel them to take the oath. I maintain that the evidence with regard to that meeting is a tissue of falsehoods, and that the prisoners ought never to have been convicted upon it at all. One of the Phoenix Park Invincibles is stated to have been there; but it can be proved that he was in Dublin, and his employer will bear testimony to that fact, showing that not only could he not have been present at the meeting, but that it was physically impossible for him to have been at Collinstown. I certainly believe that but for the evidence of Cole, who has now been thrown overboard by the Government, the second batch of prisoners could not have been convicted. Cole

Mr. Twiss

made a special statement, and shortly afterwards a more solemn statement to his parish priest, in which he deliberately states that everything he said at the trial was a tissue of falsehoods. In the first instance, his wife stated—

"I acknowledge that I encouraged my husband to offer evidence in the recent Barbavilla trials, and I did so knowing that the evidence he was to give, and did give, was concocted by him to satisfy the Crown and to save himself. I know that he knew the evidence he was giving in corroboration of M'Keon's evidence was untrue, and I know that he believed there was no meeting at the Widow Fagan's such as M'Keon deposed to, and in which my husband corroborated him."

Three days later, Cole made this statement to Father Curry—

"I, Patrick Cole, of Kilpatrick, Westmeath, seeking peace of conscience and pardon from Almighty God, do make, of my own free will, the following statement, in presence of the Very Rev. Hugh Behan, P.P., V.F., Enfield; the Very Rev. Joseph Higgins, D.D., P.P., Delvin; and the Rev. John Curry, Adm., Collinstown, who, at my request, have consented to receive it. I permit these clergymen to make what use they think prudent of this statement.

"I was arrested on the 11th July, 1883, on a charge of conspiracy to murder. My trial was finally fixed for the June Commission, 1884. I gave information on the 4th of June, 1884. I was induced to do so by the belief that I would certainly be convicted, having known how the prisoners previously tried on the same charge had fared, and also through consideration for my family. My first statement was rejected, inasmuch as it contained no information regarding the alleged meeting at the Widow Fagan's. I was further told by Head Constable Lynch that 'unless I made a clean breast of it,' and told all about that meeting, my evidence would not be taken. I subsequently made the statement which I afterwards swore to on two trials. I now declare that that evidence was untrue, except as regards my connection with Fenianism many years ago. I swore to what was false when I said that I attended a meeting at the Widow Fagan's. I never knew of such a meeting. I do not believe such meeting was held. I had no personal knowledge of any meeting in or about Byrne's public-house, though I swore I attended one there. I may have said what Mrs. O'Dwyer swore about me, though I positively contradicted her evidence. I solemnly declare I had no connection with the alleged conspiracy. I know not why my name should have been associated with it unless it be that M'Keon, who gave information in the case, had an old spleen against me. I am the father of seven children, all young, who would become utterly destitute in the event of my conviction. It was principally in consideration for them that, in a moment of weakness, I took the steps of which I now heartily repent. I make this declaration to repair, as far as I can, the injury I inflicted on others.

"Signed this 14th day of September, 1884.

"PATRICK COLE.

"Witnessed by Hugh Behan, P.P., V.F., Enfield, County Meath; Joseph Higgins, D.D., P.P., Delvin, Westmeath; John Curry, Adm., Collinstown, Westmeath."

The Crown found that they could not convict the second batch; and surely it is not on the evidence of the elder M'Keon that the case against the second batch of prisoners is even entitled to consideration. I maintain that the Government are bound to release both batches of prisoners; but in regard to the second there can be no pretence for saying that there was the slightest evidence whatever. Cole said, in presence of Mrs. O'Dwyer and his own wife, in the course of an interview in the prison in Dublin during the progress of the first trials, that he would swear anything to get out of prison. On the trials he denied this; but in his subsequent declaration he admitted its truth. Now, is that a man upon whose statements you ought to keep these men in the horrors of penal servitude? Cole, it has been since stated by the Attorney General for Ireland, has had the Emergency men withdrawn from him, proving that the Government have, at any rate, entirely abandoned his cause. The facts which I have related are only a small portion of the evidence we wish to bring forward. It would be altogether impossible for a layman to go into the details of this very intricate case; but I think I have stated sufficient to warrant an inquiry. I say that the evidence we are in a position to offer is of such a character that no Home Secretary of England, if asked to review a conviction, could fairly consider it without directing the release of the prisoners. We are prepared to offer the most overwhelming proof as to the innocence of the prisoners and the baseness of the verdict which was returned against them, and we believe that the continuance of their imprisonment in the face of such evidence is calculated to shake the public confidence in the administration of justice in Ireland. Now, Mr. Courtney, instead of a conspiracy concocted in Westmeath to murder Mr. Smyth, I think I have proved that there was a foul conspiracy against these unfortunate men. When the Maamtrasna case was before the House the noble Lord the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Lord Randolph Churchill) stated that the facts were such as to induce the

House to look carefully into the mode in which criminal trials were carried out in Ireland. "As a matter of fact," said the noble Lord, "the officials charged with the vindication of the law did not seem to have shrunk from any process in order to return a conviction, altogether irrespective of the guilt or innocence of the prisoner." These are important words, and they bear very strongly on my case. They warrant me in speaking as strongly as I have done in regard to the conviction of 11 of my constituents whom I believe to be innocent of the crime for which they were convicted. What was the opinion of the present Under Secretary of State for India (Sir John Gorst), expressed at the same time, in speaking on behalf of an independent inquiry being made into the Maamtrasna case? The hon. and learned Gentleman said—

"That he could understand a refusal to grant an inquiry at all; but if the Government conceded any kind of inquiry he should have thought that for their own sakes they should secure the services of an independent Judge such as Lord Bramwell to conduct it, and that such inquiry as was proposed to be made was a perfect farce."

Now, Mr. Courtney, I think that words like these coming from an important Member of the present Government ought to be sufficient to influence the Conservative Party, who are now in power, in deciding to concede the inquiry we now ask for. The request we make is not an unreasonable one. I believe that 11 of my constituents are innocent of the charges made against them, and that they are wearing away their lives in prison. Most of them belong to the respectable farming class in Ireland, and they are men who are, I believe, morally incapable of committing the crime attributed to them. They were tried at a time of panic, when the tension of the public mind was very great, and when, in fact, a conviction was endeavoured to be obtained on behalf of the Crown at any cost. These men have already endured imprisonments for years, and I believe it is the Constitutional right of every convict to have his sentence reviewed. I need not remind the House that the Government did grant an inquiry into the case of Brian Kilmartin, and that he was recommended to be released by the Commissioner who was sent down spe-

cially to inquire into the case after an independent investigation. We offer now as strong evidence as that which was submitted in the case of Brian Kilmartin. We ask you to adopt the same course, and if you refuse to accede to our requests all I can say is that you are carrying out a policy by which you are seeking to prop up a wrong and rotten system of administering law and justice in Ireland. That inquiry, to be efficient, must be carried on on the spot, and I assert that the evidence which, in that case, will be forthcoming will be amply sufficient to secure the release of all these men. I may add that the Crown has already refused an investigation. There has, no doubt, been some sort of an inquiry at Dublin Castle; but it was a hole and corner investigation, one in which Mr. Deputy Inspector Jacques, of evil memory, and others who were interested in obtaining a conviction were examined. I would ask whether an inquiry under such circumstances could be a fair and satisfactory inquiry? Was it sufficient to secure justice to these unfortunate men? I maintain that it was not; and I say that in order to restore the confidence of the people in the administration of the law in Ireland you are bound to release these unfortunate men, and to bring to light the whole of this corrupt and foul conspiracy against the liberty of a number of innocent and respectable citizens.

MR. J. F. X. O'BRIEN (Mayo, S.): I rise to support the appeal which has been made by my hon. Friend on behalf of an inquiry into the circumstances of the Barbavilla trials. The facts which have been mentioned by my hon. Friend should tend to convince any man who conscientiously considers the matter, that the course pursued by the Government has been such as to shake the confidence of the Irish people in anything like the due administration of the law. I believe that an independent inquiry will confirm the feeling that exists in Ireland, that the conspiracy of which these prisoners have been convicted was really a conspiracy hatched in Dublin Castle and not in Westmeath, and I believe that the result of an inquiry will not only confirm the strong feeling which prevails in Ireland, but will convince the English public that grievous injustice has been done to the prisoners

in the Barbavilla, the Maamtrasna, and other trials which have taken place in various parts of Ireland. If Parliament has any desire that good government should be established in Ireland its first duty is to satisfy the people of that country that injustice is not being done to them in the name of the law. My hon. Friend (Mr. Tuite) is naturally personally interested in the fate of the members of his own constituency, whose names he has brought before the Committee. I also, unfortunately, am interested in certain persons connected with my constituency. At the Winter Munster Assizes, in 1883, certain prisoners were tried before Mr. Justice Johnson — namely, Thomas Augustus McCawley, Patrick William Nally, Thos. Daly, James King, Matthew Meldon, and two others. The facts of the case in regard to that trial appear to be these. At that unhappy time the state of Ireland was very similar to the state of things which prevailed in this country at an earlier period of its history—I mean the period when Titus Oates had only to name any person as an accused person in order to secure that his fate should be actually sealed. At that time such a state of alarm existed in England that it was necessary to provide victims in order to appease the public feeling. At the time these unfortunate prisoners were tried in Ireland a similar state of things prevailed, and any wretched informer who chose to come forward to earn the money which the Government were extravagantly lavishing at that time was able to secure his object. There was never any difficulty in obtaining the aid of an informer, and his services were readily procured in accordance with the commercial principle of supply and demand. There was a great demand for informers at that time, and there was never any paucity of supply. As I have said, at the time that system prevailed the Government were lavishing enormous sums of money in order to tempt informers to bring victims to them, and the police scattered themselves over the country, not only in the pursuit of their ordinary avocations, but in disguises, and being well acquainted with vicious characters all over the country, they soon hit upon men who could be utilized for their own purposes. The Mayo prisoners, in whom I am

specially interested, were the victims of a reckless informer named Coleman. This whole Mayo conspiracy was the creation of this man Coleman, and it was entirely upon his evidence that these unfortunate men were convicted. Any person who pays the slightest attention to the evidence given upon these trials—for these men were tried twice, the jury having disagreed upon the first occasion—any man who pays the slightest attention to the evidence will at once be satisfied that if the evidence of Coleman is subtracted there is no case at all against the prisoners. They were convicted solely upon the evidence of this man. Coleman's *modus operandi* seems to have been this. He went to the police and laid before them the names of certain persons against whom he wished to inform. He then arranged with the police that they should see him with these men at certain places at certain times. According to this arrangement the police went to the places appointed, and they saw Coleman with the men. There was no evidence given of any crime having been committed on these occasions; but the men were simply seen in the company of Coleman, and that simple fact was taken as a corroboration of the informer's evidence. Another very curious piece of corroboration which the Crown accepted was this man's own letters to the Sub-Inspector of Constabulary. It was a very easy way of making a case for the Government, that this man should be able to give his own evidence and corroborate it himself. To show what kind of character he was, I may say that, in giving evidence against the prisoners, he recklessly swore to the writing of one of them, and afterwards acknowledged that he had never seen the man write. Nevertheless, this was accepted as a piece of corroborative evidence. I repeat that he swore to the handwriting of Patrick William Nally, and, on cross-examination, had to acknowledge that he had never seen him write. And to give an idea of what sort of man he was, I must state that, according to his own evidence, Coleman was a notorious drunkard, separated from his wife, and charged with living with another woman. He was further suspected of having committed a murder in America, and his parish priest swore that he was unworthy

of credit on his oath. Yet, upon this man's evidence these prisoners were convicted. It is unnecessary for me to tell the Committee what the state of feeling was which was aroused in the country in consequence of the way in which these trials were conducted. The feeling at this moment is exceedingly strong in the county of Mayo, and the belief is that these men are innocent, that they did not obtain a fair trial, and that they are now languishing in prison as the victims of a base conspiracy. They have been already for several years suffering penal servitude; and even if there had been a case against them at all; even if the evidence had been good evidence; if there was no reason to doubt the character of the evidence, I consider that a conscientious Government should reconsider the case and say whether, if there is the slightest room for doubt at all, men who have been suffering imprisonment for so long a time ought not now to be released. How much more should these prisoners be entitled to a merciful consideration when it is known that the evidence upon which they were convicted was evidence of a most infamous character. A portion of the corroborative evidence was the finding of some arms by Constable Campbell, who swore, on cross-examination, that the man Coleman was with him and pointed out where the arms were. Surely this ought to have been accepted as a proof that Coleman himself had put them there. Moreover, Coleman swore that he was one of a party who had conspired to murder Police Constable Beattie, and that an actual attempt was made to poison, and afterwards to kill Beattie by the use of an infernal machine. He also swore that he was one of a party who had lain in wait to murder a Mr. Scott and others. Yet this is the man upon whose evidence these men were convicted. I say that a Government who detain men in prison on evidence such as that can certainly have but very little regard for the cause of good government in Ireland. The feeling of the people in Ireland is very strong, not only with regard to the Barbavilla case, but also with regard to the Maamtrasna case and Mayo case, and similar cases all over Ireland. The feeling is general that innocent men have been subjected to grievous injustice in almost the whole of these cases; and if

Her Majesty's Government have any desire to establish a healthy state of public opinion in Ireland, the first step they ought to take is to satisfy the public mind, by a vigorous investigation, that justice shall be done in these cases. There is another case to which I desire to call attention. A man named Lavin was convicted of sending a threatening letter, and was sentenced to seven years' penal servitude. He has now for three years been undergoing that penalty. Surely a sentence of that nature is far too severe for the sending of a threatening letter in regard to which, as I understand, no results followed. I think it is exceedingly desirable that the Government should pay serious attention to the whole of these cases, and I am certainly convinced that the fact of their taking them into their favourable consideration will be productive of most happy results in Ireland.

MR. DONAL SULLIVAN (Westmeath, S.): I wish to say a few words in support of the case which has been brought before the Committee by my hon. Friend and Colleague (Mr. Tuite). As far as the people of Westmeath are concerned—and, indeed, very many in Ireland—they entertain a strong belief that the Barbavilla prisoners are entirely innocent, and they further believe that their conviction was obtained entirely by perjury. They are, therefore, of opinion that an independent investigation should be granted. There were four trials, and in two of them the jury disagreed. On the third trial the evidence relied upon was that of the man M'Keon—a man who has been proved to be of the most infamous character. I quite concur with what my hon. Friend has stated—that no man ought to be convicted on such testimony. Unfortunately, the Barbavilla prisoners were convicted because the Crown at that time was anxious to get a conviction at any hazard, and at any cost, and by any means, and it did not scruple to get other men to support the evidence of M'Keon, because it knew that M'Keon's evidence standing alone was so unreliable and so untrustworthy that no 12 men sitting upon a jury would believe it. Therefore, the agents of the Crown obtained other men, whose characters were quite as infamous, to confirm M'Keon's evidence, and by that means a conviction was obtained. Another

curious fact in regard to this case is the inequality of the sentences. The evidence adduced on the trial was substantially the same against the whole of the prisoners, who were all tried on a charge of conspiracy to murder Mr. Smythe, yet one man was sentenced to 10 years' penal servitude, another to seven years, and one individual was let off with 12 months' imprisonment. I should like to know from the Attorney General for Ireland, who, no doubt, will reply to the statements which have been made on this side of the House, how he can reconcile these punishments with the evidence which was given at the trial? I believe that the lucky individual who only got 12 months' imprisonment was a man named M'Grath, and it is asserted that the reason he escaped so lightly was that he had paid his rent during the time of the "No Rent Manifesto;" the other prisoners having refused to pay their rent. It is almost incredible that any man sitting on the Bench for the administration of justice should allow a matter of that kind to have any influence on him in passing sentence. But, nevertheless, it is so; and the belief in Westmeath is very strong that M'Grath got off with 12 months' imprisonment because he had paid his rent. I join my hon. Friend now in his appeal to the Government to grant an independent investigation so that we may set at rest the doubt which now prevails as to the guilt or innocence of these men. I hope and trust that we shall not be met by a refusal, but that the Government will consent to grant this inquiry, and so set at rest once and for ever this grievance, which is really one of the cruellest that has been perpetrated in the name of justice in Ireland for many years.

MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W., and Sligo, S.): I shall not, at this moment, make any observations upon the cases which have been placed before the Government and the Committee by my hon. Friends the Members for Westmeath (Mr. Tuite and Mr. Donald Sullivan) and Mayo (Mr. J. F. X. O'Brien). It will be time enough to enter minutely into those cases when we have heard the reply which the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland feels himself in a position to make. I think it is convenient that at this early stage of the debate I should submit to the right hon. Gentle-

man the Chief Secretary for Ireland some matters connected with the current administration of that country for which he is directly responsible. I asked a Question to-day about the position of Sir Redvers Buller. There has been a positive statement in the Press that Sir Redvers Buller has reported to the right hon. Gentleman that he has found, in the course of the investigation he has been actively and industriously making, that rents in Clare and Kerry and in parts of Cork are too high to be paid. The first reply of the Chief Secretary for Ireland was that the Reports of Sir Redvers Buller were confidential documents, and therefore could not be laid on the Table of the House. But there was a second Question put to the right hon. Gentleman as to whether Sir Redvers Buller had reported that rents were actually too high to be paid, and, in reply to that second Question the confidential character of the Reports of Sir Redvers Buller at once disappeared, because the right hon. Gentleman immediately replied that Sir Redvers Buller had not so reported. I admit, at once, that the Reports of Sir Redvers Buller, or of any other person engaged in the detection of crime, are such Reports as the Government have a right to treat as confidential so far as they relate to the detection of crime, because it may be said that a revelation of the information contained in the Reports might defeat the ends of justice. Therefore, I do not ask that the Reports of Sir Redvers Buller, so far as they relate to the existence of crime, or the means employed for the detection of crime, should be communicated to Parliament. But if Sir Redvers Buller, in the character of a Plenipotentiary acting on behalf of the Government, extends his Report beyond the question of the detection of crime, I submit that Parliament is entitled to know what it is that he has reported. The Rent Question in Ireland is urgent and acute. It imminently threatens social order in Ireland. The Government will be called on presently to declare their policy in regard to the question of rent. They will have to do so next week in this House; and I think I am not beyond my right in asking whether the representations and facts upon which the policy of the Government is based come from Sir Redvers Buller or any other person, and if so, we have certainly a right to know what

those representations and facts are. The Government have no right to declare, upon a question so important as that of rent in Ireland, a policy which is to govern their action, and then to keep from the Representatives of the people and from the people themselves the facts on which that policy is founded. Therefore, I ask the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland to lay on the Table not the Reports of Sir Redvers Buller, but those excerpts from them which deal with the question of rent, and the question of rent alone, which may influence the Government in determining their policy upon that question. I maintain that they have no right to found a public policy upon what they call confidential information, and refuse the Representatives of the Irish people an opportunity of determining how far that information is correct. I think the time has come when we ought to have more definite information than we have as yet received concerning the nature and conditions of the mission of Sir Redvers Buller himself. He has been driving about Kerry and Clare with military officers, magistrates, and County Inspectors of Police in his train; and he has been going about in an undefined dual character, as a detective of an extraordinary kind, and also as a magistrate. He seems to have power over the military and power over the police. He is responsible to the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary, and to no one else, and yet we cannot ascertain whether he supersedes the ordinary magistrates and officers of the Queen in the district with which he is associated. I venture to say that there is no man in the House who is able to understand what the relations of Sir Redvers Buller are with the Inspector General of the Irish Constabulary. In the case of any difference of opinion, will the views of Sir Redvers Buller be overborne by the Inspector General, or is the Inspector General to impose his will upon Sir Redvers Buller? Further, as to the disposal of the military, whose directions are to be obeyed—those of the Prince of Saxe Weimar, or those of Sir Redvers Buller?—

THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order! The observations which the hon. Member is now entering into have no reference to the subject of this Vote, but would be more properly discussed on the

Vote for the Salaries of Divisional Magistrates.

MR. SEXTON: The Chief Secretary for Ireland is a Minister responsible for the affairs of Ireland, and by far the most important officer at the present moment is Sir Redvers Buller. He is not a county officer, but his district includes the whole of the county of Kerry, and part of Clare; and I submit that I am entitled to ask the Chief Secretary to give some account of his mission. He is not only a magistrate, but an officer as well as a magistrate. As a matter of fact he is a Constitutional novelty.

THE CHAIRMAN: I understand that the salary of Sir Redvers Buller is included in the Supplementary Vote which deals with the salaries of Divisional Magistrates. That Vote is now on the Table, and will come on in due course. In my opinion the discussion which the hon. Member is entering upon will be more appropriate upon that Vote.

MR. SEXTON: Well, Sir, if the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary informs the Committee that the salary of Sir Redvers Buller is included in that Vote I will say nothing further now, but I will take another opportunity of addressing the remarks to the Committee which I had proposed to offer now. [Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: That is so.] Then I will go on to another question. I wish to know what course the Government propose to take concerning the Proclamation of the Arms Act in Belfast and Derry? I propose to refer especially to the town of Belfast, but the Proclamation of that Act in the City of Derry is also a matter of some importance. The City of Derry was proclaimed in the month of July, and I think that before the end of that month the time had expired during which all persons were legally compelled by that Proclamation to surrender arms. I wish to ask, in the first place, if any arms have been surrendered in the City of Derry under the Proclamation of the Earl of Aberdeen, and if not why not? What is the theory of the Government on the subject? Is it that there are no arms to be surrendered, or that the persons who possess arms hold the Government in such contempt that they decline to obey the Proclamation? If so, do the Government acquiesce in that view of the authority and patience of the Executive Government so far as these per-

sons are concerned? I believe there have been some scenes in the City of Derry very lately which render it desirable that the Proclamation should either be frankly withdrawn, or carried into operative effect. For instance, during the election of the hon. Gentleman whom I now see opposite (Mr. C. Lewis), there were some violent scenes, in the course of which it would appear that the hon. Gentleman was surrounded by a disorderly mob, and that he shook his clenched fist in the face of the Resident Magistrate.

MR. C. LEWIS (Londonderry): The statement of the hon. Gentleman is absolutely without foundation.

MR. SEXTON: Then I can only regret that the hon. Gentleman has refrained from contradicting the reports which have appeared in the Press of Ireland during the last few months. It is very singular that what was stated in the month of July has not been contradicted until it has been stated by me in this House to-night. Did not the hon. Member say on the occasion to which I refer—"Oh, Harvey, you scoundrel! Harvey, you ruffian!"

THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order!

MR. C. LEWIS: Certainly not.

THE CHAIRMAN: The observations of the hon. Member are altogether irregular.

MR. SEXTON: I was drawn into them by the remark of the hon. Member opposite. My information is that arms have been largely used for illegal purposes. The case of the town of Belfast is far more important. That town was proclaimed under the Arms Act. On the 19th of July the Lord Lieutenant for Ireland gave notice by Proclamation that by the 26th of that month all arms not legally held in the town of Belfast were to be surrendered. I do not wonder that that Proclamation has fallen through, because the Town Council of Belfast held a meeting on the 4th of August, and one of the Councillors then present stated that the issue of the Proclamation without consulting the Mayor was a great breach of etiquette; another Councillor stated that it was the greatest breach of etiquette that had occurred for many years; and the gentleman who preceded me in the representation of the Western Division of Belfast being present at that meeting, stated that the Proclamation was a slur upon the town,

and that it was the absolute right of the Mayor to have been consulted before it was issued. Perhaps I may remind the Chief Secretary that when Belfast was proclaimed five or six years ago, under the Arms Act of 1881, there was no consultation with the Mayor, but there was a consultation with the Resident Stipendiary Magistrate and the Inspector General of Constabulary. The Inspector General of Constabulary applied to the present Mayor (Sir Edward Harland), enjoining him to have warrants issued for a search of arms. I wish to know how many search warrants have been granted since the last Proclamation has been issued; and if it is true that the only searches which have been made, as far as I have been able to discover, have been searches in the houses of Catholics, in regard to whom there was no reason at all to believe that they were in the possession of arms? The searches for arms have proved quite fruitless; but I believe, as a matter of fact, that the Government have persistently abstained from searching the houses of those who were connected with the faction which is notorious for the illegal possession of arms. Since the 26th of July there has been firing going on all night through, and constant fusillades in the streets of Belfast. On the 8th of August, and again on the 15th of August, these fusillades continued throughout the entire night, and on the last occasion from midnight until the middle of the next day. Have the Government inquired who the persons were who were in the possession of arms? Have they endeavoured to ascertain in what part of the town the people who use the arms lived? Is there any real intention to make the Proclamation operative, or is it to remain a dead letter? Of the courses that were open to the Government under the Proclamation, they adopted the worst. They have allowed the Proclamation to remain in formal existence without making any attempt to carry it out. In fact, it would have been a much better course to have withdrawn the Proclamation altogether. Certainly, the course dictated to them by public necessity and public duty, in view of the notorious occurrences in Belfast, by which the lives not only of civilians but of the Constabulary Force and of soldiers have been lost by the illegal use of firearms, was to have

put the Proclamation in force. As one of the Representatives of Belfast, I am most intimately concerned in this question, and I am entitled to ask whether the Government do or do not intend to carry out the Proclamation? I recently asked a Question concerning the granting of arms to Rifle Clubs in Ireland, and it was only upon a second attempt that I succeeded in obtaining an answer from the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War (Mr. W. H. Smith). The right hon. Gentleman has assured me that it is a fact that certain rifle corps in Ireland are allowed to use the ranges at Her Majesty's barracks for the purpose of rifle practice, that they carry on drill under the instruction of a sergeant of Her Majesty's Military Forces, and by a sanction of some sort obtained from the Lord Lieutenant, they are alleged to procure, at cost price only, ammunition from the military stores. I wish to ask if that practice is to be brought to an end, seeing that the people of Ireland generally are to be disarmed? I must say that it appears to be a very strange practice to allow specially privileged bodies of persons to procure ammunition under such favourable conditions. Certainly, in a country where the bulk of the people are disarmed by a legislative enactment, it is particularly offensive and objectionable to allow Her Majesty's Forces to drill a privileged body, and to allow them to obtain ammunition under specially favourable terms. What will the British taxpayer say to a system under which he is obliged to pay taxes for supplying ammunition for the military purposes of the Crown when this ammunition is to be supplied to persons who may possibly shoot down the constabulary and soldiers we maintain in Ireland in order to secure the due observance of the law? What will the people of this country say when they find that the skill of regimental sergeants and the accommodation of the barracks are placed at the disposal of civilians, and paid for out of the money voted by this House? There is a general belief in Belfast that these Rifle Clubs have been a fruitful means of propagating the worst elements of the disorders in that town. What security will the Government take that the intimate relations of these Rifle Clubs with the authorities of the Crown and the supply of am-

munition shall not be made a means whereby encouragement is given to illegitimate and possibly criminal proceedings? What check is there on the issue of ammunition to a rifle corps in the very quarter where the fusillades take place, and where the police and the military were made a target of throughout the entire night? The evidence of the constabulary is that the ammunition used against them was of superior quality, that it was fired at long ranges, and that it must have been fired from excellent weapons. There is a well-founded belief that the weapons of the rifle corps were used against the soldiers, and that the ammunition was procured under this benevolent system at the military barracks. I trust that before this debate concludes we shall know how much ammunition has been given out every year from the Queen's stores to the rifle corps of Belfast. Was the ammunition issued with the sanction of the Lord Lieutenant?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Sir MICHAEL HICKS - BEACH) (Bristol, W.): The sanction of the Lord Lieutenant, as far as I am acquainted with the matter, is given on his being satisfied that the club is a respectable club. I believe that the Lord Lieutenant has no control over the issue of ammunition.

MR. SEXTON: It is of equal importance to us to know upon what grounds the Lord Lieutenant comes to the conclusion that a rifle club is a respectable club. If ammunition is to be served out on specially favourable terms to rifle corps, the Government ought to be careful as to the nature of the club, and I certainly am of opinion that they would require such information if the club was a National Club. I am perfectly satisfied that in such a case they would institute the most stringent inquiry as to the respectability of each person included in the club. Therefore, I ask the right hon. Gentleman whether he will consider a club composed of Nationalists, and not of Orangemen, a respectable club? I must further ask how much ammunition was given out, and what security was taken that it should be applied to legitimate purposes? I certainly cannot assent to any system by which a great town like Belfast, torn to pieces by religious differences and subjected to rioting and disorder—I cannot assent to a

system by which ammunition is supplied by the Military Authorities at cost price to one section of the townspeople, with the result of not only endangering property, but life. I further wish to ask the right hon. Gentleman how far he has proceeded, up to the present moment, in reorganizing the Police Force of Belfast? I do not expect him to declare what ought to be the permanent measures that will be taken. That, of course, must depend on the Report of the Royal Commission; but what I want to know is what are the temporary measures by which he hopes to maintain the peace of Belfast until the Royal Commission report? I say that the Government are responsible for the recent riots, because they failed to establish a police station at Queen's Island 22 years ago, when the shipwrights of Queen's Island made an attack upon the navies working in the docks on account of difference of creed. It was the duty of the Government to have established a police station there and then; and the right hon. Gentleman knows as well as I do that on the 4th of June last, when 600 or 800 shipwrights marched out of Queen's Island and made an attack upon 100 men at Alexandra Dock, the police ran away and did not return until the riot was over. I am perfectly satisfied that if the police had had a station on the spot, or even near it, a dozen determined constables armed with rifles or revolvers, or even with batons in their hands, would have prevented the rioting, the life of the boy James Carney would never have been taken, and there would have been none of the riots attended by bloodshed and the destruction of property which has since taken place. An extraordinary report comes to me on the best possible authority, although I must admit that I cannot altogether believe it. It is that in the district of Belfast, from which the police force were lately driven out, and in which the authority of the Queen was for a time superseded, Her Majesty's Government, at the instigation of the Rev. Dr. Hanna and other principal instigators of the riots, have agreed that the police force stationed there shall be Protestants, and Protestants of a particular political bias. It is true that the police of Ireland, as at present composed, is one-fourth Protestant and three-fourths Catholic; but the proportion in Belfast is different,

being three-fourths Protestant and one-fourth Catholic. Of that I do not complain, because the majority of the people there are Protestants; but what I do complain of is that the same proportion should not have been observed in other parts of the town when the riots took place. I hope the right hon. Gentleman will be able to make a frank declaration that there is no intention of placing in the riotous districts of Belfast a police force almost entirely Protestant, because the main features of the riots were the attacks which were made by a riotous mob on the shops of the Catholics in that quarter of the town where the Catholics were very few. What is to become of these unfortunate people if the police employed for the protection of life and property are to be selected solely because they are Protestants? According to the statement made to me, Mr. Reed, the Inspector General of Constabulary, was asked a few days ago in Belfast, at a meeting of the Executive Committee, whether he had promised the Rev. Dr. Hanna—better known as "Roaring Hanna"—that on re-establishing the police in the Shankhill Road he would find everything satisfactory to him, and that the force would be composed of Protestants. The Inspector General was also asked whether he intended to allow the police to go back to the Shankhill, Road or whether the hopes of those who desired to see the re-establishment of a local force were to be realized. I trust, upon this point, to obtain some assurance from the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland, because it has been stated lately that the Government propose to give in upon the point and to consent to the establishment of a local force. It is certainly a serious matter if the highest officials of the Royal Irish Constabulary have given an undertaking to one of the persons chiefly responsible for the recent riots that the police who are to have charge of the Shankhill Road are to be a Protestant force. I know nothing whatever of the rumour, and I only repeat the statement, as it has been made to me, as a matter of duty, in order to ascertain what the views of the Government are. Before I sit down I wish to know what is the condition of the question in regard to the re-employment of Catholics in Belfast who have been thrown out of work in consequence of

the riots? The right hon. Baronet the Chief Secretary said the other day that he believed most of the Catholics had returned to work, and that he expected, in the course of a few days, the rest would be restored to their employment. I asked if the observation applied to the establishment of the Mayor—Sir Edward Harland—and the right hon. Gentleman told me he could not say. I have here a letter from a person employed in the shipyard of Sir Edward Harland, and the writer tells me that altogether 150 Catholics have been obliged to leave the Island, and that only some half-dozen have resumed work, or less than 1-20th of the entire number. The remainder are anxious to go back, but they are afraid to do so, because no undertaking is given by the firm that they will be afforded protection. Now, Sir, the case of the shipyard on Queen's Island is only a type of numerous other cases in Belfast. The Government have hitherto refrained from bringing their influence to bear upon the employers. Of course, I know what the inclination of the right hon. Gentleman himself must be. He must surely desire that work should be re-established; he cannot expect that social order in Belfast can be placed on a sound and firm and satisfactory basis so long as there are a number of poor Catholic workmen who are kept by force from earning a livelihood. I think, then, that I do not ask too much from the right hon. Gentleman when I request him to communicate with Sir Edward Harland, the Mayor of Belfast, and press upon him the duty of adopting measures for the adequate protection of his workmen. I appeal to him also, from the high authority of his Office, to state to the Committee that the Government expect the Mayor of Belfast, for his own interests and for the public good, to take adequate measures for the prevention of further disorder, and to restore to work and the means of earning a living hundreds of poor Catholic people who are now burdening the local rates of the town.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.): I have no wish to interfere, in any way, with the consideration which the Government may give to the appeal which has just been made to them in this matter. But, during the course of the speeches which we have listened to to-night, I have heard of packed juries

and of convictions obtained at any price by perjured evidence. Now, I have served on several Commissions for the trial of prisoners under the Crimes Act in Dublin. [*Laughter from the Home Rule Members.*] Hon. Gentlemen may laugh, but I regard it as one of the most unpleasant duties which a citizen can be called upon to perform, and I have been made to know it, as probably some hon. Members are aware. I wish to say that as far as the question of informers is concerned, on every jury on which I sat under the Crimes Act, the Judge was most careful in telling the jury that they were not to rely upon the evidence of the informer if they did not consider that there was sufficient evidence without it. We were directed simply to take the evidence of the informer as supplementary, and not to found the verdict solely upon it. In every case that was the direction given by the Judge to the juries on which I sat, and I have no reason to doubt that it was given in every case that was tried in Green Street Court House. Therefore, the Committee must not run away with the conclusion that the verdicts were founded on the evidence of these men; there must have been other evidence, or otherwise it would have been impossible to have obtained a conviction. There is another thing I desire to say. It has been implied by hon. Members who have taken part in the debate that the special jurors in Dublin were simply as wax in the hands of the Crown, prepared to bring in whatever verdict the Crown chose to ask for. Now, I would put it to hon. Members below the Gangway whether, in several notable cases, political prisoners who stood in the dock were not acquitted without regard to the feelings of the Crown? I would instance the case of Fitzgerald. The jury in that case, although it has been described as a packed jury, acquitted the prisoner, and I object to sit by and hear my fellow-citizens libelled in this manner. I say that the citizens of Dublin are as intelligent, as upright, and of as high character as hon. Members below the Gangway, and they will compare with them very favourably in every respect in which the Committee may wish to draw a comparison. It is grossly unfair for hon. Members below the Gangway to say that the leading merchants of Dublin, who have sat on these

juries, and who have performed good service to the State during these trials, rendering it often at the peril of their lives, should be libelled by the assertion that they were merely as wax in the hands of the Crown, ready to bring in any verdict the Crown desired to obtain. As to the Barbavilla case, I express no opinion whatever. If the Government think it is a case for inquiry I sincerely hope they will grant an inquiry. The hon. Member for Westmeath (Mr. Sullivan) stated that there had been four trials of these prisoners already. Under those circumstances, I would ask a question which must occur to every man in this House. If the whole of this evidence was in existence, why was it not produced on one or other of the four trials which have already taken place? How is it that it only comes out now after the men have been convicted of this crime? I say, again, that I have no desire to interfere with any consideration the Government may give to the circumstances of this case. If they think that there has been a miscarriage of justice I should rejoice to see the prisoners set at liberty. But what I object to is that the citizens of Dublin should be libelled and the Judges misrepresented in this abominable manner. As far as my own personal knowledge goes, the citizens of Dublin brought to the consideration of these matters very great intelligence and the strongest desire to do their duty both by the prisoners and to the Crown.

MR. M. J. KENNY (Tyrone, Mid): This question of trials in Dublin is one which does not involve, in itself, any question with regard to the character of Dublin jurors. No doubt the hon. Gentleman who has just sat down, who is one of the most notorious of those persons who were constantly employed for the purpose of trying special jury cases in Dublin, is anxious to defend himself and his colleagues from the imputations which have been made against them. In this particular case, however, what we do is not to bring general charges, but to make specific statements which are perfectly capable of contradiction and disproof if the statements themselves are capable of being disproved. The statements made by my hon. Friend are perfectly clear and distinct. There is a well-known belief in Ireland that there was a miscarriage of justice in the Barbavilla case. I was in the Court House

in Green Street during a portion of the trial of these men, and I was present while the old informer, M'Keon, was giving his evidence. I am prepared to say that no juror who followed the evidence given by M'Keon could come to any other conclusion than that the man was all the time perjuring himself. No one who was not either hopelessly unintelligent or blindly biased by political faction could arrive at any other conclusion. Nothing could be more clear; and I am bound to say that as far as there were materials in his possession the prisoners were defended with great ability by Dr. Boyd—now Mr. Justice Boyd. It appears to me, however, that the special jurors in Dublin, at the time the trial was going on, were animated rather by a desire to strike terror into the people of the country than by the wish to do justice. The hon. Member alluded to the trial of Mr. Fitzgerald, but I think it was one of the last cases he ought to have referred to. If ever there was a case in Ireland in which a man was subjected to constant and systematic persecution; if ever there was a case in which trumped-up evidence was resorted to for the purpose of depriving an innocent man of his liberty, it was the case of Mr. Fitzgerald. So weak was the case of the Crown that as soon as the trial of Mr. Fitzgerald, which was put forward as a kind of test case, was disposed of, 11 other men were discharged from custody. I do not know that it is necessary to enter into the character of many of the persons who have been engaged as special jurors. The hon. Member spoke of Dublin merchants as serving upon these special juries. We all know what sort of persons the special jurors really were. There was one of these special jurors to whom I drew attention some time ago in this House. He was a person employed as a messenger in the Customs. That is a specimen of the usual Dublin merchant employed in a crisis like this for the purpose of securing the conviction of a prisoner. I do not think it is necessary to canvass the conduct of these men further. My hon. Friend the Member for South Mayo (Mr. J. F. X. O'Brien) has called attention to the conviction of the Mayo prisoners. The Mayo prisoners were convicted in the City of Cork, before a Cork special jury; but there were the same arrangements

in regard to the empannelling of special juries as those which were resorted to in Dublin. We know the manner in which the conviction of the Crossmalina prisoners was brought about. Even the Judge was browbeaten by the prosecuting counsel.

THE CHAIRMAN: I think the hon. Member is travelling very widely from the question before the Committee. His remarks appear to me to be altogether irrelevant.

MR. M. J. KENNY: On the first trial the Crossmalina prisoners were not convicted; but when another Judge was sent down the conviction was secured. My hon. Friend has related the result of the conviction. Some of the prisoners were sentenced to penal servitude for 10 years, and some of them for a less period. There is, however, a prevalent belief in the county of Mayo, not only among persons of the so-called disloyal class, but even among the loyal inhabitants, that if any man in the county of Mayo, by word or deed, had endeavoured to discountenance crime and outrage, that man was Patrick Hanney, now undergoing a sentence of penal servitude on a charge of conspiracy to murder. We know that in law the evidence of an informer is considered infamous; but if it had not been for the evidence of informers, I maintain that in no single instance would the special jurors in Dublin or Cork have arrived at the conclusion that the persons charged before them were guilty. The conviction in every case was obtained by the evidence of informers, the evidence of men of good character being altogether insufficient to prevent a conviction. There is another case to which I desire to draw the attention of the Committee. It is a case which was brought under the notice of the Earl of Carnarvon, when he was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, at a time when the present Attorney General for Ireland occupied a similar position to that which he now occupies. The present Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, who was then Chancellor of the Exchequer, in reply to a speech of my hon. Friend the Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell), when he brought forward a Motion last year in reference to certain convictions in Ireland, including the Maamtrasna case, also called attention to the case of the brothers Delahunt. He invited my constituents to

supply the Earl of Carnarvon with a statement of their views on the subject. I did supply the Earl of Carnarvon, at the time, with a statement of facts regarding the conviction of the two brothers Delahunt. I do not think it necessary to trouble the Committee with a recital of those facts now; but there were two or three main points connected with the case which I think it would be well to state to the Committee. In the first place, these men were convicted of the crime of firing at the person of a man who had been a life-long personal enemy. There was no trace of shot found, no trace of a revolver or gun, and the whole charge depended on the testimony of the person who swore he was fired at, and a boy of weak intellect named Markham. It was upon this evidence that the two brothers were convicted of the crime of firing at the person, and they were sentenced to penal servitude for life. But a man named Slatter, about six months after the conviction, when lying upon his death-bed, made a declaration before two Resident Magistrates—Mr. Percival of the county of Ennis, and Mr. Crothy, Resident Magistrate for the Eastern Division of Clare. The death-bed confession of Slatter was that he had suborned the evidence, and that the statements made by Markham were altogether false. As soon as this charge was made, Markham left the country, and within a very short period every man connected with the prosecution left Ireland. I sent a statement of the facts of the case to the Earl of Carnarvon, and I clearly proved by affidavits that by no possibility could Markham have been where he swore he was on the night in question. Among the persons who made the affidavit to that effect was Markham's own brother. There was another point. Owing to no fault of the counsel who defended the prisoners, but owing to the defective manner in which these men's defence was got up, all the facts of the case were not got out. The prisoners were poor country boys; they had no money, and they were not able to instruct counsel in a proper manner. The solicitor originally instructed was a man who resided many miles away. The men were tried at the Cork Winter Assizes, and before the trial came on the solicitor left Cork and went to Dublin, leaving counsel very imperfectly instructed. When the

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trial came on there was only one counsel present with very defective instructions indeed; but he was a very able man, and he made a fair case out of the very scanty materials with which he had been supplied. The counsel, however, was placed in a doubly embarrassed position, because he had no chance of communicating with his own witnesses beforehand, the solicitor having left for Dublin; and during the progress of the trial some material points arose on which it was very necessary that he should have consulted with the witnesses. Having no intermediary he was unable to acquaint himself with the whole state of the facts, even so far as his own witnesses were concerned, and counsel, therefore, was placed at a terrible disadvantage. It was not altogether the fault of the Crown, although the Crown did act, in the first instance, unfairly, because they moved the prisoners from one gaol to another, without giving the first solicitor who was instructed in the case an opportunity of knowing where the men had been sent to. The Earl of Carnarvon replied to my appeal on that occasion that he saw no reason for reconsidering the sentence; but he thought that if an application were made later on, the question of the duration of the sentence might reasonably be taken into consideration. Well, Sir, I make an application now for the reconsideration of the sentence. It is impossible to hope that the present Lord Lieutenant will reverse a decision arrived at by his Predecessor; but what I claim is that these men, having now already undergone four years' penal servitude, should have their case reconsidered with a view of securing a mitigation of the sentence. I maintain that in all the circumstances of the case a sentence of penal servitude for life was much too severe a sentence. It must also be remembered that the men were convicted at a time of great excitement, and of strained social relations in Ireland—at a time when sentences were passed very much in excess of what would be passed for similar offences in England and Scotland, or, indeed, anywhere else except Ireland. Therefore, having laid before the Chief Secretary the facts of the case, I would ask him now to reconsider the sentence which was passed on these men with a view of obtaining their release. I may add that they were men of a most ex-

cellent character—quite of a different character from the persons who charged them with the offence, and who were persons of a notoriously bad character. If the right hon. Gentleman will inquire into the circumstances of the case I think he will be able to satisfy himself that the time has now come when the interests of justice be will satisfied by the release of the prisoners.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (MR. HOLMES, Dublin University): As some hon. Gentleman opposite have appealed to me in the course of the debate it is convenient that I should say the few words I have to say at the present moment. I do not intend, and I am sure no one in this House would expect that in such a debate I should enter into a consideration of the facts of every case which has occurred, or address to the Committee arguments which ought properly to be only addressed to a Judge and jury. I may say that I have had no notice of a great number of the matters which have been brought before the Committee, and it would be altogether impossible for a Law Officer of the Crown to remember everything which has occurred during his own tenure of Office, much less matters with which he has had nothing whatever to do, and which had been begun, carried on, and ended before he had any responsibility for the administration of justice in Ireland. It so happens, however, that I know a little about one or two of the cases to which reference has been made, and without entering into arguments or discussing matters, which it seems to me the House of Commons is one of the very worst places in which to discuss them, I will say what has been done in the Barbavilla case. The case of the Barbavilla prisoners has been more than once, in the form of Questions or debate, before the House; and I should like to call the attention of the Committee to the progress of the case. The hon. Member is quite right in stating that the prisoners now in gaol and serving out their sentences were indicted for conspiracy to murder. The first four were put on their trial at the end of the year 1883, and the jury having on that occasion disagreed the same four prisoners were tried again before the Lord Chief Baron, in the county of Dublin, in the month of March following. That trial resulted in a ver-

diet of guilty. I have read the pamphlet which has been published by Father Curry in reference to the case; and I also have read what took place at the trial. The greater part of the arguments put forth in that pamphlet, as well as the arguments used to-day, are the very arguments which were addressed to the Judge and jury by one of the ablest counsel at the Irish Bar who appeared in the defence of the prisoners. There were two trials, one of which terminated in the disagreement of the jury, while the other resulted in a verdict of guilty. Everything that could possibly be brought forward by way of argument on behalf of the prisoners, and on behalf of the Crown, was brought forward. On the last occasion a verdict was found before the Lord Chief Baron, and every one who is acquainted with that distinguished Judge knows that he is an eminent Constitutional lawyer; and that he would be the last man in any country to allow any topic to be pressed unfairly against a prisoner. Something has been said about the juries of the City of Dublin. Having had much to do with them during my life, I beg to say that I entirely endorse all the high encomiums which have been passed in their favour by the hon. Member for South Tyrone (Mr. T. W. Russell). In selecting the jury panel there was no officer who had any power to pick and choose. The jurors were selected according to a principle laid down some years ago—namely, that of alphabetical arrangement, from which principle there can be no deviation whatever. The matter was altogether beyond the control of any officer of the Government. [Mr. M. J. KENNY: How about the Crimes Act?] The practice under the Crimes Act was precisely the same except that instead of the jurors being selected from one venue they were selected from two. So much with regard to the first case. In the second case, four or five of the prisoners now under sentence were tried, and again there was an abortive trial. The case then came before another distinguished Judge, and the men were defended by eminent counsel, who had the advantage of being present at the first trial; but notwithstanding all the knowledge which was obtained in the first trial, and all the advantage which the prisoners possessed in consequence in rebutting the charge, the result was that a verdict

of guilty was found against them. It is not for me to say whether the verdict was right or not. All I say is that the result was obtained in the ordinary Constitutional way for determining the guilt or innocence of an accused person. The hon. Member opposite (Mr. Tuite) has, in the course of this debate, said that he conceives it is right for any person who has been tried and found guilty to have his sentence reviewed in a Constitutional manner. I entirely agree with the hon. Member; but the Constitutional way is not by a discussion in the House of Commons. That has never been suggested by anyone. Hon. Members must know that no discussions take place here as to the way in which the Home Secretary for England exercises the rights which are intrusted to him. In the case of Ireland, advice in regard to the exercise of the Perogative of mercy is given to the Lord Lieutenant by the Lord Chancellor; and if every case is to be reviewed on the floor of this House, it would be impossible to get through the Civil Service Estimates in a month, or even in 12 months. There is, however, a Constitutional mode whereby persons who have been convicted, and who conceive that there are certain circumstances which ought to be taken into consideration in order to secure a remission of the penalty, may secure that their case will undergo review. Now, what happened in this case? I find that the last of these prisoners was convicted in the summer of 1884, and long after that—namely, in the spring of 1885, when all the matters now referred to by the hon. Member had passed away—a Memorial was presented to the Lord Lieutenant by the friends of the prisoners, appealing to him to take the matter into consideration and exercise his judgment upon it. The Lord Lieutenant at that time was Earl Spencer, and he had, when the Memorial was first presented to him, the advantage of the advice of a distinguished lawyer—the late Lord Chancellor Sullivan—who entered fully into everything that was brought to the notice of the Government in reference to the matter. Earl Spencer himself went through the case. Subsequently another Lord Chancellor—Lord Chancellor Naish—succeeded; his attention was also drawn to the case, and he gave his advice. The result of that consideration was that Earl Spencer came to the conclusion that the

law ought to take its course. There was then a change of Government. A Conservative Government came in, with Lord Ashbourne as Lord Chancellor, and all the evidence was referred to him, as well as the statement of Father Curry. Now, the Government of that day had had nothing to do with the prosecution of these men, and they had no conduct of their own to justify in reference to it. There was no reason, therefore, why they should not bring to the consideration of the case a most unbiased and impartial mind, or why they should not deal with all the facts as readily and as impartially as an English Judge dealing with an ordinary case which might come before him in the ordinary course of his duties. The matter was carefully considered by the Earl of Carnarvon and Lord Chancellor Ashbourne, and the result was that they also decided that the law should take its course. Again, when the Earl of Aberdeen became Lord Lieutenant the cases were again considered by him.

MR. TUIE (Westmeath, N.): Was that the case of the whole of the prisoners?

MR. HOLMES: I know that it was on behalf of one of them at all events; but I should not like to state that it was for all. It will, therefore, be seen that successive Lords Lieutenant of Ireland, taking the advice of successive Lord Chancellors, have in every case arrived at the same conclusion—namely, that the punishment inflicted by the Judge upon these prisoners was a punishment which ought not to be interfered with. I would say, even now, that if a Memorial were addressed to the Lord Lieutenant, setting forth any new facts, the matter would not again receive the consideration which it is entitled to receive; but the only mode of inquiry provided by the Constitution in cases of this kind is an inquiry which has already taken place on more than one occasion.

MR. TUIE: The right hon. and learned Gentleman will recollect what was the result of the further investigation which took place in the case of Brian Kilmartin.

MR. HOLMES: There is no power to hold sworn inquiries such as have been suggested. That, indeed, would be a new trial, such as is unknown to the English law and Constitution. So much in regard to the Barbavilla case. As to the Cross-

malina case, I happen to know something about that also. A conviction was obtained in the spring of the year 1884; but there had been a disagreement among the jury in the previous December. It is a remarkable circumstance that from the spring of 1884 down to the month of September, 1885, no representations were made, as far as I am aware of, to the Lord Lieutenant, or any other authority, on behalf of the prisoners. What occurred was that in the autumn of the year 1885 some members of the Boards of Guardians in the county of Mayo passed resolutions calling on the Lord Lieutenant to consider whether the sentence should not be remitted, and giving as a reason that crime was disappearing to a great extent, and that it was a desirable thing for the peace of the country that these men, who had occupied a good position, should return to society. No fresh facts were brought forward, and no arguments beyond those which had been addressed to the jury upon the trial. The matter was carefully considered, and the answer was only what might have been expected under the circumstances, that the law must take its course. No doubt, if there are any new facts which can be brought before the Lord Lieutenant in the ordinary way, and in the only way in which they can be brought forward, they will receive the attention they are entitled to. Hon. Members opposite seem to think that no trial can be conducted anywhere without a conspiracy on the part of someone to pervert the course of justice. Now, hon. Members generally in this House must know that the late Lord Lieutenant, who was himself responsible for these prosecutions, and the present Lord Lieutenant are high-minded English Gentlemen. They have done that which they were bound to do. They have considered fully the facts which have been put before them, and I have stated what the results of that consideration is. Of course, it must be, to a certain extent, obvious to hon. Members that a very strong case indeed must be made out before the decision already arrived at could be reversed. Reference has been made to a third case—that of the brothers Delahunty. That case shows the inconvenience of a discussion of this nature. Now, I know nothing of the case of the Delahunty's. I had nothing to do with

their prosecution, and the accidental circumstances which made me acquainted with the other cases did not occur in this. Therefore, I cannot say one word either one way or the other about it; but, as I have pointed out, a mode exists by which the opinion of the Constitutional authorities can be taken, and that is by the presentation of a Memorial. If a Memorial is presented it will receive full and careful consideration. It is clear that, as far as this House is concerned, the discussion which has been going on can lead to no profitable result. I have spoken as fully on the subject as I can. I have no wish to prejudge any proceeding which may take place. I have simply given an historical account of what has been done in the past; and I firmly believe that both in regard to the present Administration and the last their only desire was to carry out the law in Ireland firmly, but at the same time with justice, paying due regard to everything that characterizes the administration of the law in England.

MR. TUITE: The Attorney General for Ireland has stated that it is wrong to bring these cases before the House of Commons; but how, then, are the Irish people to ventilate their grievances? It is suggested that two Lords Lieutenant of Ireland have inquired into this case; but what was the nature of those inquiries? They brought forward men who have got large rewards, men who, having been third-class Inspectors, had been made first-class Sub-Inspectors, men who have received large pecuniary rewards; and I ask whether these are the sort of persons in whom the Lord Lieutenant ought to have unbounded confidence in inquiries of this kind? Certainly not. These are men who are themselves guilty of perjury and corruption in obtaining verdicts, and ought not to be brought into such an inquiry. If there is to be any investigation of the case of these unfortunate men it must be an impartial one. The right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland has told us there is no precedent for inquiry. But I say that the case of Brian Kilmartin is a precedent, and in that case an independent person was sent down to inquire into the facts which he reported upon, and in consequence of that the man was released. I know both the locality in which the murder was committed and the people,

and I say that a more exemplary class of men does not exist on God's earth. In order to mark the sense of our dissatisfaction I shall move the reduction of this Vote by the sum of £10,000.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £7,866, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1887, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Offices of the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in Dublin and London, and Subordinate Departments."—*(Mr. Tuite.)*

MR. SHIRLEY (Yorkshire, W.R., Doncaster): I must say I think the Attorney General for Ireland has not given an answer as satisfactory and conclusive as it might have been to hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway. The right hon. and learned Gentleman talks about the Constitution, and suggests that the Irish Members should pursue their Constitutional remedy. But have they got a Constitutional remedy? The very point on which they rely is that the Constitution is defective, and that, unless they bring their grievance before this Committee, they have no chance of obtaining redress. Now, Sir, I am quite alive to the inconvenience of constituting this Committee a Court of Criminal Appeal, with authority to review and reverse decisions arrived at in the ordinary Courts of Law. But justice is more important than convenience, and the Irish Members have no other course open to them. The Attorney General for Ireland seems to consider that the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland is a kind of Court of Criminal Appeal. But he is nothing of the sort—not any more than the Sovereign is a Court of Criminal Appeal in England. The truth is that we have not got a Court of Criminal Appeal either in England or in Ireland at the present time; and the Constitution is, in my opinion, defective so far. I hope that the Conservative Government now in Office will take an early opportunity of improving the Constitution in this respect. Some years ago an attempt was made by a Liberal Government to establish a Court of Criminal Appeal, not only for the purpose of reviewing verdicts, but also of revising sentences, and the proposal had the support of the most eminent criminal lawyer we have in this country, Mr. Justice Stephen. Innocence will not be secure till such a Court is established;

Mr. Holmes

and, in the meantime, I do not think it is matter for wonder or complaint if Members who believe that some verdict was given contrary to the justice and the facts of the case should bring it up before this Committee, and insist that a re-investigation of all the circumstances should take place. If there were a Court of Criminal Appeal it would be different, because then the case would be most properly argued and discussed before such a Court, and persons who brought it up before this Committee would be guilty of Obstruction, and of disloyalty to the recognized institutions of the country. But in the present state of the law, and under the present defective condition of the Constitution, there is not any adequate security that justice will be done; and I think it is quite right that important public cases, in which many persons are interested, should be discussed in Parliament.

SIR JOSEPH M'KENNA (Monaghan, S.): I think the Attorney General for Ireland has made too much of the point that the House is not constituted for the revision of penal sentences. Now, all on this side of the House are desirous that there should be a fair trial in each case, and they ask for an investigation in order to bring about that result. That is what we have done before, and I desire to call the attention of the Committee to a case in point. The case of Brian Kilmartin has been referred to in the course of this discussion; but right hon. Gentlemen on the Front Benches may, perhaps, forget what that case was. On three distinct occasions Kilmartin was found guilty of firing on a man in the West of Ireland; the case was brought before the Lord Lieutenant for the time being, and it was two or three times also before this House as the subject of discussion. The case brought forward was this—that evidence had come from the man who had really committed the offence in the form of a confession on his death-bed that it was his hand that committed the crime, and that Kilmartin, who was suffering penal servitude at the time, was not guilty. Well, we know that the Government of the day, when the case was brought forward, said that Kilmartin had been tried by a jury before an eminent Judge; that the case had had the most careful consideration, and that the prisoner, who had been defended by able counsel,

had been found guilty. The case was brought forward again before the Government with a view to the exercise of the prerogative of mercy on the part of the Crown in favour of this man, and we were again met with a rehearsal of what had been done in order to show that what had been done was right, and that there was no hope for Kilmartin. I am not in the habit of frequently addressing this House in connection with persons incriminated, whether rightly or wrongly. For my part, I am of opinion that the Judges, although they may possibly go a little beyond their duty in times of excitement, are not likely to have a passion for finding persons guilty. But notwithstanding that one right hon. Gentleman had so strongly sustained the conviction of Kilmartin, and notwithstanding that I had the highest opinion of the legal acumen and personal justice of the learned Judge who tried the case, it was my opinion that they had not brought to the consideration of the case a perfectly unbiased mind; and I stated at the time that, so far as I was able to judge, the man suffering the horrors of penal servitude was as innocent of the crime for which he was suffering as the right hon. Gentleman then sitting where the Chancellor of the Exchequer now sits, or the Judge who tried the case. Sir Robert Peel was present on the occasion—

THE CHAIRMAN: I must point out to the hon. Gentleman that he is entering too much into detail.

SIR JOSEPH M'KENNA: I shall bring my remarks quickly to a close. I say that two right hon. Gentlemen—one a late Chief Secretary for Ireland, and one whom I am proud to see Leader of the House, had the courage of their opinions. They were not carried away by prejudice; they spoke on the question, and got a promise from the Ministry of the day that the case of Brian Kilmartin should be inquired into. The Lord Lieutenant then sent down a Queen's Counsel to investigate it. The inquiry did not last long; the facts were gone over, and they were quite sufficient to obtain in a few weeks the liberation of Kilmartin. I do not know that such a decision would be come to in the Barbavilla case; but I do say that it is eminently a case into which inquiry ought to be ordered and carried out in the

same spirit which ruled in the case of Brian Kilmartin.

MR. DEASY (Mayo, W.): I cannot congratulate the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland on the speech we have just heard from him, because it is but a repetition of speeches that have been made in this House for the last four or five years. I had some hope before the right hon. and learned Gentleman rose that, as a distinguished Member of an Administration at the head of which we have the noble Lord who was instrumental in bringing about a revision of the case of Brian Kilmartin, we should receive from him an assurance of a more satisfactory character than we have received. What has the right hon. and learned Gentleman stated? He has said that the Lord Lieutenant is prepared to receive any Memorial or representation which might be made on behalf of the men now suffering for these crimes committed in Ireland. In the first place, we know what has been the end of applications of this sort addressed to the Lord Lieutenant during the last few years. They get into the hands of interested individuals and come to nothing. When we last applied to the Lord Lieutenant, Mr. George Bolton was the gentleman who took the matter in hand. This House is aware of the character of Mr. Bolton. He is a convicted swindler; he is a man against whom the most serious charges have been made and proved. Yet this is the individual who is retained in the employ of the Crown, and this is the man to whom our Memorials and representations are sent before the Lord Lieutenant will give any answer about them. The idea of sending our case to that man is simply an outrage on the feelings of hon. Members on these Benches and of the people of Ireland. I cannot conceive anything more absurd than for the right hon. and learned Gentleman to stand up and seriously ask us to get George Bolton to review this case a second time. Why, he would be unworthy of his position as Crown Prosecutor if he allowed the Petitions to have any effect.

MR. HOLMES: Memorials of this kind never, under any circumstances, go to the Crown Prosecutor. I can assure the Committee that none of these Memorials were ever sent to Mr. Bolton.

Sir Joseph M'Kenna

MR. DEASY: I can only say that this information comes upon me by surprise. It is not the first time this statement has been made, although it is the first time it has been contradicted. But it is acknowledged that Mr. Bolton has been consulted by Earl Spencer in several similar cases; whether he saw the Memorial in this or not I do not know; but he has been consulted. That cannot be contradicted by the right hon. and learned Gentleman. Perhaps Gentlemen who know very little about the state of affairs in Ireland and of the kind of men who administer the Criminal Law in that country may be disposed to say that Memorials should be sent to Dublin Castle, and be reviewed there. We are perfectly aware that it would be impossible to get the Irish Government, whoever it might be who ruled at Dublin Castle, whether Tory or Radical, to hold a satisfactory investigation of any of these cases which we now desire to be gone through in an impartial manner, unless they brought in men of independent character, who have no political bias, and who, for that reason, might be trusted to give an independent opinion on them. But, as matters stand at present, we have no hope from the arrangement which the right hon. and learned Gentleman proposes in this matter. I suppose that Mr. O'Brien, Crown Prosecutor in most of the recent cases, would be the person to whom the Memorial would be sent. It might or might not be so; but a man quite as bad as Mr. O'Brien would be appointed. The right hon. and learned Gentleman objects to our bringing this case forward in the House of Commons; but the House of Commons is the only place in which we can ventilate our views with any hope of success. The hon. Member above the Gangway (Mr. Shirley) has fairly said that if we had a Court of Criminal Appeal it would not be necessary to bring forward such cases here; but until that Court is established this is the only tribunal we have before which we can state the case of these prisoners, and from which we can expect anything like a fair and impartial verdict. I do not think we shall succeed in getting this investigation after the speech of the right hon. and learned Gentleman; but, at any rate, we shall have succeeded in exposing the infamous manner in which convictions are

obtained in Ireland, and the fact that there are now lying in prison a number of men absolutely innocent of the crimes imputed to them. The right hon. and learned Gentleman has told us that these men have been convicted by the ordinary law. What was the Crimes Act? It was an Act passed to meet a certain state of things in Ireland, which the Government have acknowledged in the past month no longer exists; it was an innovation upon the ordinary law of the country; it was an innovation of the Constitution; it was a piece of legislation unheard of in the history of any country in the world. The argument of the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland is certainly beyond my comprehension; and I think if the right hon. and learned Gentleman would give a little more attention to the study of Constitutional law he would be more careful in making these statements with regard to the methods by which prisoners were convicted in Ireland. I have in my own possession, as Member for Mayo, the case which an hon. Member has brought forward to-night. We have been told that six men charged with conspiracy to murder were sentenced to various periods of penal servitude, of from four years to 10 years' duration. Now, the hon. Member for South Tyrone (Mr. T. W. Russell) has repudiated the idea of jury packing in Ireland. I have nothing to say at the present moment on the question of criminal trials in Dublin to which he has referred; but I do know something of one which took place in my own city during the time that the Crimes Act was in operation. I was in a position of advantage in this respect, because at the time those convictions were obtained I was Member for the City of Cork, and in that capacity I was obliged carefully to examine and scan the jury panel drawn up by those who were connected with the administration of the law. I remember on one occasion I took the opportunity of drawing attention to the manner in which juries were packed in the City of Cork, owing to the action of the Crown Prosecutor, and particularly to that of Mr. O'Brien. What was the case in the particular instance I am now referring to? I found that out of a panel of 160 or 170 men who answered to their names, when a special jury was

called 36 jurors were told to stand by on the part of the Crown. The prisoners had only the right to challenge six jurors when the jury was being empannelled. It was objected to one who had been summoned to serve on the jury that he had expressed his opinion beforehand on the particular case coming before the Court. No objection was taken by the prisoners' counsel until he had the book in his hand. Then they objected to his being sworn; and, strange to say, although the Crown had the right to direct any number of jurors to stand by, while the prisoner only had the right to challenge six, the Crown insisted on this man being sworn, and thereby deprived the prisoner of the right of challenge. That is only one instance within my knowledge. Now with regard to the change of venue. Mr. O'Brien explained why these men were brought down to the City of Cork from Mayo, a distance of 300 miles; he said it was because if the trials took place in the county in which the men lived an enormous number of witnesses would be brought forward in their defence. Well, I have never heard such a reason given by any man who claims to be a high-minded or impartial man. To say that these men should not have been tried in their own county, simply because a number of witnesses would be forthcoming to prove their innocence, is the most absurd and most criminal course that could have been taken. There were witnesses brought down to Cork; but these unfortunate men were in this position—that they could not go round among their friends to ascertain what witnesses they really ought to examine after the Crown case had been disclosed. The facts that I am stating are the preliminaries of what took place at the trial. In the first place, the prisoners were got down to Cork lest too many witnesses should be examined in their favour; and, in the second place, 36 jurors were ordered to stand by, the jury being ultimately composed of nine or 10 landlords and Orangemen, and a couple of Catholics very little better than the others. Nothing could be alleged against the character of those young men who were in the dock. Mr. Nally was a very prominent member of the Fenian Brotherhood, and a most respectable and well-conducted man. He farmed extensively, and was

possessed of 40 dairy cows. This shows that he had a large stake in the country, which would deter him from entering into such a conspiracy as that which he was charged with having belonged to. His connection with the Fenian movement would doubtless have been quite enough to have saved him from prosecution if the present Home Secretary had been Law Adviser to the Irish Government at the time, and I shall now call Mr. Matthews, Q.C., as a witness on Nally's behalf. I have said that Mr. Nally occupied a high position in the Irish Republican Brotherhood. I shall quote the opinions held by the Home Secretary of the sort of men who identified themselves with that Body. Those opinions go to prove that Mr. Nally's connection with the Fenian organization was a guarantee that he would be the very last man to be guilty of joining an infamous conspiracy of this kind. Speaking at Dungarvan on the 10th of September, 1868, he said—

"Now, my enemies have tried to point me out as a tool of the Tories. When I ask for your suffrages it is broadly and distinctly upon these grounds. I came here as an independent candidate, pledged to no Party, determined to support no Party that does not do justice to you, determined to oppose every Party that wronged your aspirations and disappointed your hopes."

Speaking of the Fenians then in prison, he, on November 8, 1868, gave them his friendly word of sympathy—

"In those troubled times that have lately come over unhappy Ireland there have been men (alluding to the Fenians) who have come into collision with the law. They have been visited with a punishment which is certainly severe. Every true-hearted Irishman feels of those men that if they had armed against the law, at least they had deserved well of their country. Every man felt that those unhappy victims did feel for their country's wrongs, and were willing, if necessary, to give up their liberty and their lives for her cause. Every true-hearted Irishman cannot forget the accomplished mind of Luby, the eloquent pen of O'Leary, and the gentle, the childlike, the poetic soul of Charles Kirkham. If my opponent, Sergeant Barry, in prosecuting these men, had only represented the cold terms of the law, if he had contented himself with doing simply his duty as Crown Prosecutor, I think that, though not commending him, we would not have condemned him. But he did not content himself with that. He spoke of those unhappy men—he alone among Irishmen—in language that was unjust and ungenerous; that was untrue; that was cruel."

THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member is now reading a document which

has nothing to do with the Vote before the Committee.

MR. DEASY: I was endeavouring to show, from a speech of the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Home Secretary, that Mr. Patrick Nally was a man of high character.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Committee has nothing to do with that point at all.

MR. DEASY: Then, Sir, I will not proceed with it; but I regret it, because the speech was really of a most interesting character, and it shows how easily the right hon. and learned Gentleman can change his mind to suit his purpose.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): The extract which the hon. Gentleman has read is tolerably accurate, and I stand justly punished.

MR. DEASY: I cannot enter into that, and I shall pass on. The only evidence against these men who were sent from Mayo to Cork was that of Coleman. He swore that he went to America in 1866, and had to return because a charge of murder was hanging over him in that country; and my hon. Friend (Mr. J. F. X. O'Brien) has stated what this man's moral character was; and, as a matter of fact, the Crown did not pretend that he was a man in whom reliance could be placed. The Judge led the jury clearly to understand that unless important corroboration of this man's testimony could be brought forward by the Crown they were bound to acquit the prisoners. When this man, Coleman, came from America he entered into service with a landlord named Cuffe, and I believe that his relations with the people with whom he was connected would not enhance his character. But I do not say anything beyond this—that I believe no more infamous man was ever selected by the Irish Government to compass the conviction of innocent persons; and I do not think you could get on the face of the earth a man so low and base as this person, who was used for the purpose of convicting the prisoners. I might mention that this man's evidence only went to show that certain of the prisoners met together at certain places, and that he was with them; and the only point in which there was any corroboration of his evidence at all was that in several instances this man and others were seen speaking

Mr. Deasy

together. But he swore distinctly that these men arranged to lie in wait behind hedges, at certain specified places in the county of Mayo, with a view to the perpetration of murder; that they made all the necessary plans several days previously; and that he informed the police of the intentions of the would-be assassins. Yet I may point out to the Committee that the police never sent anyone to ascertain whether his statement was false or true. How is it that the police did not send half-a-dozen of their force to seize these assassins and carry them to prison? Why, there was nothing more simple than to do this. The police were told that a certain number of intending murderers were in a certain field; but they made no attempt to arrest them, and nothing was done except that one of their number went upon an eminence on one occasion, and afterwards swore that he saw three men stretched by the side of a fence, but that he did not go near them and could not identify them. Then, with regard to another point, this man was the only one who swore to the handwriting in the letters produced. He recklessly swore to the writing of one of the prisoners, but in cross-examination he denied having seen the men write; and consequently the evidence on this point was absolutely worthless. The only corroborative evidence was that of a little boy 10 years of age. This boy was arrested and put into a room with Coleman, and the result was that everything that was desired by Coleman to be sworn to was sworn to. But when he came to Cork, in some way or other he seemed to have considered what he had done and the magnitude of the crime he had committed in giving evidence against these men, which he knew to be false. And although he was placed in charge of a police constable who admitted that he had actually tampered with this little boy with the idea of making him adhere to the story he had previously told, the boy swore in the witness-box before the Judge that there was not any truth whatever in his previous statement. The Crown Prosecutor endeavoured to compel the Judge to give a definition of the law with regard to informers—

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL) (Paddington, S.): I rise to Order. I ask for your ruling as to whether it is

in accordance with the practice of the House that on these Votes it should be competent for hon. Members to review at length and in detail any judicial proceedings which may at any time have occurred in the course of a Government trial, particularly a trial in which the present Government have no knowledge of their own, which in no way concerns the present Government, and about which the present Government can in no way be held responsible? I want to know whether it can be in any degree possible to make progress with Supply if these proceedings, which occurred so long ago, are to be gone into in such immense detail by hon. Members? I put this question in no controversial spirit, but in the interests of the House of Commons and the country.

Mr. DILLON (Mayo, E.): Mr. Courtney, before you give your decision I wish to point out that you informed us it would be competent for us to raise these very points. I also wish to say that the noble Lord has not correctly stated what our position is—namely, that we feel it our duty to call attention to these cases.

THE CHAIRMAN: It is not part of the duty of the Chairman to point out or examine into the inconvenience which may result from discussions of this kind. But it is certainly not competent to any Member to introduce an examination of judicial proceedings or processes of law which may have happened at any time or at any place. But where prisoners are in confinement in respect of whose trial there is an alleged miscarriage of justice, it is, I think, competent for hon. Members to present to the Government for the time being the reasons why they consider that the prerogative of mercy should be exercised.

Mr. DEASY: I was proceeding to say that the Crown Prosecutor endeavoured to induce the Judge to bully the jury into receiving the uncorroborated evidence of an informer which they ought not to take into consideration. Now, the reason why this person endeavoured to bully the Judge into giving a decision in favour of the Crown was that Coleman alleged he was a member of the Fenian Organization, and that before his arrest he was in communication with the police relative to the working of that Society. It was contended for the prosecution that this fact made him a witness whose testimony did not in law

need corroboration. He swore that in December, 1880, he joined the Organization; but he never said a word about the conspiracy until he found that there was money going about, and thought that he could get some of it from the Government. It was then that he came forward and offered himself to the police; but the police paid no attention to his statements, as I have already shown. Having regard to all the circumstances, I say it is preposterous to suppose that any man in his senses would place the least reliance upon the evidence of Coleman. But an unseemly scene took place between the Judge and the counsel, who tried to force the Judge to recall the jury from their room when they were considering their verdict, in order that he might direct them to consider the evidence of Coleman as untainted and reliable. But the Judge refused to be dictated to by these gentlemen, and the result was that the jury disagreed. The prisoners were re-tried. The second trial took place on the 25th of March, 1884, and on that occasion the Crown were more fortunate in having as presiding Judge Mr. Justice Lawson, who is well known for partiality; and I certainly say that in any case of a political nature over which he presides very little fair play is to be expected.

THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member is out of Order in imputing partiality to a Judge.

MR. DEASY: I withdraw the expression, and shall proceed only with a summary of the case. If hon. Members are anxious to know the true character of this Judge I have no doubt it will be found in *Hansard*. The same thing occurred at the second trial as at the first. There was, practically speaking, no evidence; but this time Mr. O'Brien took care that there should not be a single jurymen sworn to try the case who had been concerned in the first trial. There were 10 Orangemen empannelled and two Catholics who were in the habit of attending Orange Lodges and were prominent members of the "I.L.P.U." The jury, then, consisted of 12 men who, by reason of their associations, were incapable of taking an impartial view of the case. In the frame of mind in which they were at the time, it is difficult to understand that they could consider the evidence on the part of the prisoners, or that they could show any doubt of

the testimony which might be put forward on the part of the Crown. Accordingly, a verdict of "guilty" was brought in, and the prisoners were sentenced to penal servitude for terms varying from five to 10 years. I would ask, in conclusion, that this case which has not been before the House before, except, perhaps, in the shape of a Question, should receive attention at the hands of the Government and the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland. Why should the Government not give us an independent man to look into this matter, as was done by a former Government in the case of Kilmartin? If we had an opportunity of stating the case of these prisoners before any impartial men or body of men I have no doubt in my mind as to what the result would be. I can only say that such proceedings as I have referred to have done more than anything else to shake the confidence of the people of Ireland in the administration of the law there. I do not know any man acquainted with the way in which the law is carried out in that unfortunate country during the last five years who would place any reliance in the impartiality of the Crown officials. The people are convinced, rightly or wrongly I do not say, that the very sources of justice in Ireland are polluted—they are convinced that nothing like justice can be had; and I say that if the Government will grant an investigation of these charges they would do very much to restore public confidence in the administration of justice; but so long as things remain as they are, so long will mistrust and dissatisfaction exist. We have taken the only opportunity open to us of reviewing these cases, and I hope that before the debate closes we shall receive a more explicit and satisfactory statement from the Attorney General for Ireland and, failing him, from the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who is well acquainted with the position of Irish Members in these cases. I hope the noble Lord will do for us, now that he is in power, that which he did when the Government of 1884 was in Office. We are anxiously awaiting his statement to learn that the case of the men now suffering, as we believe unjustly, will be taken into consideration.

MR. HARRIS (Galway, E.): As the name of Mr. George Bolton has been

mentioned by my hon. Friend in the course of his remarks, I wish to say that it came to my knowledge that Mr. Bolton went in to a prisoner who was confined in the gaol at Ballinasloe under a very serious charge. He represented himself to be an attorney of that place, and endeavoured to get information from him.

THE CHAIRMAN: I do not see how that is connected with the present Vote.

MR. HARRIS: I was under the impression that the action of officials of the Government in Ireland was under the consideration of the Committee, and that I was within my right to mention the circumstance in connection with this Vote.

THE CHAIRMAN: I have decided that the discussion cannot extend to these circumstances.

MR. HARRIS: Then, Sir, may I go on to discuss the action of the Government officials in Ahascragh and Loughrea, where for several weeks within my knowledge investigations were held with the object of getting evidence?

THE CHAIRMAN: I presume that the hon. Member refers to investigations under the Protection of Person and Property Act?

MR. HARRIS: Yes, Sir.

THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member would not be in Order, the Act being no longer in use.

MR. HARRIS: Then I say that the Government should institute an inquiry into the way in which the Crimes Act was administered. The Act was passed in exceptional circumstances, and I am of opinion that the convictions obtained under it should be the subject of revision now that the normal condition of affairs is established; and further I say that the proceedings of the Crown officials in connection with it should also be revised.

THE CHAIRMAN: There is no question now before the Committee as to revising what was done under the Act.

MR. HARRIS: One of the most important cases that occurred at the time was the case of Walsh of Connemara—["Order!"]—I think I should be allowed to discuss a conviction which resulted, as I believe, in an innocent man being hanged.

THE CHAIRMAN: I have explained very clearly the conditions on which the debate must be continued. The hon.

Member must confine himself within those limits, or I must ask him to resume his seat.

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.): The idea of the noble Lord is that the Government has nothing to do with the trials which took place under previous Irish Governments. It is a most extraordinary theory to hold. If our information is correct, you have a great number of innocent men convicted and sentenced to penal servitude, and yet the present Government cannot see that they are responsible. That position, I maintain, is a most extraordinary one. But what is the position which we take up with reference to these cases? The same general principle applies to all; but the case in which I am particularly interested is that which occurred in County Mayo. We have a great deal of evidence which we are prepared and are anxious to lay before an impartial tribunal, and which we believe will satisfy such a tribunal that these men have been wrongfully convicted, and that they have not had a fair trial. I want to direct the attention of the Committee to what occurred in the Barbavilla case. A debate took place in this House on the 17th July, 1885, on the Motion of the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell), on that case. In that debate the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, said that it was undoubtedly the duty of the Lord Lieutenant to reconsider any case of this kind brought under his notice, and to make a most careful and searching inquiry, and that the Earl of Carnarvon would be the last man in the world to refuse to make inquiry into it. The right hon. Gentleman knows that I am stating what he said. Now, mark what follows. Had there been on that a promise of the then Leader of the House of an investigation into the case of the Barbavilla prisoners, by a reasonably impartial man, you would not have heard again one word about this case. I leave it to the sense of fair play of English Members to judge if there was any investigation which can be for a moment considered as calculated to satisfy the feelings of the people of Ireland and prevent further debate on this case. What did a reverend gentleman, the priest of the parish, do? He addressed a Memorial to the Earl of Carnarvon, and pointed out that it was

time to have an investigation of the case. He said he had collected ample evidence to show, first, that the man was not guilty of the murder; secondly, that the evidence of the police was perjured—that the whole charge was concocted between the police and perjured witnesses. What happened? For three months there was absolutely no reply to the Memorial. After that the following reply was received:—

"I am directed by the Lord Lieutenant to inform you that His Excellency has given his best attention to the Memorial on behalf of the prisoners, and he feels compelled to come to the conclusion that there has been no miscarriage of justice, and that the law must take its course."

Now, note what happened. The men interested on behalf of the prisoners did not know that an investigation was going on. The investigation was made with closed doors. We do not now know who conducted it; but we have reason to believe that the very officials whose conduct we impugn did so. There was no publicity about the transaction; and, as we think, the true facts were hidden from His Excellency. Is it reasonable to suppose that the people of Ireland are going to be satisfied with such an investigation as this? In the case of Brian Kilmartin, who was sentenced to 20 years' penal servitude, a similar demand was made. The House of Commons was in a reasonable temper, and an independent Dublin lawyer, who had no connection with the trial, was sent down to make an investigation on the spot. There was ample notice given of the investigation, and plenty of opportunity afforded to the people to produce their evidence in support of the innocence of the prisoner. The Commissioner reported to the Lord Lieutenant that Brian Kilmartin ought to be released. Why was not the same course pursued in the case of the Barbovilla prisoners and the Maamtrasna prisoners, and the other cases of which we complain? Until some such investigation is made—an investigation which will convince the people that you have given a fair opportunity to an honest review of the trials of these cases—it is idle to expect that this question will not be a thorn in the side of the House of Commons. I have pointed out to the Committee that this investigation was conducted with closed doors; not only so, but apparently precaution was taken, though I do not accuse the Earl of Car-

narvon of doing it deliberately, that the men interested in the fate of the prisoners should not lay before the Committee of Investigation the evidence they had to justify their position in the case. That is not all. There is a belief in Ireland that this investigation was conducted largely through the men whose conduct was impugned, and who were the men responsible for the trial. I hope I shall not transgress the limits of Order in this Committee when I speak of the gang who organized the trials in Ireland under the Crimes Act. Bolton, French, and Peter O'Brien conspired together and were largely instrumental in punishing hundreds of innocent men. I am sure it is hardly necessary to recall to the notice of hon. Gentlemen the fact that one of these men has been since sentenced for a most abominable crime, and that another of the gang of three has been denounced by a Judge in England as a disgraceful criminal, although he has not been caught by the law—he escaped simply because he was clever; but his conduct was so disgraceful that many a man is serving 20 years for a less offence. The third man has not been convicted of any crime, but these three men worked together; and I say if these are undeniable facts—and I defy anyone to deny a single one of them—if it is an undeniable fact that the head of the Criminal Investigation Department in Ireland was proved to be one of the most infamous criminals we have had in Ireland for years, if Bolton was a man who would stop at no crime, and was utterly unscrupulous, and if Peter O'Brien has proved to be a man devoid of all human feeling, is it not reasonable, when men have been convicted of charges trumped up by a trio such as the one I have described, that the public of Ireland should demand an investigation into the trials before they can be satisfied that the men who were convicted are being justly punished. There is another strong argument why an investigation should be granted. These trials were conducted under a system which we persistently protested against. We warned the House of Commons, when it was engaged, three or four years ago, in passing the Crimes Act, that the result of that Act would be to send to penal servitude numbers of innocent men in Ireland. It was an Act, one chief provision of which was to enable unscrupulous officials in Ireland to pack

juries in the most monstrous way; and the power of packing juries was used to its utmost limits. I maintain that since the very officials who were responsible for the administration of the Act have confessed that it has broken down and utterly failed to achieve the objects which were in view by its framers—since Earl Spencer himself has confessed that it proved a failure in his hands, we are entitled to demand that the cases where men's liberties were taken away under this system of unscrupulous jury-packing, and in time of public fury and public panic, shall be inquired into; at all events that those cases shall be inquired into in which we are prepared to lay before the Committee of Investigation strong evidence to show that justice and fair play have not been meted out to the prisoners. Now, you have heard the case of the Mayo prisoners very fully stated, and I do not propose to go over the details again. All I will say is that I was personally acquainted with one of the prisoners—Patrick Nally. I cannot say of my own knowledge he was not guilty of the crime imputed to him; but my interest in the case is largely stimulated by the fact that I knew Patrick Nally, and that I cannot conceive him to be guilty of the offence with which he was charged. I knew he was a strong Nationalist. I knew that at one time he was a Fenian, and prepared to resist the British Government with arms if possible; but I could not imagine him engaged in a conspiracy to murder anyone; it is utterly opposed to anything I have ever heard him express in conversation. These prisoners were mostly poor men—Patrick Nally was a man of some means; but most of the prisoners were poor men—and I do say that greater cruelty and injustice was not committed than was involved in the way these men were tried. They were not taken to Dublin, where they might have had some friends, but they were taken to the City of Cork, which is, I may say, the ultimate extremity of Ireland from Mayo—there is only one other place like it, and that is Belfast. They were tried twice before juries carefully packed, and as you have already heard during the first trial the Crown Prosecutor, Mr. Peter O'Brien, did not hesitate to insult Judge Johnson on the Bench. Why? Because Judge Johnson, who was never

a great friend of ours—we often exchanged hot words across the floor of this House—acted the part of an honest man on that occasion, and tried to hold the scales of justice evenly. Although the jury was deliberately packed by Mr. Peter O'Brien, under a section of the Crimes Act, it could not agree to convict the prisoners; and when Judge Johnson refused to carry out in his Charges the instructions of the Crown Prosecutor he was insulted by Mr. Peter O'Brien, and was obliged to use pretty strong language in order to put down that official. I think that, if the Government had wished to behave decently, they would, after the first trial, have let the men go. They certainly took the men at the very utmost disadvantage. They took them away from their own county town to the City of Cork, which has an evil reputation for convicting persons on insufficient evidence; and they packed the jury which was to try them. There was a failure to convict the men; but they were brought up to be tried by a second packed jury. On the occasion of the second trial there was a Judge on the Bench whose conduct you, Mr. Courtney, have ruled it out of Order to characterize. All I can say is, that this Judge found himself more in sympathy with Mr. Peter O'Brien than Mr. Judge Johnson did, and the consequence was that these men were convicted on what we consider totally insufficient evidence. Any impartial Englishman who will read the story told by the informer will come to the conclusion it was not sufficient to hang a dog on. These men got heavy sentences on this evidence; and all we ask is—and I do not think it is an unreasonable request—that you should send over a man who is above suspicion—we shall be perfectly content if you send over one of the English Law Officers—to investigate the various cases, after giving us due notice in order that we may bring together the whole of our evidence. If you do this we will abide by the decision. But we never will allow this matter to rest as long as these men are kept in prison, and as long as you meet our demand by investigations held by we do not know who, held in the Castle at Dublin, of which we have received no notice, and before which we have had no opportunity of putting forward the case of the

prisoners. I have said that the juries were packed. Hon. Members who were in the House at the time will remember that when the jury-packing clauses of the Crimes Act were brought before the House, Member after Member of the Irish Nationalist Party stood up and said they infinitely preferred to leave prisoners in the hands of three Judges, a plan which was originally proposed; we thought that a prisoner would have a far better chance. I pointed out that it was almost impossible for a prisoner to escape, no matter how innocent he might be; because, in the administration of the Crimes Act, the evil system which has prevailed so long in Ireland of offering large rewards for evidence against all kinds of political offenders would be pushed to a greater extreme than before. Why, Sir, if you go down to a country where the people are very poor, and if you are not particular about the character of the men whose evidence you accept; if you go down to the West of Ireland and dangle before the population a £500 reward, you know you can get whatever you want. Where is there in the world a community of men from which you will not get a man to do anything for £500? If you do not require any character, if you are prepared to take the first blackguard who presents himself, you can in any country get a man to swear anything you wish for £500. You have gone to the poorest parts of Ireland; you have taken the lowest dregs of the population, and given them what to them is boundless wealth. That is what we charge you with doing. These things, small as they may appear to some people, are really of the very utmost importance. There are between 30 and 40 men at present lying in penal servitude—they are known as the Mayo, the Barbavilla, the Crossmaglen, and the Maamtrasna prisoners—and we are convinced that many of these men are innocent. We do not say they are all innocent; we never did; but we say a great proportion are innocent, and we think it would be scandalous on our part if we let this question rest, if we did not avail ourselves of every opportunity that offers to place the case of these men before the country. The Government say they will not give us an investigation—that is, an investigation which will satisfy us. I venture to say

they cannot maintain that position for a long time. This kind of thing has been very often tried before, and in the result has led to great dissatisfaction, great waste of time in this House, and to unfortunate men suffering for crimes which they have never committed. Of one thing the Committee may rest perfectly assured. If the Government refuse what we consider our reasonable request, they will hear of this matter over and over again. Over and over again this Committee and the House will be tormented by long-winded discussions upon this subject. It is only reasonable that it should be so. If any Englishman believed, as we are absolutely convinced, that constituents of his own were suffering the horrors of penal servitude for crimes of which they were absolutely ignorant, he would be recreant to his duty if he did not rise in his place time after time to torment, if necessary, the Committee into a consideration of their claims. I really do not see what ground the Government can have for refusing us this demand. They cannot say that it is because they do not choose to throw discredit on the administration of Earl Spencer, because it was only last year that the noble Lord (Lord Randolph Churchill), then Secretary of State for India, and now the Leader of the House, declared, in reply to a speech of the noble Marquess the Member for Rossendale (the Marquess of Hartington), that the Government did not consider they had a shred of responsibility for the action of Earl Spencer, or the administration of Ireland under the Crimes Act. Over and over again the present Chancellor of the Exchequer has declared that he considered the Crimes Act a measure thoroughly unsuited to deal with the difficulties of Ireland; and I recollect a very recent occasion when he said that so unsuited had it turned out, that he would as soon think of flying as of re-enacting it. The far wiser policy of the Government would be to meet our demand in a reasonable spirit. We do not want a partizan inquiry; we want an inquiry by a man in whom we have the most perfect confidence, a man who will give us an opportunity of stating our case before him; and I will give the pledge to the Government that if a fair inquiry is held we will abide by the decision, even if it goes against our clients, and never

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trouble the House again upon the subject.

MR. P. McDONALD (Sigs. N.): The right hon. Baronet the Chief Secretary for Ireland has merely repeated to-night the statement he made on the 17th of July, 1885, when, in the course of the debate which was raised by the Leader of the Irish Party (Mr. Parnell), he said that if a Memorial were sent to the Lord Lieutenant in that or any other similar case it would receive due and proper consideration. Well, Sir, within a week of that statement being made in the House of Commons, the administrator of Collinstown, the Rev. John Curry, sent a Memorial to the Lord Lieutenant. The rev. gentleman founded the Memorial upon the three grounds which have been alluded to by the hon. Gentleman the Member for East Mayo (Mr. Dillon)—firstly, that the evidence against the prisoners is a mass of perjury on the part of all the witnesses who swore directly against them; secondly, that the evidence of some of the police, which was believed by the juries, and was, in fact, the cause of the verdict, is also perjury; and, thirdly, that between all the perjurers the entire charge was concocted. Now, notwithstanding the strong statements which the rev. gentleman is prepared to substantiate, notwithstanding all the facts before the Lord Lieutenant, the Memorial had no effect in restoring the prisoners to that liberty which they ought to have if justice were done them. I maintain that at the trial sufficient evidence was brought forward to prove the innocence of these men. One portion of that evidence was incontrovertible—that is the account book which has been already alluded to. The chief informer, or principal witness, had sworn that he was working in the immediate neighbourhood, and that he was present at a meeting where the so-called conspiracy was concocted. Well, Sir, the account book which was produced at the trial, and which was not accorded the weight it deserved, showed that this informer M'Keon was working, not in the immediate neighbourhood on the day in question, but five miles away—namely, in Castlepollard. The prisoner's counsel urged very strongly that a conspiracy had been entered into by the two M'Keons, father and son, and that the result of that conspiracy was that the

one gave evidence which corroborated that of the other, and brought about a conviction. The counsel for the prisoners having dwelt upon this point, the Judge who tried the case, Judge Lawson, said—

“It is insinuated that the M'Keons had interviews while in the hands of the police in insinuate that the very sources of justice are polluted.”

and he accounted the insinuation as an impossibility. Well, Sir, one of the jurors wrote to the Rev. John Curry as follows:—

“I have no hesitation in stating that I would have acquitted the prisoners if it had been proved on their behalf that the M'Keons had an opportunity of communicating with one another while in the hands of the police.”

The police swore that the M'Keons had no opportunity whatever of communicating one with the other, and I believe there was other evidence given to a like effect. But what was the fact? They did communicate, and communicated in such a way as resulted in a verdict of guilty being brought about. One of the police, Sergeant Fitzgerald, who worked up the case, becoming, I suppose, penitent for his complicity in the miscarriage of justice, has since the trial made this statement—

“On a morning immediately after young M'Keon was brought from Clonmel to witness's depot, business brought me at an early hour from another part of the city towards the depot. I came up to old M'Keon and H. C. Lynch, who were standing about 10 or 15 yards from the depot. We spoke to each other, and the conversation turned on the Barbavilla case. Lynch said, Pat (meaning M'Keon then present) was trying to help him with it. He then said he had M'Keon's son there, but could get nothing out of him. Old M'Keon then said, 'When I have a talk with him it will be all right,' or 'Let me have a talk with him and it will be all right.' I asked Lynch if he meant to do so, when he clearly gave me to understand that he did. In fact, old M'Keon, said he, had come from Castlepollard expressly for the purpose with him (Lynch). In a very few minutes after this I saw both father and son together in a room in the upper part of the building.”

Well, Sir, in the face of such a declaration, made, I believe, in the form of an affidavit, I can hardly imagine that the Lord Lieutenant will refuse our request. But after the conviction had been obtained, and the prisoners had for some time been suffering the penalty of a crime which they did not commit, the wife of one of the informers, who was brought

to penance on the occasion of some religious ceremony, and in the fulfilment of her religious duties, came to the Administrator, the Rev. John Curry, and made a statement which he took down in writing. The statement was as follows:—

"I, Jane Cole, wife of Patrick Cole, of Kilpatrick, Co. Westmeath, seeking peace of conscience and pardon from Almighty God, of my own free will, make the following statement in the presence of the Rev. Hugh Behan, P.P., V.F., and the Rev. John Curry, Administrator, who, at my request, have consented to receive it.—

"I acknowledge that I encouraged my husband to offer evidence in the recent Barbavilla trials, and I did so knowing that the evidence he was to give, and did give, was concocted by him to satisfy the Crown and to save himself. I know that he knew the evidence he was giving in corroboration of M'Keon's evidence was untrue, and I know that he believed there was no meeting at the Widow Fagan's such as M'Keon deposed to, and in which my husband corroborated him."

Now, that was a statement made on a solemn occasion, and was the statement of Sergeant Fitzgerald. It may be asked—"Is this not the statement of a wife who was anxious to cover the transgressions of her husband and to shield him from the public obloquy?" That may be so; but the husband followed the example of the wife, for he came forward, and, perhaps in a still more solemn manner, made a declaration which proves the iniquity of the proceedings in these so-called criminal trials in Ireland. This man's statement is a long one; but I have no doubt the Committee will grant me their indulgence while I read it. It is—

"I, Patrick Cole, of Kilpatrick, Westmeath, seeking peace of conscience and pardon from Almighty God, do make, of my own free will, the following statement, in presence of the Very Rev. Hugh Behan, P.P., V.F., Enfield; the Very Rev. Joseph Higgins, D.D., P.P., Delvin, and the Rev. John Curry, Adm., Collinstown, who, at my request, have consented to receive it. I permit these clergymen to make what use they think prudent of this statement:—

"I was arrested on the 11th July, 1863, on a charge of conspiracy to murder. My trial was finally fixed for the June Commission, 1864. I gave information on the 4th of June, 1864. I was induced to do so by the belief that I would certainly be convicted, having known how the prisoners previously tried on the same charge had fared, and also through consideration for my family. My first statement was rejected, inasmuch as it contained no information regarding the alleged meeting at the Widow Fagan's. I was further told by Head Constable

Lynch that, 'unless I made a clean breast of it,' and told all about that meeting, my evidence would not be taken. I subsequently made the statement which I afterwards swore to on two trials. I now declare that that evidence was untrue, except as regards my connection with Fenianism many years ago. I swore to what was false when I said that I attended a meeting at the Widow Fagan's. I never knew of such a meeting. I don't believe such meeting was held. I had no personal knowledge of any meeting in or about Byrne's publichouse, though I swore I attended one there. I may have said what Mrs. O'Dwyer swore about me, though I positively contradicted her evidence. I solemnly declare I had no connection with the alleged conspiracy. I know not why my name should have been associated with it, unless it be that M'Keon, who gave information in the case, had an old spleen against me. I am the father of seven children, all young, who would become utterly destitute in the event of my conviction. It was principally in consideration for them that, in a moment of weakness, I took the steps of which I now heartily repent. I make this declaration to repair, as far as I can, the injury I inflicted on others."

Well, I think the Committee must admit that these declarations, solemnly made as they have been, prove conclusively the innocence of the prisoners. I am thoroughly convinced of their innocence; were I not so convinced I would not stand up in this House and make an appeal to the Government in their favour, to supplement the eloquent words my hon. Friend the Member for East Mayo (Mr. Dillon) used in the appeal to the Government to re-open the investigation by sending down some impartial lawyers; and I would ask that no more impartial lawyers than the hon. and learned Gentlemen who are at present the Legal Advisers of the Government in this House should be sent to conduct the inquiry. I believe that in their hands justice would be done. I regret to say that in the past justice has not been done. By means of the machinery which the Government have used on the occasion in question, and on many other occasions, wrong, and grievous wrong, has been done, and the machinery which is most ready to hand is, as we all know, that of so-called jury packing. It may, perhaps, not be out of place to mention that on one occasion, when I was acting as a special jurymen at one of the Commissions in Dublin, I happened to be in the box immediately over the head of official whose duty it was to draw out the cards on which were written the names of the jurymen. Instead of the cards being mixed up, as I

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knew the law required they should be, they were arranged in oblong groups within the box, and the official—I will not give his name, as he does not now happen to be in the land of the living—took up the cards one by one, and if he found the name suited him he read it out; if, on the other hand, the name on the card did not suit him, he dropped the card and took up another. This went on until he had got a jury after his own taste. Now, that is a miscarriage of justice, such as no law should permit. But after all, Mr. Courtney, it is not the law we complain of so much—it is the administration of the law. The law we sometimes have reason to complain of; but we have ten times as often to complain of its administration. Be the law ever so good, if it be placed in the hands of men who will maladminister it, unquestionably justice will not be done. It was my duty to be present at the last Commission in Dublin, when the names of the jurors were called out on the occasion of the trial of Cruikshank for participation in the riot at Dublin. To my astonishment, I noticed objection taken to every name on the panel that did not suit the purpose of the legal advisers of Cruikshank, and no objection was made on behalf of the Crown to any name on the panel. The representatives of the Crown remained perfectly silent, and the counsel for the defendant had full liberty to object to whomsoever he chose. Why it is the Crown so acted in this case, or why they have acted differently in others, I do not know. It was my duty to make out the panel, and I made it out as fairly as I possibly could. To my horror I found that, fairly as it was made out, it was within the power of the Crown, by their silence and inaction, to allow it to be so manipulated as to lead to what I very much fear has been a miscarriage of justice. These are the things we complain of. I hope that the right hon. and learned Gentlemen the Irish Law Officers, who I think are desirous of acting fairly and equitably between all parties, will take what has been said into consideration, and by all means advise His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant to re-open the inquiry into the Barbavilla case, so that the poor men, who I believe are unjustly suffering imprisonment, may be released.

MR. COX (Clare, E.): All the defence the Government have made up to the present to the arguments of hon. Members on these Benches was contained in the promise that if Memorials were submitted to the Lord Lieutenant they would receive careful consideration. Such a promise was made last year by the present Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, who was then the Leader of the House; and acting on that suggestion an hon. Friend of mind forwarded a Memorial to the Lord Lieutenant setting forth the case of the Delahuntys. In reply, the hon. Gentleman received a letter from Sir W. S. B. Kaye, in which that gentleman said His Excellency had fully considered the case of the Delahuntys, and had been unable to satisfy himself that there had been a miscarriage of justice; and it was added—

“The trial was fairly conducted before an able and experienced Judge, and there is no reason to think that the jury did not understand the evidence and facts submitted to them.”

What I submit to this Committee is that that statement was not altogether accurate. The jurors were not in a position, as stated in the letter of Sir W. S. B. Kaye, replying for the Lord Lieutenant, to judge or to understand the facts of the case. Of course, they could thoroughly understand all the evidence; but of one thing they were not in a position to judge. The principal witness made a deposition on his death bed. There was no particular reason why a man, knowing that it was his last deposition, should perjure himself. He swore that everything he had said against the Delahuntys in Court was false. The jury could not know that, because the deposition was made long after the trial. Another thing the jury did not know, because it only came to light afterwards, and that was, that there was deadly hatred and malice existing between all the witnesses for the Crown and the Delahuntys. Now, we cannot be satisfied with the somewhat stereotyped reply we have had from the Government in respect to the case of the Delahuntys and other prisoners. We insist on a full inquiry. I, as the Representative of a constituency in which most men—the clergyman, all the respectable people, even the magistrates—feel very strongly that the Delahuntys are innocent of the charge laid at their

door, would not be doing my duty if I did not raise my voice on behalf of these men. We will not be satisfied with any hole-and-corner inquiry in Dublin Castle. We have got these promises too often before; we know that they are worth nothing at all. If the Government will consent to a full and open inquiry in the broad daylight before any English Gentleman, any honest and impartial Gentleman opposite, we will be perfectly content to rest satisfied, whatever the result may be. But until fair and impartial inquiry is held we shall not fail to bring the matter before the House on every occasion that offers.

MR. HAYDEN (Leitrim, S.): The right and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland (Mr. Holmes), in reply to the questions put this evening by the hon. Member for Westmeath (Mr. Tuite) and other hon. Members, condemned the practice of bringing such cases before the House. He may not be aware that the present Leader of the House (Lord Randolph Churchill), as late as last year, advised that this case should be brought forward. In acknowledging the receipt of a letter the Secretary of the present Chancellor of the Exchequer said his Lordship regretted that he had not time to go into the case of the Barbavilla prisoners; but he would communicate with some Members who were more closely connected with Ireland. The noble Lord was clearly of opinion that the House of Commons was a proper place in which to ventilate the matter. It was in this belief that the Irish Members have repeatedly brought the question before the House; and I assure the Committee we shall consider it our duty to bring these cases under the notice of the House and the country until the men suffering penal servitude, as we believe unjustly, have been released. One important point in the Barbavilla business has escaped attention. Young M'Keon, one of the witnesses who was principally relied upon by the Crown, deposed, on the 17th of July, that he was at a meeting at Widow Fagan's at which this murder was concocted; but two months before, on the 17th of May, he made a deposition in which he said nothing of the meeting at Widow Fagan's. In the course of examination by Dr. Boyd this occurred—

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"Do you recollect being examined before Mr. Woodlock before you joined the Army?—No answer.

"The Lord Chief Justice: Do you recollect that?—I do not know Mr. Woodlock.

"Dr. Boyd: The police magistrate in Dublin?—Yes.

"You were?—Yes.

"Were you asked there were you married?—Yes.

"Did you say you were not?—Yes.

"Was that true?—No; it was not true.

"Were you asked whether you had ever been apprenticed?—Yes.

"Did you say you had not?—Yes.

"Was that true?—It was not; but then I did not kiss the Book at that time.

"... Dr. Boyd, Q.C.: You may tell as many lies as you like when you don't kiss the Book?—Yes; I tell no lies."

This man's impression was that as long as he could escape the penalty of perjury he was not obliged to tell the truth; but we can easily understand that he would not stop when it was a mere question of taking an oath. It was on evidence such as this man gave that men are now suffering the horrors of penal servitude. The chief actors in what has been very properly called the conspiracy against the Irish people has been alluded to to-night; men like Mr. French, Mr. Bolton, and Mr. Serjeant O'Brien. But one certainly not less conspicuous has escaped attention—Mr. Jacques. This man was one of those who took a very prominent part in working up the Barbavilla conspiracy case; and I recollect that within a very few weeks of the Barbavilla case coming on for trial he was engaged in working up a case against an hon. Member of this House. He deliberately denied that he held a conversation with reference to the case with the Resident Magistrate a few hours before the case of the hon. Member came on for trial. I was present when he held the conversation, and it was only when he was confronted by me that he admitted the fact. The conversation took place at 9 o'clock in the morning; at 12 o'clock he denied it; but admitted it before he left the witness box. It is through such instruments as this that men are now suffering penal servitude in Ireland. Such men as these were consulted by the Government when the so-called inquiry took place—it was upon the advice of such men that the release of the prisoners was refused. I ask English and Scotch Members is it fair that Irishmen are to be imprisoned on the evidence of interested parties of

this description, men whose sole livelihood depends upon the maintenance of cases which, through their original perjury, were trumped up? If, on inquiry, these cases were upset, what hope could men like Jacques and French have of being able to live in the country afterwards? It is by such men that "the very sources of justice are polluted," and it is their direct interest to maintain sentences, however unjust.

MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W., and Sligo, S.): Sir, I listened with close attention to the speech delivered earlier in the evening by the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland (Mr. Holmes), and I say that it was by far the poorest plea I ever heard made on any question by a Law Officer of the Crown. The right hon. and learned Gentleman made an observation which is absolutely unfounded—that is as far as I can go in Parliamentary language—he said that these convictions were procured by the operation of ordinary Constitutional machinery. I invite the right hon. and learned Gentleman to consider whether it can be said that convictions procured under an Act which was itself a suspension of the fundamental rights of the Constitution can be said to have been Constitutionally procured? The Coercion Act of 1881 entitled the Government to change the venue of any trial; and we all know that in this way any Attorney General had put into his hand a panel which enabled him to place the liberty, fortune, character, and life of any man opposed to the Government in the power of 12 of the man's political enemies. If the right hon. and learned Gentleman takes more than a perfunctory view of the duties of his post, if he gives Members of this House, and the English public generally, any credit for desiring to arrive at an honest conclusion upon the facts of Irish administration, I challenge him to stand up and say why he informed the House and the country that the convictions obtained under a Coercion Act were obtained in an ordinary Constitutional manner. The fact is directly the contrary, and I submit it is not in accordance with the usages or even with the decencies of debate that unguarded allegations of this kind should be made at the Table by persons in an official position. The right hon. and learned Gentleman says it is inconvenient we

should raise these questions here. Well, it is very inconvenient for these men to be in penal servitude. It may be inconvenient to the Law Officers to have to answer here; but we lose sight of the inconvenience when we feel the necessity. It is necessary we should raise these questions here, because our experience shows us that the only means by which we can procure an effective review and criticism of the acts of tribunals in Ireland is by using our Constitutional power on the floor of this House. What is the use of telling us it is inconvenient to come here with complaints like this when I can refer the right hon. and learned Gentleman to the fact that the only examination which was ever granted in one of these cases resulted in the release of the prisoner? Just about this time two years ago I happened one afternoon, when the late Prime Minister (Mr. Gladstone) was present, to bring up the case of Brian Kilmartin. A Member of the House who is now Leader of the Government (Lord Randolph Churchill) was sitting in his corner seat here. He was struck by the reasons I adduced why the finding of the tribunal should be reviewed, and the noble Lord, now Chancellor of the Exchequer, rose in his place and pressed upon the Government the duty of inquiring into the case. The noble Lord did that after the then Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. Trevelyan) had from his place told the House that the verdict of the jury was found upon the most conclusive evidence, and, therefore, it would be absurd to re-open the case. That is our invariable experience of Irish officials whenever they are left to their own discretion. You never get Dublin Castle of its own will to re-open anything; their law is that whatever has been officially done shall never be undone. We are obliged to come here with our complaints; and, as I have said, in the only case in which we were successful—in the case of Brian Kilmartin—I raised the case on the floor of this House—the Government, instead of adhering to the canon laid down by the right hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Holmes) that the Government can only conduct their inquiries in their own way in Dublin Castle, sent a gentleman down to the spot, in consequence of whose Report, Kilmartin, who had been sentenced to penal servitude for life, became a free

man. Do I say too much when I say that what was the result in the solitary case in which our representations upon the floor of this House, through the instrumentality of the noble Lord now Chancellor of the Exchequer, met with a favourable reception, may be the result in this case? We fervently believe that if our present representations were received favourably, men who are now suffering the unspeakable horrors of penal servitude would be released. Let us hear no more about inconvenience. I know of no inconvenience so great as suffering penal servitude; and so long as we think men are being inconvenienced unjustly, it will not do for any Law Officer to rise and tell us the House is being inconvenienced by the action we are taking. I am sorry to say that throughout his speech the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland avoided dealing with the vital and essential facts of the case. He spoke as if we merely impeached the trials, as if we only asked that the trials should be re-opened. Surely the right hon. and learned Gentlemen is presuming on the ignorance of the Committee as to the facts of these particular cases. He tells the Committee that what we want is to re-open the trials. The fact is that our case rests, especially as regards the Barbavilla business, upon matters made public and notorious since the trials were held. What did the Judge in the Barbavilla trial say? He said that if the two M'Keons were allowed, whilst in the custody of the police, to communicate with one another for the purpose of arranging their story it would amount to a pollution of the sources of justice. Now, if these trials had taken place in England, if the persons convicted had been persons of most abominable life and the worst conceivable character, if the evidence against them had been the evidence of respectable persons, if other circumstances went in support of the verdict given, and yet if in one, or two, or five, or 20 years after the trial it came out that a certain circumstance was true which the Judge upon the trial had said if true would constitute a pollution of the sources of justice, what Law Officer, what Englishman would say that the verdict should be upheld for a single day without inquiry? Four of the jurors, men specially selected—four of

the men who had been eulogized by the hon. Member for South Tyrone (Mr. T. W. Russell)—had come to the public Press and stated that if they had known that M'Keon, the father, a rogue, vagabond, and drunkard, and M'Keon, the son, a wife deserter, burglar, and housebreaker, had been allowed to communicate with each other, they would not have agreed to the verdict. If four jurors in an English case came forward and said that if facts which had since come to their knowledge had been present to their minds at the time of the trial, they would not have found a verdict of guilty, I ask what English Home Secretary would refuse an appeal to institute an inquiry? No, Sir, he would feel bound by his oath and duty to the Queen to appoint an inquiry the very next day. The right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General has an opportunity of showing whether he is imbued with the same sense of justice. I think that if the Home Secretary (Mr. Matthews) were here, he would say—"If four jurors have publicly stated that they would not have found a verdict of guilty had they known certain facts which they know now, there is certainly room for inquiry." Sergeant Fitzgerald, a constable of long service and respectability, has stated that to his personal knowledge, at a certain stage in the progress of the case, M'Keon, the father, and M'Keon, the son—that is the member of the family who is the wife deserter, burglar, and housebreaker, as distinguished from the other member who is the rogue, vagabond, and drunkard—that the two M'Keons were brought into personal contact and left alone together; that young M'Keon had said he could not prove anything; whereupon the father said to Lynch—"Let me have a talk with him, and it will be all right." The young vagabond was brought into the company of the older vagabond who was responsible for bringing him into the world, and between them they concocted the story which led to the conviction of the prisoners. This happened after the younger ruffian had made two informations. The fatal question was whether a meeting was held at the house of Widow Fagan, in March; and Judge Lawson said to the jury at the trial—

"If you believe the meeting was held, do your duty; if you do not believe it was held, you must acquit the prisoners."

Well, young M'Keon seems to have made two informations before the trial, one in March, and another, I think, in June. In neither of these informations did he say one word about a meeting at Widow Fagan's. How does the Attorney General for Ireland account for that? The man makes two elaborate informations, and neither in the first nor in the second does he say a syllable of having been present at a meeting at Widow Fagan's, or about any such meeting having been held. Judge Lawson said that if there was any doubt about the meeting being held, it was the duty of the jury to acquit the prisoners. Young M'Keon made a third information. When did he make it? After he had been brought into gaol; after he had been allowed to confer with his father, a more accomplished vagabond; after they had concocted between them the story which led to the conviction. There never was a clearer case of corruption, complicity, and perjury. In the interval between the two documents we now have it proved in evidence by Sergeant Fitzgerald that an interview was allowed between the two informers, a fact which, had the jurors known of it, would have caused them to disagree as to the verdict, and which the Judge said, if true, would amount to a pollution of the sources of justice. I say that four of the jurors have separated themselves from the verdict; therefore, in this matter, the Government have no longer the jury behind their back; a circumstance which the Judge upon the trial declared if it existed to be a pollution of the sources of justice, has now been declared by Sergeant Fitzgerald, a constable of experience, to be a fact; and I have endeavoured, without success, to procure from the Attorney General for Ireland some intimation as to whether the Government have or have not made some inquiries of Sergeant Fitzgerald; whether they have asked him whether this pollution of the sources of justice occurred; if they have asked him whether he saw within the walls of the prison what he describes. I defy any man in this House—no matter what his politics may be—to say in the face of the declaration of Judge Lawson, in the face of the declaration of the four jurors, and in the face of what

has since come to our knowledge through Sergeant Fitzgerald, to rise in his place and say the verdict ought to stand. The time of panic is over; the time of exceptional crime is over. I can understand, though I cannot sympathize, with the plea which officials and administrators sometimes make in times of peril and emergency, that the administration of the law must not be examined too scrupulously. They think they are entitled to strain the law when they regard the appearance of effectual vindication of the law as the first necessity of administration. But the time of panic and special excitement is over; the condition of society in Ireland is, generally speaking, orderly. There is no sign of any large amount of crime. These men are suffering penal servitude; the evidence which points to their innocence is complete, and therefore I trust my hon. Friends are entitled to persevere until they receive an assurance that the same kind of inquiry which was resorted to in the case of Brian Kilmartin will be held in the case of the 11 respectable men whose lives had never been tainted, whose characters had never been impeached up to the time of these accusations, and whose conviction and whose sentence to penal servitude rests practically upon the concocted evidence of two of the worst scoundrels who ever disgraced society in any country.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND (Fermanagh, N.): I do not think there are very many Representatives from Ireland in this House who would not have felt themselves prompted to take the course of action adopted by my hon. Friend the Member for Westmeath (Mr. Tuite) if the hon. Member had not acted as he has done; for not only in the district of Westmeath, which is the immediate scene of the occurrences which form the basis of this debate, but in all parts of Ireland, from the North to the South, there has been, and there is, a very general feeling that gross injustice has been done to a number of innocent men. There is a feeling that it is necessary, in order to vindicate justice, and to liberate these innocent men from the horrible suffering which they are now enduring, that the case should be brought before Parliament as rapidly as possible. I can assure hon. Members of this House who do not represent Ireland, or know much of that country, that they must not be

very much surprised if we take up the time of this House in discussing matters such as are now under discussion, because we have been taught in Ireland by bitter experience to know and to believe that the only chance we have of remedying grievances and exposing injustices is to be found in the opportunities which are afforded us of speaking in this House. Sir, I do not think the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland has behaved at all well in this matter. In the first place, I do not think that while the case was being explained by my hon. Friend the Member for Westmeath that he paid proper attention to the statements which fell from my hon. Friend's lips; and I think, Sir, that in cases in this House, where hon. Members from a strict sense of duty endeavour to explain gross injustices, that the least that could be expected from officials who are not too overburdened, and who are very well paid, would be that they should pay strict attention to the circumstances which are narrated to them, and that they should not by their demeanour in any way give rise to the opinion amongst any section of Members of the House that it is their intention to treat these matters lightly. They should endeavour to avoid giving the impression that as Law Officers of the Crown they desire to ignore these matters as subjects which have been brought up before, and which are grievances too old to be remedied. But I think the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland did not improve his position when he proceeded to speak. His speech was altogether lacking that sympathy which should be found in the tones of a Minister of the Crown when replying to Members of this House who endeavour conscientiously to do their duty, and who represent five-sixths of the people of Ireland. It is the belief of the Irish Members, and it is the belief of that vast majority of the Irish people whom we represent, that grave injustice has been done in this particular case which has been brought before the notice of the Committee, and that a large number of men are innocently suffering all the horrible tortures which attend the punishment of penal servitude. That is, I contend, a most grave state of affairs. I can understand a Minister of the Crown venturing to treat flippantly a case which is brought up by one single Member, or

a case which is brought up by two or three Members of the House. He may, in that event, profess to believe that the matter is a private and particular hobby of that particular Member or of those two or three Members. But the case is altogether different when, instead of being brought forward by one, or two, or three, or even a dozen Members, the matter is brought forward by 85 Members representing the people of Ireland. That at once raises a question into a different sphere from an ordinary grievance brought up by an ordinary Member. We are 85 Members in this House, and besides the Irish Members I believe that when a division is taken, after the matter has been thoroughly discussed, it will be found that our opinion is endorsed by a considerable number of English Members. I contend that a case put forward so determinedly and frequently by so many Members must be a case out of the ordinary way, and therefore must be a case that should be treated with all seriousness by a Minister of the Crown. The Attorney General for Ireland said in the course of his speech, when he was refusing the inquiry we ask for into this case, that there is no precedent for doing what we ask. Sir, we ask that justice shall be done to these men in Ireland, and I agree with the right hon. and learned Gentleman that precedents are sadly lacking for the Government of this country doing justice to Ireland. But the sooner a precedent for doing justice to the people of Ireland is placed on record the better, and you cannot begin better than by releasing a number of men who are confessedly on all hands—who are admittedly by people who know most of the case—suffering imprisonment unjustly. Now, Sir, the great argument which the right hon. and learned Gentleman used in refusing to grant the inquiry of my hon. Friend was that it would be a very dangerous example to set to let it go abroad that the decisions of Courts of Law could be re-opened, re-discussed, and re-decided in this House. I remember very well that in the case of the Maamtrasna conspiracy that argument was used with very great effect by the right hon. Gentleman who is now Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach). He said it would be altogether an intolerable state of affairs if it should become commonly believed that the decision of an

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ordinary Court of Law was not decisive or binding, or if an appeal to this House could upset an ordinary decision given in Court. I commence at once by saying that I can understand that argument thoroughly, and can understand the motive which prompts the right hon. and learned Gentleman in refraining from doing anything which would let the idea go forth that the decisions of the Courts of Law can be repealed by the decisions of this House. That is a thing that would render the decisions of Courts of Law very shaky everywhere; but whilst I agree with the right hon. and learned Gentleman in that, I say that that is a rule which, like all other rules, has its exception, and there are times when it is not only desirable but it becomes absolutely the duty of the Representatives of the people to interfere and have the decisions of the Courts of Law reversed in this House. This case we are now discussing is particularly one which should form an exception to the general rule that decisions of the Courts of Law should be final; and it is upon the ground that we are speaking of a most exceptional state of affairs that we claim that an inquiry should be made, and that these people should be released from their imprisonment. The right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland, in the course of his speech, said that it was inconvenient for us to bring on this discussion. The right hon. and learned Gentleman probably never as yet has experienced what it is to be shut up in a prison cell, waiting for the hour of his release to come, feeling that he has done nothing for which he should be confined in gaol like a common criminal. Sir, there are many Members on this side of the House the strength of whose position to-night lies in the fact that they have had that experience, and it is simply because we are more experienced in receiving English injustice than English gold in the shape of salaries that we can bring forward this case with earnestness, and that we claim that no right hon. Gentleman has the right, when we are pleading for what we believe to be the liberties and, perhaps, the lives of these unfortunate men, to get up and coolly and calmly say—"Oh! this affair is all very well, but it is an inconvenient discussion." Sir, the position these unfortunate men are occupying is very in-

convenient to them. It is the result of the abominable and tyrannical and unjust rule which has prevailed in Ireland. It is far more inconvenient to them to remain in prison, knowing themselves innocent, than it can be to the right hon. and learned Gentleman and to us to have this discussion. At all events, it would be as well if the right hon. and learned Gentleman and his Friends, at the outset of this discussion, understood that we Irish Members have a vast deal more regard for the humblest man in Ireland whom we consider to be unjustly imprisoned than we have for the convenience of the Government or of this House. What is it that my hon. Friend the Member for Westmeath has asked for? He has not asked for the unconditional release of these men. That would be, I believe, though a just, still, an extreme demand to make. All he asks for is that an inquiry should be undertaken by the Government into this case. Now, is there anything in the case that the Government are afraid of? Is there anything they are afraid of coming out to the light of day that they will not grant an inquiry? If not, why do they not consent to our demand? Let them consider what they will be doing if they grant an inquiry. They will, in the first place, be satisfying the demand which the overwhelming majority of the Members from Ireland are making on them; and, in the second place, if they are so thoroughly convinced of the justice of the decision which has been arrived at in the case they will have the extreme triumph and gratification of showing, as the result of the inquiry, that our case is altogether groundless, and that we have been wrong from the beginning to the end of the affair. That would be a very natural position to take up; but the fact is that the first assumption is the right one—that they are afraid of raking the affair up again. They are afraid, because they imagine that, as the result of inquiry, a great deal of injustice and jobbery in the way of the administration of the law in Ireland would be brought to light which would not tend to benefit or encourage the new Government in their progress towards the pacification of the Irish people. But on what grounds do we ask for a fresh inquiry? The right hon. and learned Gentleman said that everything which was in the charge which

was compiled by the rev. gentleman who lives in the neighbourhood of the Barbavilla occurrences, and is familiar with all the circumstances, have been brought under his notice. The right hon. and learned Gentleman says he has read the pamphlet which has been compiled by the rev. gentleman, that he has listened to every word that has been uttered in this debate by the hon. Gentleman who brought the subject forward, and that he read all that appeared in the public papers at the time of the murder and the trial. He says that all the facts contained in the pamphlet, and everything urged in the speech of my hon. Friend, and all that has appeared elsewhere was brought forward at the time of the trial. Well, that is notoriously not the case; and how the right hon. and learned Gentleman could have made such an astounding statement I do not know. I think it can only be accounted for by the fact that we must take with a certain amount of salt the statement that the right hon. and learned Gentleman has made himself a complete master of the whole facts of the case in question. Had he done so he certainly never would have made the statement that all the evidence that is now before us was before the Court at the time of the trial. Such is not the case. Since the trial took place, and since these men were imprisoned, a large amount of valuable evidence has come to light bearing strongly on the case, and strongly pointing to the innocence of these men. You have already heard that four of the jury who found these unfortunate men guilty upon certain evidence, having had other evidence placed before them since, have expressed their regret at the result of the trial, and their extreme uneasiness as to whether that result was a just one or not. Now, in the face of these facts, in the face of fresh evidence newly come to light, I ask is it unreasonable that we should ask for an inquiry? In view of the new evidence recently come to light bearing upon the case, would it be unreasonable, on the part of the Government, to grant an inquiry into the affair? Well, Sir, if it were a thing of the dead past it might, perhaps, be urged by the Government that no good purpose would be served by retrying the affair over again. But let the Committee always remember that this is not a case affect-

ing merely the dead past. It is a matter affecting the liberties—aye, even the lives, I believe—of a large number of men who are believed by the whole country side in which they lived, and by the great mass of the people of Ireland, and by the great bulk of the Representatives from Ireland, to be innocent. In giving its decision the Government have to decide not merely whether they will perform a generous act or not, but whether they will refuse an inquiry which may result in the liberation and in the establishment of the innocence of a large number of men who are now in prison. I do not think there are any circumstances which could possibly be brought as evidence or argument which should have, or could have, more force or weight with this House or any assemblage of men than the argument that the liberties of men are depending on the result of the decision. I would ask hon. Gentlemen who do not represent Ireland to take a serious view of this case. I would ask them whether they really think that 85 Members from Ireland would come to this House and ask for an inquiry into the case of men imprisoned for murder if they thought that these men deserved imprisonment, or that they had committed murder? I do not think so, notwithstanding the prejudice there is against Irishmen in this House. I refuse to believe that there are very many men—Englishmen and Scotchmen—who would be willing to say that they seriously believe that 85 Irish Members representing such a large proportion of the people of the Sister Island would come here and ask for an inquiry if they were not firmly and honestly and sincerely convinced that they were asking for an inquiry which would result in justice being done, and in the giving of liberty to men whose liberty is now unjustly kept from them. Sir, I want to know one thing from the Government. I want to know if 85 English Members, or the same proportion of English Members as 85 bears to the total representation of Ireland, were to come to this House and were to say—"There has been a certain case in which a large number of men have been imprisoned, a certain amount of evidence has come to light since the trial, and there is a general belief throughout the country that these men were unjustly imprisoned; there is a great desire that we should

ask you for an inquiry—an independent inquiry—to see what this evidence is worth, and whether these men are really justly or unjustly imprisoned”—I ask if the same proportion of English or Scotch Members were to come and make that request on behalf of the English or Scotch people in this House, would the inquiry be refused? An inquiry, Sir, would not be refused. If it were refused, that refusal would cause amongst the constituencies of the English and Scotch Members a feeling of indignation which would very quickly cause the Government to change their decision, and to give the inquiry that the people asked for. Now, you are always talking about the desire which this House has to govern Ireland as England and Scotland are governed—to give perfect equality, and to do by one country as you would do by the other. Well, we ask you in this matter to do what you know in your consciences you would do if the case were an English instead of an Irish one. We ask you to grant an independent inquiry into the whole case. We ask you to receive fresh evidence carefully and calmly, to go over the whole case, and see whether, as we believe they are, these men are really innocently imprisoned or not. If they are innocently imprisoned, in the name of goodness release them; and if they are not innocently imprisoned, put yourselves in a position to come to this House and show us that we have been engaged in taking up your time so long in a mistaken cause. I feel, Sir, that the inquiry will not be granted. If it is not, the reason will be simply this—that the Government know that the proceedings at the original trial of these men could not stand the light of day. The Government know that there were things done at that trial which the people of England—now somewhat more educated in Irish affairs than they were at the time of that trial—would not stand. They do not want to bring to light a black record of jury-packing. They do not want to have a debasing and degrading system of hiring the most miserable hangers on at street corners, and paying them to give evidence against men accused of conspiracy to murder, laid bare to the public. They wish to avoid having these things raked up afresh. Well, if they do not want to have these things raked up anew,

release the men. If you will not release the men, at least give an inquiry; and, if you do not give an inquiry, I may tell you frankly that the opinion which I know to be held amongst the men that I know best in Ireland—the opinion that you did not do justice in that case, and that you are afraid to allow a chance of your injustice being proved—will be strengthened, and that, consequently, your task of ruling Ireland will be rendered all the harder, and your failure in the task will be ultimately rendered all the more conspicuous. The Irish people are as open to conviction as any people on the face of the earth, and if you want to implant in them the idea that you wish to do justice to them grant this inquiry. Surely the fact that such a large portion of the people want the inquiry should be reason enough for granting it. If, as I said, you are not afraid of inquiry, grant it. If you do not grant it, the people will think that you are afraid of doing so, and the old idea—which I believe is, after all, the true idea—will go deeper into their hearts—namely, the idea that Irishmen can never get justice from you, nor their children, nor their country, so long as the administration of Ireland is controlled by Englishmen who laugh when we speak of men being innocently imprisoned, and by Englishmen who extend their wanderings to the most remote corners of the earth, but who know nothing at all of our country. And if that opinion becomes more deep-seated in the hearts of the Irish people, I am greatly afraid that it will result not only in inquiries being granted, but in something more likely being enacted than the serried roll of Royal Commissions proposed by the noble Lord the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Lord Randolph Churchill) in expounding his Irish policy in this House. You are stronger than us, no doubt. You have some tens of millions of population, your Army and your Navy, whilst we are a few men representing an unarmed nation. You, no doubt, can afford to laugh at us. We venture to ask you to give liberty to our countrymen who have been wrongfully deprived of it. You can, I say, afford to laugh at our request as you have laughed at so many of our requests in the past; but though you refuse our request, and laugh at us, you cannot get over the extremely un-

comfortable thing to have the attention of 250 or 300 Members in this Imperial Parliament occupied for so long with a question concerning such a poor little corner of the Empire. In the name of goodness, are not English and Scotch Members tired and disgusted—[*Ministerial cheers*]*—*at having the time of this Imperial Parliament occupied so much with the affairs of our country? Yes; you are tired—you say so now. Then I suppose that in the next division on Home Rule those hon. Members who cheer will do what they can to send us home to manage our own affairs. I can assure you that if you are tired of us, you are no more tired of us than we are tired of you. We hope the day may come when this mutual tire of each other may separate us from each other.

MR. A. BLANE (Armagh, S.): The right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland, in his address this evening, said that the present Government had nothing to do with the prosecutions resulting in the convictions of the Maamtrasna, Barbavilla, and Crossmaglen prisoners. I think the statement of the right hon. and learned Gentleman is a little incorrect. In the case of the Crossmaglen prisoners, they belonged to the constituency I represent. I have known these men, who were very respectable. At the time when the Government were offering rewards for evidence and hiring witnesses under an Act which has now expired, injustices were committed which are now entirely in the hands of Her Majesty's Government to rectify. I remember the time these prisoners were brought before the magistrates at Armagh and committed for trial. So eager were the Government of that day to convict these prisoners that they absolutely deprived them of the right which all British subjects are supposed to enjoy—they deprived them of the right of trial by jury in the vicinage. They took these men from Armagh to Belfast, the Government of the day directing their Law Officers to change the venue to that place. The intention, no doubt, was to prevent the men getting a fair trial. It has been mentioned here that one of the Judges, Mr. Justice Lawson—to whom reference was made by an hon. Member who was called to Order by the Chair, but I will put the matter in another way so that the House

may judge of the fairness of the trial that these prisoners got—I say that, as has already been pointed out, Mr. Justice Lawson, who was a Member of the Irish Government and one of the Judges who rule Ireland during any interregnum in the Lord Lieutenantcy, was one of the Privy Council who directed the venue to be changed from Armagh to Belfast. That was done on the advice of a man who belonged to the Orange Party—namely, Sir William Barker Kaye, a gentleman who has lived a long time in Armagh, not far from where I reside. I know him as identified with the Orange Society. He it was who prompted this affair. He, no matter whether the Whigs are in or Tories out of power, is one of those permanent holdfasts who prevent the Irish Government, when a change of Administration takes place, from being affected by the change of opinion which has brought about that altered position of Parties. He, I say, was the chief person who prompted the removal of these prisoners from Armagh to Belfast. The men were sent for trial amongst those who not only were their enemies politically and religiously, but who were the men who afterwards aided and abetted in the shooting down of Her Majesty's soldiers and police. The Judge who directed the change of venue was the Judge selected to try the prisoners. As I have said, he was a Member of the Privy Council directing the prosecution—he was judge and executioner of his own judgment. Such a thing as this could not occur in England; in fact, I do not know any English Judge who is a Member of the Privy Council.

THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Gentleman cannot have heard my ruling. He cannot now cast imputations upon the impartiality of the Judges. There is a regular Constitutional way of questioning the conduct of Judges, and it is that way which must be resorted to.

MR. A. BLANE: I bow to your ruling, Sir. At the trial of the Crossmaglen prisoners there was a man named Duffy I knew very well in Armagh. No man in Armagh would trust him a glass of whisky; but he was hired by the Crown. In this Vote the Committee is asked to vote the money which was paid to this man for his services at the Belfast trials. Duffy deserted his wife and children, and—

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Mr. SAMPSON (Newry). Valworth : I ask the hon. Member whether the hon. Member has asserted his wife and children as any way concerned with the case under discussion.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY : I do not at present see the objection; perhaps the hon. Member will be able to establish it.

MR. A. BLANE. I wish to show the character of the man in whose evidence these men are in prison, and for whose liberation the hon. gentleman the Chief Secretary is responsible. We know that in theory the Lord Lieutenant is the Governor of Ireland, but that in practice the Governor of the country is the right hon. gentleman the Chief Secretary. These men were taken to Belfast and tried there. At Belfast, this Dufty was the principal witness against them. I think other crimes besides wife desertion could be brought against Dufty, but it is not necessary to bring them to light. At that trial, less justice should be done to the prisoners, the Law Officers of the Crown challenged every Catholic who came forward in a place where, of necessity, the Protestants must have had a majority on the jury, all the Catholics were challenged. Why, even Alfred the Great would have had no more chance of serving on that jury than of dying in the air. Well, now by jury is a Catholic and not a Protestant institution. The fact, however, remains that Catholics were not thought fit to serve upon the jury lest these men should get a fair trial. I appealed to the last Government as I have done to this, with regard to these prisoners. I appealed to the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Newcastle-on-Tyne, Mr. John Morley, and I got a similar answer to that I have received from the right hon. Gentleman opposite, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach—namely, that if Memorials were addressed to the Lord Lieutenant, His Excellency would consider them and act as justice required. We all know what that means. It means that nothing will be done. We do not think that these men will be released from penal servitude; and yet, if I asked the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to point to one overt act of these men to injure anybody, he would be bound to say—"I cannot find one." They are punished

for something they have said, and not for anything they have done. If the right hon. Gentleman were asked what did these men do, he could only tell us of something they had said. That is to put the worst complexion upon the case, and this Government can, scarcely with any show of decency, punish these men for what they have said, having regard to the speeches of the Chancellor of the Exchequer in Belfast, and that of one of the Lords of the Admiralty whom I see in his place, Lord Charles Beresford, in speaking at Marylebone. But, for what they may have said, surely five years' penal servitude is punishment sufficient. Is this not a fitting case for the exercise of mercy? Even if they were guilty, why not release them now? I am afraid we cannot induce the right hon. Gentleman to take our view of the matter. If these men were important personages in the State, the Government could not be more exacting and rigorous in seeing that the very utmost punishment was awarded. But these are poor men. I do not know whether I should meet with any success if I were to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether these prisoners are to be released? My own impression is, that as long as Dublin Castle remains, as at present, with Sir William Kaye as permanent holdfast there, like a barabado on the ship of State, the Chief Secretary will have to return the answer frequently given up to this—the law must take its course. That is a miserable policy; it is not a generous policy. These prisoners are poor men, not important personages in the State, and their case is one in which I think the clemency of the Crown might very well be exercised, even at the eleventh hour. These men have already suffered five years' imprisonment. If this case had occurred in England, and doubts as to the innocence of the prisoners were persistently expressed by hon. Gentlemen, I have no hesitation in thinking that the Home Secretary would order their immediate release.

MR. W. A. MACDONALD (Queen's County, Ossory): I should not think of troubling the Committee on this question, if I had not myself presented a Memorial to Lord Carnarvon last year, on behalf of the Crossmaglen prisoners, of whom my hon. Friend (Mr. A. Blane) has just spoken. Before preparing that Memorial I read everything on the sub-

ject I could read. There was not a line of the evidence, not a line of the Judge's charges—for the prisoners were charged in two batches—not a line of the speeches of the prisoners' counsel, or of the counsel for the Crown, or an important affidavit in the case which I did not carefully read. The deductions I made I embodied in my Memorial. Therefore, I trust the Committee will see that it is not from a desire to waste time, or to hear myself talk, that I rise on this occasion. In the summer of last year the right hon. Gentleman (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) who was then Chancellor of the Exchequer, who is now the Chief Secretary for Ireland, read a letter in this House from the Earl of Carnarvon, in which the noble Earl declared he would give careful consideration to any representation which might be made in reference to the Crossmaglen and other prisoners. In consequence of the reading of that letter I prepared and presented a Memorial to the then Lord Lieutenant. When I entered upon the task, I thought it possible that there had been a miscarriage of justice. When I finished my task, I came to the conclusion that there certainly had been such a miscarriage, and that the 10 men who are known as the Crossmaglen prisoners are absolutely innocent of the offence for which they are suffering, one five years', another seven years', and the remaining eight 10 years' penal servitude. Now, I want to explain to the Committee the ground upon which I think the Government ought to do one of two things; either to institute inquiry in this case, or else to let these prisoners out, because they have already endured penal servitude for three years for an alleged conspiracy as a result of which not one person was fired at or injured. The circumstances of the trial were very peculiar. These men were agricultural labourers and small farmers living in Crossmaglen, in the county of Armagh, and under a Statute now fortunately no longer in force—the Prevention of Crime (Ireland) Act, 1882—the venue was changed from the county of Armagh to the town of Belfast, where these men who, as I have said, were agriculturists, were tried for the most part by city men, who knew nothing of the peculiar circumstances of country life, and who knew nothing of the characters of the prisoners. [Interruption.]

Mr. W. A. Macdonald

Hon. Gentlemen do not seem to think it is of much importance that trial by jury should take place in the county to which the men charged belong; but that is the fundamental idea of trial by jury. [Laughter.] Hon. Members may laugh, but that, I say, is the underlying principle of trial by jury. The prisoners were tried in two batches. From the first jury all Catholics were excluded, and there were only one or two Catholics allowed in the second jury. That, of course, raised a strong presumption against them. Most of the jurors were taken from the most Orange districts of Belfast, from the people who are strongly hostile to any man who engages in any popular movement whatsoever. Though Judge Harrison had, at the previous Winter Assizes, given an order that all copies of documents in the case should be furnished to the prisoners' counsel, that was absolutely left undone until the day before the trial. Thus the prisoners' counsel were prevented from having the opportunity of digesting the various documents introduced; and that was of vast importance, because, as I hope to show, the whole case really rested upon a certain document which was alleged to have been found—a document known as the "Crossmaglen Book." This "Book" was said to be a record of the proceedings of the Society. If the prisoners' counsel had been permitted to see this "Book," they would have been able to examine some of the 143 persons who, according to the contents of the "Book," had been sworn to murder certain landlords, and to put them into the box to show the absolute worthlessness of the "Book" upon which the case mainly depended. There was an informer in the case, as there is in so many other cases in Ireland. This man's name was Duffy. The Committee may be surprised when I tell them that Judge Lawson, who is notoriously not over favourable to the popular side, declared that if the case had rested upon the testimony of Duffy alone the prosecution could never have been sustained. Duffy was not only a deserter of his wife, but he swore that he had been a member of secret and murderous conspiracies from the period when he was 21 years of age, with the exception of two years when he was under the influence of a Catholic clergyman. This statement of his was placed beyond doubt by a question put

to him by Mr. Munroe, the prisoners' counsel, who asked—

"Do you mean to tell the Court that you would, in connection with this conspiracy, have murdered anyone who was obnoxious to you?"

And his reply was—

"Devil a bit but I would; I thought it a grand job to get into it."

And this is the man on whose evidence the Crown so largely relied. [*Interruption.*] I shall not be deterred by the interruptions of hon. Gentlemen from doing my duty. There was the evidence of the Constabulary, and the principal witness of this class was Constable Gartland. He was a man who used the most extraordinary means to procure evidence. When I was in Dublin last year—

DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid): Mr. Courtney, there is a Gentleman sitting second on the second Bench behind the Government who has been persistent in his interruptions both last night and to-night. I beg to call your attention to his conduct.

THE CHAIRMAN: It is irregular to allude to any hon. Gentleman in that way; but I have no hesitation in saying that an hon. Member is not in Order in persistently interrupting another hon. Gentleman when addressing the Committee.

MR. W. A. MACDONALD: Last year, when I was in Dublin, a man who has prepared an affidavit in this case came to me in order to see if I could not do something for these prisoners. He declared that he had been unduly influenced by Constable Gartland to write down certain names on a piece of paper—the names of men who were supposed to be connected with the conspiracy. He had never had any peace of mind since he did this. He went to Canada, but came back in order to make what reparation he could for the wrong he had done while acting under the influence of the constable. Then the evidence of the Constabulary went to show that there were three books found in empty houses in various places, and it also went to show that the police had seen a number of men, of whom the prisoners were some, coming out of houses late at night. But in no case did the police declare that they had surprised a meeting, and the evidence seems to be utterly worthless when the Com-

mittee remembers that the Land League was then in full swing, and that the people, even if the evidence were true, might simply have been coming from Land League meetings. [*Interruption.*] Well, Sir, it is very difficult for any Member to put a case clearly and succinctly before the Committee when there is so much interruption; and I will only add that if the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland really desires to do justice in this matter, I shall be happy to place a copy of my Memorial in his hands for his perusal. I am not afraid of the most thorough investigation of the case, for I have got dates and facts for every one of the statements contained in my Memorial and in my speech to-night. Then, again, with regard to this "Crossmaglen Book." This "Book" professes to be a record of the proceedings of this secret society, and it was used by the Crown as such. But it is not a book of minutes in any real sense of the word. It is hard to understand from its contents whether a meeting was held at all; indeed, it contains the most absurd contradictions. Either the evidence of Duffy was false, or the evidence of the "Book" was false. Duffy swore that he had been expelled from the conspiracy, yet no account of his ever having been present at any meetings is given in the "Book" until—[*Interruption.*] Mr. Courtney, I maintain—

MR. BIGGAR (Cavan, W.): Mr. Courtney, I beg to move that you do report Progress and ask leave to sit again. I may explain that my object in making this Motion is not to stop the proceedings of the Committee, but to ascertain, if possible, whether or not it is, in the opinion of the Committee, desirable that these Estimates should be properly discussed. If the Votes are to be discussed at all, they ought to be discussed in such a manner that each Member of the Committee shall have an opportunity of hearing the arguments advanced on one side and on the other. A large majority of the Members of the present Committee appear to be determined that our arguments shall not be heard. I appeal to the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) to use his influence with his supporters to induce them to give a reasonable amount of attention to the arguments advanced

from these Benches, and to allow the Business of the Committee to proceed in a proper and orderly manner. I am prepared to withdraw my Motion if the right hon. Gentleman will appeal to his followers to give a fair hearing to the arguments of the different speakers from these Benches.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—*(Mr. Biggar.)*

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH) (Bristol, W.): Sir, I am delighted to hear from the hon. Member for West Cavan (Mr. Biggar) that, in his opinion, it is desirable that these Estimates should be discussed. I certainly will at once respond to the appeal he has addressed to me. If he will use his influence with his Friends in order to secure that desirable end, I will do the same with my Friends behind me.

MR. E. HARRINGTON (Kerry, W.): I shall be obliged to support the Motion of my hon. Friend the Member for West Cavan (Mr. Biggar). I do not think the answer of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) is at all suitable to the occasion. It is a positive disgrace to the Committee that when a Gentleman like the hon. Member for the Ossory Division of the Queen's County (Mr. W. A. Macdonald), who suffers from an infliction which alone ought to insure him more than ordinary courtesy at the hands of hon. Members, is addressing the Committee and trying to gain the ear of this hostile Assembly, these exhibitions, which I will not characterize as I should like for fear of incurring your displeasure, should be indulged in. [*Cries of "Agreed!"*] No, Sir, we are not agreed. We are only agreed upon one point, and that is that the conduct of Gentleman opposite is disgraceful and unmanly in the extreme. We are agreed that it is not decent that this conduct should continue; we are agreed to enter a strong and emphatic protest against it; and, furthermore, we upon these Benches are agreed that we shall be heard, and that we shall make ourselves heard as long as we are in this House.

THE CHAIRMAN: It is my duty to secure a hearing for each Member. The

Mr. Biggar

hon. Gentleman is not entitled to threaten the Committee.

MR. E. HARRINGTON: Perhaps I may explain that I intended no disrespect to the Chair—

THE CHAIRMAN: I endeavoured to point out that the hon. Gentleman must not threaten the Committee. I did not suggest he was disrespectful to the Chair.

MR. E. HARRINGTON: I did not intend to convey any threat to the Chair. What I wish to say is that we are within our right and privilege in speaking on matters affecting the lives and the liberties of the people who sent us here. Say they are convicts, thieves, robbers; say they sympathize with crime and outrage; you have given them the franchise, and they have sent us here as their Representatives. We have come here to represent the Irish people, three-fourths of whom believe in the innocence of these men. And, on the point of Order, I maintain it is right and just that men speaking in this House in advocacy of the claims of these prisoners should be listened to with respect. The hon. Gentleman the Member for the Ossory Division of the Queen's County (Mr. W. A. Macdonald) especially ought to be listened to with respect; indeed, I should be ashamed of myself if I were guilty of discourtesy to any hon. Member on that side of the House similarly afflicted.

MR. CRILLY (Mayo, N.): I wish to support the Motion to report Progress, and I cannot help thinking that the best way to make progress is to allow Irish Members to make their statements. I, for one, represent a constituency in which one of these phantom conspiracies is said to have existed. [*Cries of "Divide!"*] This is the first opportunity I have met with of contesting that imputation, and I intend to use my privileges, as a Member of the House of Commons, in reference to the subject. I shall do so as strongly as I can, because I was sent here to represent the cause of these unfortunate men. I can assure the noble Lord opposite (Lord Randolph Churchill) that the easiest way in which these Estimates can be obtained will be by his obtaining silence on the Opposite Benches for a short time.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: I think the indulgence of the Committee

ought to be extended to the hon. Member for the Ossory Division of the Queen's County, and I hope that it will be extended to him. I regret that these interruptions should have occurred; but, on the other hand, we have had a long discussion, and I trust that hon. Members will see the propriety of bringing it to an end as speedily as possible, in order that progress may be made with other Business.

MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W., and Sligo S.): I am of opinion that the discussion on the Estimates should proceed as quickly as possible, and without interruption from these interludes. My hon. Friend also agrees that the Estimates should be discussed with a due regard to despatch; but surely such a declaration is premature from me, seeing that the various questions I have put in the course of the evening have received no answer. The right hon. Gentleman has had several questions put to him earlier in the discussion, to which, although I have been awaiting an answer, I have received none. My questions related to the administration of the Arms Act in Belfast and Derry, and to the ammunition supplied to the Rifle Clubs in Belfast.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: I rose to answer the questions of the hon. Member (Mr. Sexton); but I observed that, unfortunately, he was not in his place, and, therefore, seeing that the subject which has been discussed is entirely apart from the questions he has raised, I think it better to reply to them at a later period.

DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid): I think this delay has emanated from the right hon. Gentleman. In answer to the statement of my hon. Friend, the right hon. Gentleman gets up and states that he is glad that the Estimates will be discussed with despatch. The right hon. Gentleman says now, with a smile, that he will tell hon. Members on the opposite Benches to keep quiet, if we go on in order and discuss the Estimates as he wishes them to be discussed. Of course, it is easy to understand that Parties on opposite sides of the House will not discuss those Estimates in exactly the same way and with the same views.

THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member is wandering from the question before the Committee.

DR. TANNER: I was speaking, Sir, with respect to the Motion to report Progress, which, as I understand, is at the present time before the Committee. I certainly think that the statement of the right hon. Gentleman was out of place as coming from a Gentleman of so exalted a position in the House. I sincerely trust that we may be able to take up the Estimates in their proper order, and I hope that the conduct of hon. Members opposite which has brought about this Motion for Progress will not be persevered in, because the interruptions complained of must, I know, be disagreeable to you, and to every Member of the Committee; and, finally, I hope right hon. Gentlemen opposite will withdraw words which can only be regarded as a threat.

MR. BIGGAR: I am willing to ask leave to withdraw my Motion for two reasons—one being the appeal made by the right hon. Gentleman to give a fair hearing to the arguments adduced by hon. Members on this side of the House; and, in the next place, because you have said, Mr. Courtney, that it is your duty to keep order in the Committee. I would point out to hon. Gentlemen opposite, that when they interrupt a speaker, their disrespect is shown not alone to the Member speaking, but to the Chair; and, further, having had some years experience in this House, I may remind hon. Gentlemen that when we on these Benches were a much smaller Party than we are now, we nevertheless insisted on making ourselves heard. I wish hon. Members opposite to understand that these interruptions do not avail, and that they will be of no assistance to the Government, whom they think they are supporting by their conduct. With these observations I ask leave to withdraw my Motion that you report Progress. ["No, no!"]

Question put, and *negatived*.

Original Question again proposed.

MR. W. A. MACDONALD: Mr. Courtney, I ask no favour from this House. I simply ask for justice, and I should never have entered this House if I had believed that I should not be able to discharge my duty to my constituents. I have endeavoured to point out that there were some most important inconsistencies between the statements of the informer Duffy and

the entries in the "Crossmaglen Book." The man swore that he was expelled in April, but the "Book" did not record his name, as present at a meeting, until July of the same year. It was distinctly stated that this man was deliberately sworn and employed to murder Mr. Brooks; but the statements on this subject are absolutely inconsistent the one with the other. But a confirmation of the view I have taken is to be found in the action of the Government, who released one of the prisoners named Smith. This man was released three months after he was condemned to 10 years' penal servitude, and the then Chief Secretary (Mr. Trevelyan), in this House, declared that the reason why he was released was that he was extremely ill—in fact, that he was on the point of dying. At that time, another poor man was actually allowed to die in prison, and there is every reason to believe that his death was hastened by his suffering in prison before he was tried. But what did Smith do after he was released; did he make no effort on behalf of those who suffered with him? On the contrary, he went to a magistrate, and made a statement, in which he said that the "Book" was a fabrication; that he and the other four prisoners, who were tried in the same batch, absolutely refused to plead guilty, although extraordinary efforts were made to make them do so, and although they were told that if they did, they would get off with one month's imprisonment. Is that the action of men who were guilty? No; it is the action of men who knew they were innocent. If the Government will look into the records of the case in Dublin Castle, they will see their utterly unsatisfactory character, and, I believe, will do justice to these men. They will see that they have been already three years and a-half in prison for a conspiracy by which no one was injured, and that, therefore, they might be released; or, if they do not like to take this course, they may institute an inquiry into the whole case, which will show that the "Crossmaglen Book" is a fabrication. I have no wish to detain the Committee further than to say that I do not think this shouting down of Members, and interrupting one who came down late, not knowing that this case would be brought on this evening, is calculated to raise the Party opposite

in the eyes of the people of Ireland who are deeply interested in this case.

MR. J. NOLAN (Louth, N.): I wish to say that I regard with serious concern any attempt made on either side of the House to prevent Members being heard, as tending to lower the tone of discussion—because this Assembly has a high character to maintain in the eyes of the civilized world. As an Irishman, I am sincere in saying that I am extremely anxious that the character of this Assembly should be kept up; and, particularly, because a number of my Colleagues present are likely to carry away with them the manners which they learn in this House, and I desire that the character of the future Parliament of Ireland should be a very high one. I find myself generally in accord with my hon. Colleagues on this side of the House; but I am not able entirely to agree with a remark which fell from one of my hon. Friends, who said that if this inquiry were not granted, the trust of the Irish people in the law would be considerably lowered. Now, I respectfully submit that that would be impossible, because the confidence of the Irish people in the administration of the law in Ireland is now at a very low ebb. I remember a story of an English gentleman who, riding through the streets of Dublin, saw 11 statues on one of the public buildings, and asking whom they represented, the cardriver said they were "Statues of the Apostles. There were twelve of them," he said; "but the Government were short of witnesses on a Crown trial going on at Cork, so they took Judas Iscariot down and sent him there." From the conduct of the Government in the course of this discussion I do not think it likely that they will turn a friendly ear to our complaint; and knowing that, I am afraid that when we go to a division we shall be in the minority. At the same time, I am not quite deserted by hope. In the first place, we have at the head of Her Majesty's Government in this House a noble Lord who has, on a former occasion, shown himself to be active in obtaining justice for a poor prisoner, and I have heard the right hon. Baronet the Chief Secretary for Ireland spoken of by my senior Colleagues in our Party as a Gentleman distinguished for courtesy and kindness. Therefore I am encouraged to hope that they will make

a favourable response to our appeal. [*Cries of "Divide!"*] If hon. Gentlemen who think that this debate is going on too long will only take into consideration the fact that we are pleading for men who are suffering all the horrors of penal servitude, I think, with the exercise of a little humane feeling, they would not grudge us a few hours of debate. We fully believe that a large number of these men are suffering in innocence; and not only do I ask the right hon. Gentleman to think of those men who are thus suffering, but also to think of their wives and children, who would be, but for the charity of their friends, starving or in the workhouse. I was in Ireland during the Recess, and I became acquainted there with the case of one of those men who was sworn against and transported, and whose wife was lying at the point of death with a family of helpless children around her; and, as I have said, if it had not been for the sympathy and charity of friends they might now be in the workhouse. There is an important matter connected with these trials, and that is that they have all a sort of political application. I fully recognize that it would be neither expedient nor advisable to bring before the House of Commons all sorts of cases, and ask that in all those cases the verdicts should be revised; but here we have a number of cases of the same kind. All the three cases which have been laid before the Committee are cases in which prosecutions have been instituted on the ground of conspiracy, and means have been resorted to in order to procure convictions in which, rightly or wrongly, the Irish people have no confidence, but look upon them with the greatest amount of suspicion. My hon. Friend the Member for South Tyrone (Mr. T. W. Russell), in the course of his speech, stated to the House that the Judge in each of the trials was careful to explain to the jury that no attention was to be paid to the evidence of an informer. One of the witnesses in this case is well known to be a perjured informer, and a jurymen in connection with the case stated that he had no hesitation in saying that he should have acquitted the prisoner if it had been proved that two informers had an opportunity of communicating with each other while in the hands of the police.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.): What I said was that the Judge was careful in each case to tell the jury that unless the informer's evidence was corroborated that they could not convict upon it.

MR. J. NOLAN: Here, then, we have the statement that had it not been for the evidence of these informers the conviction of the prisoner could not have taken place. This is simply a charge of conspiracy which depends entirely upon the perjured evidence of informers, and on documents which would not be received in any other Court than that in which the case was tried. As far as the gentleman who was said to be the victim is concerned, I may say that I knew him when I was a boy, and I can assure hon. Members, from my knowledge of his character and from what I have heard of his character in the district, that he would be the last man that these people would think of selecting as a victim. [*Cries of "Divide!"*] I was remarking that the documentary evidence given in connection with this trial would be looked upon as unworthy of confidence in any other Court than that in which the case was tried; and in connection with this case I may say that these men, who were Catholics, were taken away from their native county and tried by a Belfast jury composed of Irish Nonconformists and Protestants. When I regard these matters, I look with a feeling of heart-sickness on the miserable state of the people in Ireland, and I hold that no man in his senses would say that an Irish Catholic peasant could have a fair chance before a jury composed of men under the influence of the Party spirit which animates them, and which is continually inciting them to strife with their fellow-men. These were the kind of jurymen selected to try the Crossmaglen and the Barbavilla prisoners; and if it were for no other consideration than that, I should think that the Gentleman responsible for the administration of justice in Ireland ought to reconsider these cases. If he does, I venture to say that not only will he be doing an act which will approve itself to his conscience in future years, but he will be the means of raising a weight of grief from the hearts of many humble men and women in Ireland.

MR. CRILLY (who, on rising, was met by cries of "Divide!") said: I can quite

understand the impatience of hon. Members opposite, and I should scarcely have intervened at this period of the discussion if it were not that I desire, as the Representative of a constituency in which one of these conspiracies is alleged to have existed, to express, on my own part and that of my constituency, the belief that it is a thing of necessity to have an impartial inquiry as to the manner in which the conspirators were convicted, and into the nature of the evidence upon which these prisoners were sent to penal servitude. In course of time much has been said in this House with reference to these cases, but very little has been said, hitherto, in reference to these particular prisoners charged in connection with the alleged conspiracy in Mayo; and I wish, Sir, on this, the first opportunity I have, to express a hope that the desire we Irish Members entertain will be met by Her Majesty's Government. We have reason to put forward our request, because we have evidence in the past that many wrongful convictions have taken place in Ireland. We have the case of Brian Kilmartin, with which the House is familiar. Into that case an inquiry was instituted; and though the man had been sentenced to penal servitude for life, it was found that the evidence on which he was convicted was false and unreliable, and he was at once released. In the case of the Mayo conspiracy, the men were only sentenced to penal servitude for 10 years and under; and it is fair to assume that if, in the case of Brian Kilmartin, it was shown that the evidence was false, there is, at all events, a strong possibility that, in the event of an inquiry taking place, the evidence on which the men of whom I am speaking were convicted would be shown to be equally false. But we have other evidence, which goes to show that we are entitled to make this request, and that we can reasonably hope from the Front Treasury Bench for sympathy with the efforts we are making to obtain an inquiry. Why, in 1884, the noble Lord the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Lord Randolph Churchill) voted with the hon. Gentleman the Member for Cork (Mr. Parnell) for a free and full inquiry into the cases we desire to have inquired into now, and we find that the same noble Lord, referring to this question of the guilt or innocence of the various pri-

soners undergoing penal servitude in Ireland, described it as "this most difficult and anxious question." We find that another Member of the Government, the present Under Secretary of State for India (Sir John Gorst), who was then Solicitor General, declared, in reference to one of these cases, "that there were elements in it which demanded further investigation and inquiry." We, Sir, who represent in this Parliament the county of Mayo, and who are familiar with the facts of this case—we who are acquainted with the surroundings of this alleged conspiracy—declare that from our examination of the case we are convinced that there are elements—[*Cries of "Divide!" and interruption.*] I presume we shall divide when hon. Gentlemen on these Benches have finished their observations. I do not desire, in view of the impatience of the Committee, and in view of the fact that my Colleagues in the representation of Mayo have already spoken, to detain the Committee at any great length; but I desire to join other Irish Members in expressing the belief that the Government ought to grant the inquiry demanded. I desire to supplement what has been said by my Colleagues in the representation of the county by declaring that the characters of these men who are now suffering penal servitude for this alleged conspiracy, which we consider a phantom conspiracy, are as eminently respectable as those of any men in Ireland. So respectable is one of these men—Mr. P. W. Nally—that at the last Election it was a question whether he should not have given to him the representation in this House of his native county. On his trial, Mr. Tighe, who is not associated at all with the National Party, who is a Justice of the Peace for Mayo and Sligo, and who is High Sheriff of Mayo, declared that Mr. Nally had always been, so far as he knew, an industrious and respectable member of society. So high a character did he bear, even in the eyes of those who were responsible for the maintenance of law and order in Mayo, that the warrant which had been issued from Dublin Castle for his arrest under the Coercion Act was cancelled, and he was permitted in his own county of Mayo to hold a licence for the carrying of arms. Is it at all likely that a man who held this character in the eyes of those who were admittedly opposed to

him in his native county would be associated with this conspiracy?—this conspiracy which, we hold, only had existence in the imagination of the informer Coleman, on whose evidence these men were sent to penal servitude. I myself am personally acquainted with the relatives of another of these prisoners, who, like Mr. Nally, occupied a high position in the county. I desire to express my conviction that this conspiracy never existed at all, and that nothing would have been heard of it, if it had not been for the desire of the informer Coleman to obtain some of the gold which he had seen so plentifully distributed in Ireland in 1881-2-3. I desire to endorse the hope that the request made from these Benches for an impartial and full inquiry will be granted, or, at all events, that these men whom we believe are the victims of a vicious system of government in Ireland will be released, and no longer submitted to the ignominy of penal servitude.

SIR WHITTAKER ELLIS (Surrey, Kingston): I rise with great diffidence to address the Committee on this occasion. But, Sir, what I feel is that this Committee should entertain some respect for the regulations which govern public discussion. Now, it has been my duty to preside over many public assemblies, and the first duty of those who preside over public assemblies is to insist that the question at issue shall be spoken to—[*Cries of "Order!" and "Chair!"*]

THE CHAIRMAN: I am afraid the hon. Member is departing from his first rule.

SIR WHITTAKER ELLIS again rose—[*Cries of "Order!"*]

THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order! The Question before the Committee is the Vote for the Chief Secretary's Office. The hon. Member is not discussing that Vote.

SIR WHITTAKER ELLIS: I submit to your ruling, Sir. I submit that the Question before the Committee is a very simple one. The subject, I believe, is in one line, "Salaries, Wages, and Allowances." Well, I must say that I have sat in this House this evening now for many hours, and have hardly heard one word upon that Question. I have hardly ever heard it touched upon, and my only object in now rising is to ask you, Sir, whether we are adhering to the Question under discussion? ["Order, order!"]

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THE CHAIRMAN: I must again remind the hon. Member that he is entirely out of Order. He must not continue in that strain.

SIR WHITTAKER ELLIS: After your ruling, Sir, I certainly will not endeavour to address the Committee again. All I ask hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway opposite is to adhere to the Question before the Committee. ["Order, order!"]

MR. SHEEHY (Galway, S.): I would submit a case to the Committee which I conceive to be pertinent to this Vote; and I trust that the course I am taking will meet with the approbation of the right hon. Baronet the Chief Secretary for Ireland. The case I wish to bring before the Committee is that of the Woodford evictions, and that of the police who attended them—

THE CHAIRMAN: If I understand the hon. Member aright, he is going to remark upon the conduct of the police in reference to evictions. I would point out to him that those observations should be made upon the Constabulary Vote.

MR. SHEEHY: What I wish to do is to call attention to the immense loss which the State has to bear owing to the manner in which the Government permit the police to be employed.

THE CHAIRMAN: In that case the hon. Member must reserve his observations until we reach the Police Vote.

MR. SHEEHY: There is another matter in connection with this Galway business upon which I should like to ask the right hon. Gentleman on the Government Benches to give us some satisfactory answer. It is with regard to the men who were arrested at these evictions, and were returned for trial.

THE CHAIRMAN: Those observations should be made on the Vote for Criminal Prosecutions and other Law Charges.

MR. J. O'CONNOR (Tipperary, S.): I will endeavour to satisfy the hon. Baronet on the other side of the House (Sir Whittaker Ellis) by confining myself to advancing reasons why this Vote should be questioned. I believe that the Vote is for the salaries of the Chief Secretary and other officials. We were advised that we could raise the points which have been adverted to to-night on this Vote for the Chief Secretary's salary and his Office. In doing so we

have been perfectly in Order. The right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland himself took part in the discussion, and in doing so he also was perfectly in Order. In the course of his statement the right hon. and learned Gentleman made some very strong observations, one of the strongest being that in which he deprecated our action in bringing forward the cases which we have asked the Committee to consider. He said that if we were to investigate these cases here—[*Cries of "Divide!"*] I think some hon. Members of this House have brought with them here some of the manners of the hustings. The right hon. and learned Gentleman gave as a reason why we should not refer to these cases that if we went on discussing such matters the Estimates would never be passed. Well, Sir, all I have to say about that is, that it would be a very serious thing if the Army and Navy were deprived of their supplies. It would be a very serious thing if the Navy were checked in the prosecution of its scientific work; it would be a serious matter if the Army were left without its necessary supplies; but, Sir, serious as these things would be, it is a far more serious matter to us that there are innocent men suffering at the hands of the Government. It is a most serious matter to the people of Ireland, and to the families of these men who are suffering, if, by means which have been condemned by hon. Members in this House, some of our fellow-countrymen and constituents are wrongfully imprisoned in British dungeons. Amongst other things stated by the right hon. and learned Gentleman was this—that Members from this side of the House have advanced arguments which should have been addressed to the jury. Well, these arguments were addressed to the jury. These arguments were addressed to more than one jury for the purpose of establishing the innocence of these men; and if we ask this Committee to bring pressure to bear on the Government to institute an inquiry, what arguments can we bring forward except those that will establish the innocence of the prisoners, and those that will establish the right and justice of the demand which we make for an inquiry? But, Sir, the right hon. and learned Gentleman said that we should not be justified in advancing these argu-

ments, unless something new had transpired since the time of the trial. Well, Sir, something new has transpired since the time of the trial. I will not trouble the Committee by again repeating the recantation which has been quoted so often to-night already; but there are a few lines which are quite new, which have transpired since the trials took place, and they are these. One of the jurors who were responsible for the conviction of these men said to the reverend gentleman whose name has been mentioned in the course of this debate—

"I have no hesitation in saying that I should have acquitted the prisoners if it had been proved on their behalf that the M'Keons, the two chief witnesses, had had an opportunity of communicating with one another while in the hands of the police."

Well, Sir, in reference to this matter the Judge said—

"To insinuate that the M'Keons had interviews whilst in the hands of the police is to insinuate that the very sources of justice are polluted."

It has been proved since, and it has been proved in this House, beyond yea or nay, that these prisoners had interviews with each other, and that it was in collusion that charges were maintained and brought home to the prisoners on their trial. These are new points since the trial, therefore the conditions demanded by the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland are fulfilled. Then we have a right to demand an inquiry. We have been told, also, by the right hon. and learned Gentleman that we should proceed in the ordinary manner. What is the ordinary manner? Does he mean by Memorial to the Lord Lieutenant? Memorials have been prepared and presented; Memorials have always been prepared and presented in such cases; but they have been cast aside like so much waste paper. The only redress left to us is to use our position in this House in order to press the Committee to urge upon the Government that there is a case for inquiry. We shall rely upon our position in the House to bring that pressure to bear upon the Government. Have the prisoners been tried in the ordinary way? Have they been condemned in the ordinary way? ["Yes!"] No; they have not. They were not tried or condemned under the ordinary law; they were tried and condemned

under an extraordinary law. What was that extraordinary law? It was that commonly known as the Crimes Act; and what was the operation pursued under the terms of the Crimes Act? Why, money was scattered broadcast over the land; witnesses were subpoenaed and paid for; men were terrorized into coming into the witness-box; juries were packed; honest jurors were put on one side owing to their religious or political opinions; and by these means convictions were obtained. There was, Sir, at that time a white terror spread over the land; and perhaps it may not be out of place if, in order to illustrate the condition of the country at that time, I give the Committee one of my own personal experiences of that white terror which was spread over the land. My experiences of one of the many conspiracies that were set afloat against myself which, if they had been carried out to their utmost point, would have effectually been a bar to my being here to-night to plead the cause of these innocent men, who were found guilty by the very means which were set on foot in order to send me into penal servitude for life, if not to the gallows. I remember at one period of my life to have been the end, aim, and object of three conspiracies at the same time, two of them on the part of the Government, or with the cognizance of the Government. I think I told the Committee or the House on a previous occasion how I had to come before a secret inquiry under the Crimes Act.

MR. BYRON REED (Bradford, E.): Mr. Courtney, I rise to Order. I wish to ask whether the hon. Member is in Order in narrating to the Committee his own personal experiences under this Vote?

THE CHAIRMAN: I understand that the hon. Gentleman wishes to illustrate the manner in which these trials took place. I think he would consult the feeling of the Committee, and would, at the same time, be acting very judiciously, if he abbreviated his observations on this personal matter.

MR. J. O'CONNOR: I think, Sir, you will find that in the remarks I shall address to the Committee I shall keep as close as possible to the point. I am endeavouring to illustrate the state of things which prevailed in Ireland during the time when the majority of these pri-

soners were sent into penal servitude. I was stating, when interrupted, that I was brought before a secret inquiry. I was going on to say that I believed the reason of that was that it was thought that I could give some information to the magistrates in regard to the blowing up of certain of Her Majesty's buildings with dynamite. Well, at the same time I have reason to believe that I incurred the censure and the hostility of the dynamitards who had been guilty of these outrages. But the most nefarious conspiracy of all that was set on foot against me was on the part of a man whose name has often been before the Committee of the House of Commons. It was one very similar in nature to the conspiracy set on foot against the men whose cause we are pleading here to-night, and one which, if carried out to its utmost end, would have sent me either to the gallows or to penal servitude for life. What was it? Why, the notorious French, whose name is so familiar in this House.

THE CHAIRMAN: I must ask the hon. Member to discontinue his personal references, and to deal with the main subject.

MR. J. O'CONNOR: I was under the impression, Sir, that the means employed to send these people to penal servitude by the employment of informers in an illegitimate manner would have been pertinent to the subject. If French is employed—"Order!"—if any official of Her Majesty's Government is employed to get up an attack upon a Judge, and having fired on the Judge, and killed his horses and overturned his carriage, and having provided for his escape, incites people to come forward, puts a man in the dock, brings informers together—[*Cries of "Order, order!"*] I am dealing with an historical fact.

THE CHAIRMAN: But it is quite wide of the Question before the Committee. I am anxious to give every indulgence to an hon. Member who is narrating painful personal experiences; but I must say that the hon. Member is travelling very wide of the Question. I must ask him to adhere more closely to the Vote.

MR. J. O'CONNOR: My contention is that the prisoners in the Barbavilla and Crossmaglen cases are in jail because they are the victims of trumped-up charges—charges trumped up in the

same way as certain people endeavoured to trump up charges against myself. I was to have been placed in the dock just like these prisoners. My liberty and life were to have been placed in peril; and I think, Sir, with all respect to your ruling, it would be well that I should enlighten the Committee by describing my own experience of the state of things which existed in Ireland at the very time that these men were sent into penal servitude. What I would say would illustrate the practices pursued by Her Majesty's Representatives in Ireland; and I hold, Sir, that my statement should not be rejected by the Committee, for I feel convinced that it would go far to convince the Government that there is a case for inquiry into all the convictions for conspiracy which have been referred to in the course of this discussion. I believe that if hon. Members would approach this subject with open minds, nothing could go farther to convince them of the justice of the demand that we are making than such a case, coming from the mouth of a man who was very near being made the victim of a nefarious conspiracy set on foot in the name of law and order. Sir, a white terror was spread over the land, and you had victims to that white terror. I myself know that Poff and Barrett, who were hanged in Tralee, were the victims of a trumped-up charge. I investigated that case; I saw the people concerned; and I know that the men who were hanged were innocent of the crime of which they were charged. I know, also, that Miles Joyce was innocent of the crime for which he was hanged.

THE CHAIRMAN: I have already explained that reference can only be made to persons still in detention, with respect to whom Her Majesty's Government are under liability under the Vote in question. It is impossible, under this Vote, to enter into the circumstances of trials which have resulted in consequences such as have been referred to, where the Chief Secretary can be held in no way responsible.

MR. J. O'CONNOR: The case of Bryan Kilmartin has been referred to in this debate. He was released; but can you restore life to a man that you have hanged? You could restore liberty to Kilmartin, and what were the circumstances which brought about his release? A man was on his death-bed; he made

a confession to his priest; and so much respect had Her Majesty's Government of the day for the death-bed repentance of the murderer, so much respect had they for the sacred functions of the Confessional, that it was sufficient for the Prime Minister of that day to stand up in his place, and say that an inquiry should be set on foot. An inquiry was set on foot, with the result that Kilmartin was released. But you cannot give back life to Myles Joyce and Francy Hynes. We have been told to pursue the ordinary course—that is, to appeal to the Lord Lieutenant. Pursue the ordinary course! As though the Law Officers of the Crown pursued the ordinary course in the case of those convictions! The ordinary course is to memorialize the Lord Lieutenant, and we are told that the Lord Lieutenant, in the first instance, acted on the best legal advice. What legal advice had he? He had the legal advice of those who procured these convictions wrongfully. He had the advice of the Law Officers and the Crown Prosecutors of the day. He had the advice of Mr. Serjeant O'Brien, who in one of the Kerry cases—and here I must refer to a name that you, Sir, forbade me to mention—congratulated the man French the notorious character who has since suffered penal servitude for a most abominable crime, upon having "steered the case very close to the wind." Serjeant O'Brien, who is listening to this debate to-night, having come over especially, I suppose, to hear what is said in order to defend himself—Serjeant O'Brien was appealed to, no doubt, and Mr. Bolton, I suppose, and all the other Law Officers of the Crown, the men who went sneaking into the cells, and told the prisoners that if they did not give evidence so-and-so would, and that the result would be that they—the prisoners they were intimidating—would be hanged by the neck until they were dead; the men who put all the rotten machinery of the Crimes Act into operation in order to procure convictions. I have not dealt with many political cases—I have not dealt with any. I have endeavoured to give an idea of the general law administration of Ireland, as conducted by the officers of the Crown. I had intended to illustrate what I meant by personal experience, and by the intimate knowledge of the country I had at the time. I was retarded and checked

Mr. J. O'Connor (Tipperary, S.)

to some extent; but still I trust that this demand will not go for nothing. I believe that irrefutable and convincing arguments have been advanced and have been placed before the Government, who know as much about these cases as do the Law Officers of the Crown themselves. I believe a good case for inquiry has been made out, and I trust the Government will signalize their period of Office, be it short or long, by doing justice in these cases. It is only justice we demand—not mercy; and if the Government give it to us I believe it will strengthen their position. I would urge them to yield to our demand for an inquiry, and I would only say to them, in conclusion—"Be just and fear not."

MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W., and Sligo S.): Will the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland reply to the question which has been put to him with regard to the Arms Act?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH) (Bristol, W.): I understood that a reply was asked from me on another question, and I shall be happy to make it after the subject immediately before the Committee is disposed of.

Question put.

The Committee divided:—Ayes 75; Noes 178: Majority 103.—(Div. List, No. 34.)

Original Question again proposed.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: The hon. Member for West Belfast (Mr. Sexton) raised questions with regard to the North of Ireland, on which I should like to address a few words to the Committee. The hon. Gentleman first called attention to the Proclamation of the City of Derry and the town of Belfast issued by the late Government, and then says the Proclamation was allowed to exist without being carried into effect. I admit there has been great difficulty with regard to this Proclamation. In answer to previous Questions which have been addressed to me in the House by the hon. Member, I have pointed out that the law, as it stands, does not permit any general search for arms by which alone such Proclamation could be really rendered effective, and that though searches for arms have been instituted in individual houses in Belfast, yet these searches

have failed of any result. [MR. SEXTON: How many have there been?] I am not prepared to say how many, but in a good many cases, I know; and I entirely repudiate the suggestion that these searches have been made in a partial manner. The hon. Member says he has heard that the searches were, as a rule, made in the houses of Roman Catholics. Sir, wherever there has been reason to suppose that any successful result could be obtained, steps have been taken by the Constabulary to initiate a search and to do what is possible under the existing law. Of course, we have had in consideration the possibility of altering the law in order to make the Proclamation more effective; but, looking to the grave difficulties of the subject generally, we have come to the conclusion that it is impossible to deal with it in the present Session. I have called for Returns as to the number of arms surrendered, and I shall take the whole matter into further consideration. Perhaps I ought to say that as the Proclamation was issued on July 19, it was doubtless felt by our Predecessors that it was their duty, before issuing it, to consider what power they had to carry out the Act, and to take steps to secure that it should be put into operation. I do not wish to blame right hon. Gentlemen opposite; but I have not yet learnt that our Predecessors attempted to take any steps to carry out the Proclamation. There is no doubt, however, that the matter has been the subject of consideration under both Governments. The hon. Gentleman refers to the allowance of ammunition to the Rifle Clubs in Belfast by the War Office for the purpose of practising rifle shooting. Well, I have not had my attention drawn to this matter, and I am not prepared off-hand to express my opinion on it. It is rather more a matter for the War Office than the Irish Government, to consider whether any special privilege of this sort shall be accorded to bodies of persons joined together for the purpose of practising rifle shooting, which is now really becoming a scientific pursuit. [*Laughter.*] Well, everyone who goes to Wimbledon during the rifle meeting will know that that is so. [MR. SEXTON: But how about shooting at other people?] I am coming to that point. If the ammunition issued for the purpose of prac-

tising rifle shooting is utilized for shooting at other people, or if injury to anyone is caused in this way, of course the practice is one that ought not to be continued, and the Irish Government would recommend the Secretary of State for War at once to check the issue of the ammunition. I do not at all know on what authority the hon. Gentleman has stated that the ammunition given to these Clubs is utilized for the purposes that he supposes. I have heard no evidence of any kind to lead me to that conclusion, though, if he can put any before me, I shall be much obliged to him. Then the hon. Gentleman went on to refer to the action of the Inspector General in Belfast in replacing the Constabulary on duty at Shankhill Road, and he has asked me whether it is intended to place a police station on Queen's Island. I have inquired into that matter, and it appears that a police station on Queen's Island, at any rate at the present moment, would be absolutely useless. As the hon. Gentleman knows, there are, on the one hand, a large body of Protestant workmen employed on Queen's Island, and, on the other hand, a large body of Roman Catholics employed in the Alexandra Dock. A present, a large force is being used to prevent any collision between these bodies of workmen going to and returning from their work. The mere establishment of a police station, which would only be occupied by a few men, would be of no use whatever in preventing a collision between these large bodies of men. Other steps have been taken for the preservation of the peace; but, of course, any permanent arrangements will have to be considered by the Royal Commission. The hon. Gentleman stated that he had heard that the Inspector General had selected Protestants only to do Constabulary duty on Shankhill Road, and he expressed some fear of the possible institution of a local police force in Belfast. Well, all I can say is, I am quite confident that the Inspector General is incapable of dealing with this matter in any partizan spirit, or of expressing any opinions which would in any way bind the Government in their attitude in the future. I entirely adhere to the observation which has been made, that the Inspector General is a man who would not pander to either Party in regard to the Con-

stabulary. The hon. Member has also asked me to express a desire that any persons who have left their employment in Belfast on account of religious difficulties should be reinstated. Well, Sir, I am quite sure, from communications which have passed between myself and Sir Edward Harland, that he would be the last man to be actuated by any desire to keep persons out of employment on account of their religion, and that if it were in his power he would prevent it. I do not believe—and I have already stated it in the House—that persons occupying the position of leading manufacturers in Belfast would be so blind to their own interests as to discourage the employment of Catholic workmen. No one can wish more than I do that these unhappy differences, which have produced such terrible results in Belfast, should pass away as rapidly as possible, and that a better feeling should prevail; and, for my part, I believe that the large employers of labour in Belfast will probably be more anxious than anyone to bring about a state of things tending to the welfare of the people.

MR. JOHN MORLEY (Newcastle-on-Tyne): I am sure that anyone having had experience of the Inspector General of Constabulary will agree that he is in every way incapable of anything like partiality, or the desire to pander to one Party in Ireland more than another. I should like to make one remark with respect to what has fallen from the right hon. Baronet, regarding the carrying of arms in Belfast and Derry. The Proclamation was issued on the 19th of July, and the right hon. Baronet has stated that he had failed to find any evidence of the means to which the late Government intended to resort in order to make that Proclamation effective. We were only in Office a week or 10 days after the issue of that Proclamation; and, practically, we had no chance of making the provisions of that Proclamation effective. I cannot doubt that the present Irish Government have done exactly what we should have done had we remained in power, and I daresay that they have done their best to make the Proclamation effective. But hon. Members who were in the last Parliament when I had the honour of introducing the Arms Bill—if it can be called an honour—may remember that I did

not expect any great efficacy from that measure in detecting the possession of unlicensed arms. Neither then did I, nor do I now, lay great stress upon the Act; on the contrary, I said I thought that all these Acts are of little utility and of little efficacy. At the same time, I believe that one notion of the Irish Government in proclaiming Belfast and Derry was that there should be no sense of partiality felt by the people in the South and West of Ireland; that they should feel that as we carried out searches in the South and West of Ireland, so we should not shrink from carrying out searches in Belfast and Derry. One of our last acts was to issue warrants for searches for arms in 25 cases in County Kerry; but, to the best of my belief, not one of those warrants resulted in the detection of a single weapon. I should not be surprised, therefore, if the powers of search in Belfast and Derry, under the Proclamation of the 19th of July, should have the same result. But this is no reason why the Government should not do their best—and I am not at all prepared to deny that they would—to search into particular houses, whenever there is reason to suppose that arms are to be found there. As to the general disarmament of a city like Belfast or Derry, I think we must acknowledge that this is practically impossible. What they can do is to do what Lord Spencer's Government did in the case of Dublin and Cork. If the Government have reason to think that there are arms in public-houses or taverns, they can do something to alarm the unlicensed possessors of those arms, either into surrendering them, or into concealing them in places where their utility will become very doubtful. I simply wished to make these few remarks with reference to the Proclamation of the 19th of July.

MR. SEXTON: I wish to say, in reply to the speech of the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach), that only time can show what is the effect of the Proclamation, and also of the Crimes Act. But there was a feeling in Belfast that the scene of the late disturbance in that city was precisely in the quarter where the stores were, and the officers observed that the ammunition was of superior quality. That is why I ask that the Secretary of

State for War and the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary should take steps to secure that the public stores of ammunition are not in the possession of persons who are not entitled to use them. The riots in Belfast were begun by an attack of the shipwrights on the Irish in the locality. ["No, no!"] I say that if there had been a couple of determined constables at the gate these men would never have got in, and this preliminary disturbance would have been prevented; and, therefore, I urge upon the right hon. Gentleman to consider the establishment of a permanent police force at the scene of disturbance, and that there shall be the same proportion as to creed as in the rest of the force in Belfast.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: I could not promise that. The force at Shankhill Road will not be selected on the ground of creed.

MR. SEXTON: Three days ago 150 Catholics were employed in the yard who are now starving. What is the use of the right hon. Gentleman saying that Sir Edward Harland would prevent these men being kept out of employment if he could? If he were to say that if any of the men interfered with the Catholics he would be the first to dismiss them, and that the managers of the yard would prosecute and get them convicted, the whole thing would be put an end to. I wonder the right hon. Gentleman does not promise to use his influence with Sir Edward Harland and other employers to induce them to reinstate these men.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: I cannot interfere between employers and their men.

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.): With reference to the remarks of the right hon. Gentleman the late Chief Secretary (Mr. John Morley) and the present Chief Secretary for Ireland, I wish to point out that they have passed over one important point in connection with the administration of the Arms Act—that is to say, the impossibility of getting by search arms that are hidden away. I always said that would be impossible. I would also point out that the punishment is very different in the South of Ireland from what it is in the North for men who are found with arms in their hands; the man in the South gets

three months' hard labour, whereas the man in the North is dismissed, although the law is that he should be imprisoned for three months. Therefore, I cannot understand how it is possible for anyone to stand up in this House and say there is impartial justice in Ireland.

MR. EWART (Belfast, N.): I wish to point out, on behalf of the employers of labour in Belfast, that there is no disinclination to employ Catholics. I mentioned it to one of the partners of the yard a short time ago, and he assured me that they would be only too glad if the Catholic workmen would return, and that there was nothing whatever to prevent their doing so.

COLONEL NOLAN (Galway, N.): I wish to call the attention of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the inquiry which has taken place into the question as to whether trawling should be prohibited in Galway Bay, or in any portion of that Bay. The Commissioners, as we were informed by the right hon. Gentleman a short time ago, were still considering this important subject; but they have not yet sent in their Report, although six months have elapsed since they commenced their labours. I do not agree with the opinion that the Inspectors of Irish Fisheries should be the sole judges as to whether trawling should be prohibited in certain circumstances or not. Their opinion on trawling would, of course, be valuable, although they might not be right in their views, and I think they might very well give advice to the Chief Secretary in this matter. I think the right hon. Gentleman should ascertain the number of fishermen who wish for, and the number of fishermen who are opposed to, trawling. I have a large number of fishermen amongst my constituents, and I can say that nearly all of them are very much opposed to trawling in Galway Bay. I have no doubt that they are right in their opposition, seeing that trawling interferes with their fishing; and one of the Coastguard officers declared to me that the paucity of fish there was due to the trawling which went on in the Bay. It is a very important question for both Scotch and Irish Members to consider how far the local fishermen should have a voice in the question as to how the water on their Coast should be fished—whether trawlers should be kept out of it. If

you push the principle to an extreme, and say that anyone may fish the water as they like, I do not see why you should not allow foreigners to go there. The case of foreigners coming over and fishing your waters is similar to trawlers coming in and driving out the ordinary fishermen, and I say that this is a very important point for you to consider. There is, of course, no objection to trawling in the open sea. As I have said, this is not a question to be settled by the Inspectors, but that the Chief Secretary should take their advice and at the same time give weight to the opinion of the majority of the fishermen in the locality. I think also that the right hon. Gentleman should consider whether he will not allow the Inspectors to have a first-class fishing vessel at their disposal, for the purpose of conducting experiments in Irish waters, which at present they have no means of carrying out. The cost of this would not be large, and would, moreover, be lessened by the return from the fish sold. I think these points are worthy of the attention of the Chief Secretary, and I hope he will be able to look into them.

MR. CLANCY (Dublin Co., N.): I ask the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to take into his favourable consideration the propriety of issuing an Order in Council, whereby herring fishing would be prohibited before the 10th of June. It is the opinion of fishermen all round the Coast that there ought to be a close season for herring; and I am clearly of opinion that the proposal would be accepted by the owners of fishing vessels, both in England and Scotland. I think there should be no hesitation in prohibiting the fishing before the 10th of June, and also in preventing trawling within 20 miles of the coast. I hope to hear from the right hon. Gentleman that some steps have been taken to carry out the recommendations of the Commissioners. I was glad the other day to receive an assurance from the right hon. Gentleman that he would advise the extension to fishermen on the North-West and West Coasts of Ireland, of the recent regulations with regard to loans. But if the right hon. Gentleman would add to the declaration which he made the other day that he would take steps to amalgamate the two funds, he would largely

increase the value of the concession he has announced, and do a great service to the fishing interest in Ireland. The last Report mentions that the Irish fishermen, on almost every part of the coast, are a respectable and courageous class of men, and, further, that the loans already made have been very punctually repaid, and that the arrears outstanding, excluding the promissory notes not yet arrived at maturity, are very small indeed. I shall be glad if the Chief Secretary will take note of these points.

MR. M. J. KENNY (Tyrone, Mid): This question of Irish fishing is one of such great importance that no apology whatever is needed for bringing it forward at the present time. This is one of the subjects with regard to which we complain that the amount of money voted is too small. The fishing industry in Ireland is one which is capable of enormous development, and it is one which has been systematically neglected. There is no more capable public official than the Chief Inspector of Fisheries in Ireland; and for many years Sir Thomas Brady has laid before the House schemes for the improvement and development of the fishing industry in Ireland; and he has given examples of cases in which, by judicious generosity, great improvement has been made and a great development has taken place in the manner of fishing and the extent of the capture of fish on the South Coast of Ireland. The most notorious instance is off the Coast of Cork, where, owing to the generosity of the Baroness Coutts, who lent money to the men, the fishermen were enabled to engage in successful competition with other boats which came to the South Coast of Ireland for the purpose of fishing there. We say that if the Government were to do for other parts of the Coast what the Baroness Coutts did for the South Coast the same results would arise. During the 11 years in which these funds have been at their disposal the Government have lent nearly £200,000 to the fishermen, and of this sum less than £2,000 remains overdue. The loans have been discharged with the most exemplary fidelity. I know with regard to one county, in which many thousands of pounds have been lent in the course of a few years, that last year there was only the sum of £1 10s. overdue. Yet in that county nothing has

been done to encourage the industry. The fishermen there are of the poorest class, and can only afford to use the worst class of boats. My hon. and gallant Friend the Member for North Galway (Colonel Nolan) has spoken this evening on the subject of trawling. The Inspectors, in the Report of 1885, alluded to the practice of trawling, but expressed no opinion upon it. I am one of those who believe that the practice of trawling is a bad practice, and detrimental to fishing. I may mention that Galway Bay is 10 miles wide, although the portion available for fishing is considerably less than that; and I believe that in Galway Bay, at any rate, the practice of trawling has a detrimental effect on the supply of fish. But the people there would not resort to trawling were it not that the boats are so bad that they do not venture to go out of sight of land to catch fish. But, Sir, if there were some means placed at the disposal of the Inspectors of Irish Fisheries, so that they might practise the artificial culture of fish, as has been done in America, the question would not give rise to anxiety as to the future supply of fish in Ireland. In America the Government have placed a fund at the disposal of certain officers for the purpose of effecting the artificial culture of fish, and the result has been extremely satisfactory. Sir Thomas Brady himself has been able—not out of any State funds, but out of his own private resources—to provide salmon ova, which have been shipped to Australia, which have proved most productive, and for which, unless I am mistaken, he has received the thanks of the Australian Government. I think that if we can ship ova to Australia successfully, we should not begrudge a little expense for the sake of improving the fish supply of Ireland. There is another point I will dwell upon for a moment, and that is the efforts which have been made by Sir Thomas Brady, out of his private resources and gifts of money which he has received from strangers—sometimes Canadians, sometimes Americans—to provide large boats in some places for the use of the fishermen. Now, Sir, in every case in which Sir Thomas Brady has been able to buy these large boats for the use of fishermen the results have been in every way satisfactory. I find that three years ago £250,000 was voted for the con-

struction of piers and harbours mainly for fishing purposes. This fund has now been pretty well exhausted; and I may say that, though it has been exhausted, it has, in the main, been most wisely expended. That expenditure is calculated to give a most excellent return to the nation; but I think that the Inspectors of Irish Fisheries have reason now to demand that there should be a further grant given for the purpose of further enlarging piers and harbours in Ireland. I see in the Report which the Inspectors of Fisheries have supplied to Parliament that reference is made to a new harbour near the mouth of the Shannon at Carrigafoyle, on which there has been £10,000 spent. There was a pier there previously, which was not, of course, so capacious as the new harbour; but the result of this expenditure of £10,000 has not been so satisfactory as the Inspectors of Fisheries would like, because now that the harbour is near its completion they report that it will not be able to accommodate vessels drawing more than 5 feet of water. The result is that the harbour will be of very little practical utility for the larger class of ships. Then my hon. Friend referred to the practice of French luggers and French boats coming right up to the Irish Coast. These boats come in to within half-a-mile of the Irish Coast, and sometimes nearer. Indeed, sometimes French seamen sail up the Shannon and land at Kilrush, and other places; and though there used to be a man-of-war in the Shannon, and though, I think, there is one there now, these war vessels are never used for the purpose of protecting the Irish fishermen against the depredations of the French fishermen. We heard only the other day of a case in which 11 English fishing boats were detained at Havre because they had trespassed upon French waters. I think it would be a most excellent thing if the Naval Authorities on the West Coast of Ireland retaliated on some of these French luggers, which visit the Irish Coast in large quantities at certain seasons of the year. I think that whenever Her Majesty's ships see these luggers in Irish waters they should seize them, and detain them until they receive an explanation from the French Government. Some time ago I called the attention of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Stirling Burghs

(Mr. Campbell-Bannerman), who was, I think, at that time Secretary to the Admiralty—I called his attention to this persistent encroachment of the French fishing boats on the Irish Coasts; but he was unable to promise that anything would be done for the protection of the Irish fishermen, and this notwithstanding our constant experience that gun-boats belonging to Her Majesty's Navy have been put at the service of land agents in Ireland for the purpose of carrying out evictions. I think that is a gross and scandalous abuse of the vessels of the Navy, which, it seems to me, would be much better employed—as I believe they were intended by the Constitution to be employed—in the protection of the subjects of the Queen. I believe that the Government would do well if they would take into consideration the question of developing the fisheries of Ireland. These fisheries are capable of immense development. The Government have spoken of erecting large harbours. But large harbours are not what is required for the protection of these fisheries. It would be much better if loans were granted to the fishermen to enable them to buy proper boats and proper gear. It would be a good thing if the Government would send to these fishermen model boats and gear, with persons to instruct them in their use. That would be a most efficacious mode of developing the fishing industry of Ireland. I think if the Government acted in this way their efforts would very soon be repaid in a most liberal manner.

MR. BIGGAR (Cavan, W.): I wish to call the attention of the Government to just one question in connection with the fisheries of Ireland. It is very much the custom of those connected with the river fisheries to infringe upon the rights of the sea fishermen, if the latter have no legal claims where the river fisheries exist. There is a very special illustration of that at the mouth of Lough Foyle in the Northern part of Derry and Antrim. The unfortunate fishermen there are constantly having their nets torn and broken by the tug steamers belonging to the owners of the Foyle fisheries. The sea fishermen have attempted to get a legal boundary laid down for each class of fishing in this part of Ireland; but without satisfactory result, for the wealthy owners

of the river fisheries are able to injure to a very serious extent, sometimes to a ruinous extent, the rights and interests of the individual fishermen who carry on their operations outside the Lough. I am told that the same thing occurs in very many places, and not only so, but it very often happens that the owners of these river fisheries summon the outside fishermen for alleged trespass. They bring them up before the magistrates, who are their own personal friends, with the result that fines are inflicted upon the fishermen. These fines are, perhaps, not very heavy; but a penalty is imposed, and the convictions stand to be offered in evidence on a future day, when any proceedings are taken in the Superior Courts, as evidence of the owners of the river fisheries having a right to that to which, as a matter of fact, they have no legal title whatever. Of course, it is well known that any proceedings taken in the Superior Courts with regard to the rights of the fishermen are extremely expensive matters of litigation. It is utterly impossible for these poor fishermen to compete with the wealthy fishery proprietors who have legal rights to fish in the river. Now, what I would ask the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland to do would be to instruct the Inspectors of Fisheries to, as far as possible, define the rights of the individual fishermen and the owners of river fisheries. It would be perfectly competent in them to do that. It would not give them an enormous deal of trouble to examine the title deeds of those who have river fishings, and to find out the extent of the fishings. If the Inspectors would point out the boundary of the two classes of fishermen, when the outside fishermen fished within the boundary of the river fishermen, they would be open to severe punishment; but, on the other hand, it is not desirable that the wealthy owners of river fishings should be able capriciously to drive the poor sea fishermen from place to place, hindering them from earning an honest livelihood. I ask that the right hon. Gentleman will increase the power and responsibility of the Fishery Inspectors, so that they can act, to some extent, as arbitrators between the two parties with regard to the boundary rights of each.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH:
The hon. and gallant Member for North

Galway (Colonel Nolan) referred to the question of trawling in Galway Bay, and rather suggested that I should disregard the views of the Fishery Inspectors and put down trawling in the Bay. Well, Sir, in the first place, the Fishery Inspectors are not irresponsible persons. They can only act under the law and the orders of the Privy Council, and that is some security in the matter. I should be sorry to take any action in antagonism to the views expressed by Gentlemen who are thoroughly competent to form an opinion on such a subject. I believe the question of trawling in Galway Bay is of old date.

COLONEL NOLAN: The Trawling Report has not been long issued.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: I heard of this question 12 years ago, and I was also acquainted with the difficulty alluded to by the hon. and gallant Gentleman when he said that the fishermen of Galway Bay have a strong desire to go outside. I understand that trawling has been suspended in the Firth of Forth as a scientific experiment, and not from any idea of preserving the fish. It may be possible to make a similar experiment in Galway Bay, and I will make inquiries on the point. The hon. and gallant Member also referred to another old question—namely, the desirability of making a grant to place a vessel at the disposal of the Fishery Inspectors, to enable them to institute scientific inquiries, by which means they would be able to employ a great deal of their time very usefully. I can remember, 10 years ago, recommending to the Treasury of that day to place a vessel of that kind at the disposal of the Fishery Commission. My recommendation was not attended to; but I will renew it now, and I hope I shall be more successful. The hon. and gallant Member has also referred to the question of a close time for herrings. I understand that that system has been tried for some time at Loch Fyne, and has been found to be a complete failure. This experience, therefore, is not very promising for the success of any similar attempt in Ireland. It seems to me that the question should certainly not be dealt with by the Irish Fishery Board alone. When any system of this kind is adopted there must be general co-operation in it; and I believe that the Scotch Fishery Board would not be in favour of any-

thing of the kind. As the matter has been raised, however, I will endeavour to inform myself more fully with regard to it. Reference has likewise been made to the question of loans to fishermen. Since a Question was last put to me on the subject, I have received Reports from the Inspectors of Fisheries as to the possibility of extending the loans for boats, on the security of the boats only, to other parts of Ireland besides the Western Coast, and have taken steps to carry out their suggestions. If that system is extended, so as not to give one county or district an unfair advantage over others, much good may be done. As regards the whole question of loans to the fishermen, I am glad to hear what has been said to-night by Irish Members as to the success of that system, which it was my good fortune to inaugurate when the Irish Reproductive Loan Fund Act was passed in 1874. I think a great deal more might be done in that way; and I will endeavour, to the best of my ability, to extend the system so as to enable the fishermen to obtain better boats and gear than they at present possess. We must not be blamed if we desire to have some kind of security for the money we may advance to enable these fishermen to carry on their difficult trade and render it more profitable. The hon. Member for West Cavan (Mr. Biggar) has referred to the quarrel which took place between the owners of river fishings and the sea fishermen, the latter being said to trespass upon the legal rights of the former. He suggests that the Inspectors should define the respective rights of the two parties. I confess I am not quite aware how far the Inspectors have power to do anything of the kind. I do not know whether there is any power vested in them by law to lay down limits beyond which neither party can trespass; but if any complaint is made to me by the fishermen, or by either party, I certainly will at once refer it to the Inspectors of Fisheries, in order that they may see what steps can be taken in the matter. Some remarks have fallen from more than one hon. Member upon the general question of the development of Irish fisheries. I am not going into that matter at this time of the morning; but I would venture to remind hon. Members that I have already stated to the House that we are extremely anxious to develop

not merely the small Irish fisheries, but—what is of much greater importance—the deep sea fisheries on the West Coast, and that we are about to take steps towards that end which I hope will be of great service.

MR. HOOPER (Cork, S.E.): The right hon. Gentleman has not answered a question which is of great importance to my constituency. I refer to the question raised in the Report of these Fishery Inspectors with regard to the amounts from the Reproductive Loan Fund applied for and the amounts available in certain districts. This Report shows that whilst £13,000 has been applied for in the county of Cork only £600 is available; whilst, in a neighbouring county, there is £11,000 available, but only £800 applied for. Would it not be well to take into consideration the desirability of amalgamating these funds? With regard to the new rule which was sanctioned by the Earl of Carnarvon in January last, I would point out that it was not carried out for four months, and not until I had put on the Paper of this House a Notice of a Question to the Predecessor of the right hon. Baronet (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach). Application was made by my constituents, I think in February, and it was not until June that the answer came. I do not believe Sir Thomas Brady is to blame, for there is no more hard-working official connected with the whole Irish Administration than he is. He has earned the gratitude of the Coast people all over Ireland. But, whoever is to blame, I think it is a most unfortunate thing that the matter should be left in doubt, and that when it had been pending for months finally an answer should be given of an unsatisfactory character. As to the question of a close time for herrings, I am bound to say that I think the answer of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland will be received with great dissatisfaction on the Coast in my division. There is great dissatisfaction felt at the present condition of things, because large numbers of immature fish are taken in the nets before the month of June. I hope this matter will be considered, and that steps will be taken to prevent the wholesale destruction of fish which now occurs.

MR. E. HARRINGTON (Kerry, W.): I cannot agree with the proposal of the

Sir Michael Hicks-Beach

hon. Member for South-East Cork (Mr. Hooper), that money for reproductive loans should be taken from one county in order to give it to another. I do not at all object to a general amalgamation of the Reproductive Loan Fund; but I should like to say this—at present there is an amount lying unproductive to the credit of Kerry. Before that is touched I should like to point out that at the present moment there is a harbour being built in the county at a cost of £96,000, for the purpose of advancing the fishing industry of the district; and I trust that no steps will be taken which will have the effect of diminishing the means now at the command of the authorities for the completion of the work. I should like to say that I do not also agree with the recommendations which have been made with regard to a general close season. I know this—that even in two different parts of the bay, on the shore of which I was born, the seasons are three months asunder. If the question is to be approached it should be approached with great care, and after due consultation with the fishermen themselves, and with those interested in the localities. As to trawling, that is another matter which should be carefully entered upon, and with regard to which it is always necessary to keep in view local opinion—and by local opinion I mean more particularly the opinion of the men who live by this fishing industry, and I was going to say thrive; but, unfortunately, I cannot use that word. There is another matter which at once suggests itself when talking of these things, and that is the manner in which the Government neglects the fostering of the pilchard fishing on the Coast of Ireland. I have some practical knowledge of this matter myself. I have often and often been out to see the fishing. I have seen literally acres of fish at a time; I have seen them in such shoals that it would only have been necessary to throw out a seine net to fill from 8 to 12 yawls with them; but at such times I have known the fishermen consult together as to whether it was worth the trouble to take them. It is well known that there is no seine fish so easily taken as the pilchard. It does not shoot off like the mackerel, nor evade the net like the herring; but it remains in the net, where it can be easily picked up. But I have seen the fishermen leave the fish behind, simply

because they had no market for them. There is a great deal to be said on this fishing question. I have materials here with which to amplify my remarks; but I will not use them. My reason for speaking is that in Kerry at this moment they are engaged in the construction of a harbour, which it is hoped will be of great advantage to the fishing industry; and I wish, therefore, to press upon the right hon. Baronet the Chief Secretary for Ireland not to be induced to give any rash promise which may prove prejudicial to that work.

MR. HOOPER: My proposal was that all the money at present unappropriated should be put into a common purse and distributed in the various counties as it is required.

MR. P. McDONALD (Sligo, N.): I wish to supplement, by a very few words, the observations of my hon. and gallant Friend the Member for North Galway (Colonel Nolan) in reference to the subject of trawling. As representing a Coast constituency, many and repeated complaints have been brought before me in regard to this method of fishing, and I have endeavoured to draw attention to the matter by asking questions in this House. As yet, I have not received a satisfactory answer. Certainly the right hon. Baronet (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) has, this evening, shown a desire to take the matter under serious consideration. I agree with my hon. and gallant Friend that trawling should only be permitted outside a certain limit. The depredations of the trawlers are very much complained of off the Coast of Sligo. The fishermen complain that the trawlers come in from the outside district, and rob them of the profits which they ought to make, and of the fruits which they ought to reap from their labours. It seems to me that the principle which ought to prevail in a question of this kind should be the greatest good for the greatest number. We should consider whether it would not be right to legislate in such a manner as to prevent one individual from securing to himself all the profit and good which should belong to hundreds. If you carry out that principle—namely, that one man may deprive hundreds of their trade, you will admit the trawl, and will prevent hundreds of poor fishermen from obtaining that which they ought to have. I think, if the Committee will permit me to say so,

that this question of fisheries is one of very great importance. I think I am correct in saying it is of great importance when we remember that during last year the number of registered vessels used in Ireland for the capture of fish was 5,667, with crews of over 20,000 men, and close upon 10,000 boys. It is clear, therefore, that where there are so many persons employed the industry must be one of importance. The matter is one in which England is equally interested with Ireland, inasmuch as I have reason to believe that the people of England are larger consumers of the fish captured by the Irish fishermen than the people of Ireland themselves. We desire that our people should be employed in the taking of fish; and, on the other hand, we wish the English people to become the buyers of the fish when taken. I shall now confine myself to a few observations regarding my own constituency. The fishermen of Sligo complain that they have not proper means of getting rid of their captures; consequently, they are not able to do the amount of work they otherwise would; but that, Sir, is not the greatest cause of complaint; it is this—if the fishermen had proper harbours and good gear they could raise a much larger quantity of fish. I have raised already the question of insufficient harbours, or, I may call it, landing stage accommodation. On one occasion I drew attention to the fact that one of Her Majesty's gunboats was not able to land with provisions which were sent to the starving people of the Isle of Moray in consequence of the fact that there was no landing pier on the island, and no landing pier on the mainland opposite. Under these circumstances, I think the attention of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary, and of all other Members of the Irish Government who are interested in the welfare of the Irish people, and perhaps still more interested in the well-being of the poor and struggling people of the Western districts of Ireland, ought to take this matter into consideration. Along the whole Coast of Connemara and Donegal there are equal complaints of the want of suitable gear and suitable landing accommodation. The Commissioners report that the fishermen are peaceable and orderly in both the districts. If the people are peaceable and orderly, and evidently disposed to be

industrious, I think it is the duty of a parental Government to help them in developing an industry in which the whole Kingdom is interested. Well, the right hon. Baronet (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach), to his credit be it said, initiated a movement in the shape of the Irish Reproductive Loan Fund, for helping these poor fishermen to carry on their work; and I am pleased to say, judging from the Report that has been furnished, that of the loans that have been advanced, a very small remnant in the shape of arrears remains. The Report states that these arrears could be recovered, with few exceptions, if proper legal steps were taken. Now, that is an exceedingly satisfactory state of things which I am glad to say prevails, not only in my division of the county, but along the whole Coast. County Leitrim has no arrears at all; County Sligo has only £87 of arrears out of over £4,000 granted; Mayo £200 of arrears out of £9,000 granted; County Galway has only £600 out of £17,000; County Clare £114 out of £4,000; County Limerick owes nothing at all. Now, considering that these loans have been so punctually paid up, I think the system of the reproductive loans to fishermen in Ireland ought to be considerably extended, so that the men may be able to increase their business, and, at the same time, provide enough food for the people of the entire United Kingdom.

MR. HARRIS (Galway, E.): In the county in which I live the fishing industry is of great importance. I believe that if the sea and inland fisheries were fully developed they would be just as valuable as the land. There is one point I wish to impress most strongly upon the Committee, and that is the necessity of better means for the conveyance of the fish, especially from the Western Coast. Very often fishermen make a large catch of fish; but they are not able to bring it to market while it is good, especially in the summer season. I trust that as the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary seems so very much interested in the development of the Irish fisheries, he will not neglect this important point in connection with this question. Now, upon the subject of trawling the fishermen of Galway have for many years complained of the damage done by trawlers. It is my

opinion that the fishermen are right in the view that they take in regard to trawlers. I gave evidence before a Commission on Fisheries which sat some 12 months or more ago, and I was careful to read all the evidence over, and nothing struck me more than the great discrepancies which were apparent; even the statements of Professor Huxley, to whom we all look so much on these matters, were contradicted by the evidence of experienced practical men, who gave data and facts for their statements. There is, unquestionably, a strong desire amongst fishermen that the system of trawling should cease. I think that that desire should be taken into consideration by the Government, and that the system of trawling should be put an end to. Well, Sir, it is a very great thing that within my memory of Connemara there were very many boats; in fact, the whole Coast line was covered with boats. They were the property of a very generous and good man, Mr. Martin, who is often mentioned with respect in these times. This man did what he could to encourage the fishing industry, and also to aid the fishermen in procuring little holdings on the sea shore. I would ask the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to remember that though fishermen's occupations are on the sea they have to live on the land—that is, that their occupations are very uncertain, and that, as a rule, they have a double contingency to contend with. They have, first of all, the contingency of failures to make good catches at sea; and, in the second place, if they are small farmers as well, they have the contingency of failures of crops on their land. Returns have been presented to this House from our Consuls abroad, and in those Returns it is stated that in foreign countries freeholds—

THE CHAIRMAN: I must remind the hon. Gentleman that the question of fisheries arises on this Vote in connection with the allowances to Inspectors of Fisheries.

MR. HARRIS: As regards the inspection of inland fisheries, I will say I agree with the observation made by my hon. Friend the Member for West Cavan (Mr. Biggar), that the question is worthy of great attention. I remember the time when all the rivers of the country were open; and when the Inspectors report upon the deterioration

of our fisheries, I hope they will point out that the rights which are being exercised by the riparian owners have a very detrimental effect upon the fishing industry. If a riparian proprietor along a narrow river chooses to exercise his right he can destroy all the salmon. ["Order!"] I do not wish to get out—though I am very often out of Order—but I trust the Government will take a large and comprehensive view of this great and important question. It is a question which extends itself very far beyond the limits which the Inspectors of Fisheries are confined by; it is a question of vast importance to these Islands. It is a question which affects not alone the general interests and wealth of the fishing community, but which affects, in a particular degree, the sea-fishing and commercial people as the English are. I maintain that we ought to put the Irish, English, and Scotch fisheries on an equal footing with the foreigner, and we ought not to allow individual rights to be exercised detrimentally to public rights.

MR. LALOR (Queen's Co., Leix): I will not detain the Committee more than five minutes; all I wish to do is to offer a few observations with reference to the lunatic asylums in Ireland. The lunatic asylums in Ireland are nominally under the authority of a Board of Governors appointed by the Lord Lieutenant; but, practically, they are under the control and management of three medical officers. It is supposed that the three medical officers who have the sole control of these great institutions should be totally independent of and disconnected with each other, particularly in the matter of family ties. In my county we happen to have one district lunatic asylum. The medical superintendent of the institution is Dr. Hatchet, and the visiting medical officer is Dr. Jacques, who is a nephew of the resident medical officer. The Government Inspector of the asylum is the father—

THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order! The asylums to which the hon. Member refers are not those visited by the Inspectors named in this Vote. They are Local Government Board Inspectors.

MR. COX (Clare, E.): Mr. Courtney, I only desire to detain the Committee a very few minutes while I direct the attention of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary (Sir Michael Hicks-

Beach) to the expenditure in the Veterinary Department. The Inspectors have very serious complaints to make. In the first place, they say that no provision has been made for the granting of allowances on retirement; that they are liable to be dismissed at a week's notice without any cause assigned, and without any allowance whatever. They also complain that, compared with the officers of a similar Department in England, they labour under very great disadvantages. The professional adviser in Ireland has only, according to the published Returns, £800 a-year, while the officer in a similar position in England has £1,000 a-year; the travelling Inspectors in Ireland have £300 a-year, whereas in England there is a travelling Inspector with £620, an Assistant Inspector with £400, a chief travelling Inspector with £350, three travelling Inspectors with £300 each, and several temporary Inspectors, who receive from £100 to £400 each; in Ireland the Veterinary Portal Inspectors get, on appointment, 10s. a-day; after three years' service, 12s.; after five years' service, 14s. 6d. a-day, which is the maximum, or a total of £264 12s. 6d. a-year—a very small salary, considering the standard of education which the men have to attain in order to fit themselves for the position. These gentlemen have important duties to perform; indeed, it is generally admitted that it was owing to their great exertions during the recent foot-and-mouth epidemic that the disease was confined within comparatively narrow limits. I am very glad to see sitting opposite the hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for the Isle of Thanet (Colonel King-Harman), because I think he will bear me out when I say that to the veterinary surgeons of Ireland was due, in great degree, the successful stamping out of the foot-and-mouth disease. I well remember the hon. and gallant Gentleman labouring very hard in his own county—Roscommon—to stamp out the disease. Now, the Veterinary Portal Inspectors are not allowed to have private practice. That is also a very great grievance. In some of the ports they are allowed private practice, but they are so largely occupied in the fulfilment of their official duties that they have very little time to devote to private practice; besides, they are removed from one port to another, so they

have very little opportunity of building up a private practice. Well, in looking at this Estimate I have to complain that some of the Portal Supervisors are not men with any veterinary training, but merely policemen drawing pension from the State. I find, in Dublin, two ex-policemen as Portal Supervisors; at Belfast, two District Inspectors; at Waterford, the District Inspector; at Cork and Derry, an ex-Police Inspector; and they are paid from £3 to £4 a-month. The travelling Inspectors, of whom there are two, are paid £300 a-year each. One, I know, is a veterinary surgeon; but the other gentleman has had no experience whatever; as a matter of fact, he is a retired Commander in the Royal Navy, drawing £350 from the State as retiring allowance, besides the £300 from the Veterinary Department, in addition to 15s. per day for travelling expenses. I ask the Chief Secretary (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) to explain how this comes about? I also ask him to give serious consideration to the grievances the Portal Inspectors in Ireland complain of. In the first place, their salaries are too small; and, in the second place, they are liable to be dismissed at a week's notice, irrespective of their length of service. What they wish is to be placed on the Civil Service basis; that retiring allowances may be given to them at the end of long service; and that if the Government consent to grant them superannuation allowances the time they have already served should be taken into consideration. The noble Lord the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Lord Randolph Churchill) has announced that it is the intention of the Government to appoint a Royal Commission to inquire into the working of the Civil Service; perhaps the Government will bring the Veterinary Department in Ireland under the consideration of the Commission.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.): Mr. Courtney, with reference to your ruling that the Inspectors of Lunatic Asylums must be dealt with upon the Vote for the Local Government Board, I beg to point out that there is in this Vote a charge for two Inspectors, and that these Inspectors are the very gentlemen to whom my hon. Friend (Mr. Lalor) wished to allude. Under those circumstances, I submit that this is the proper Vote to raise the question of the inspection of lunatic

asylums, and that it would be out of Order to raise it upon the Local Government Board Vote.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: Mr. Courtney, I venture to call your attention to the fact that although the Vote does include the salaries of the Inspectors to whom the hon. Member (Mr. Lalor) referred, it includes nothing whatever for medical superintendents or visiting physicians of any of the asylums, nor has it any reference to the Boards of the asylums.

MR. LALOR: The Government Inspector is closely connected with the gentlemen who are concerned with the asylums, and that is what I want to bring under the notice of the Committee.

THE CHAIRMAN: It would be irregular to bring to the notice of the Committee on this Vote the connection between the Government Inspector and the gentlemen connected with the asylums. I was wrong in saying that the question ought to be raised on the Local Government Board Vote. I ought to have said the Vote in aid of pauper lunatics in Class VI.

MR. SEXTON: May I point out to you, Sir, that the pauper lunatic asylums are not those to which my hon. Friend calls attention? He desires to call attention to the county asylums.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: I submit to you, Sir, that the Vote for Pauper Lunatic Asylums is restricted to the charge for the maintenance of lunatics. I remember that on a previous occasion, when I attempted to raise a question with regard to the officers under that Vote, the Chairman drew my attention to the fact that the Vote was limited to the maintenance of pauper lunatics.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: So far as I know, the only Vote which defrays any portion of the expenses of the maintenance of lunatics is the Vote for Pauper Lunatics.

MR. SEXTON: If my hon. Friend desires to question the fitness of one or two Inspectors who are paid under this Vote for the office they hold, because of their relationship with another officer, is he not quite in Order?

THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member may discuss the fitness of the Inspectors whose salaries are defrayed under this Vote; but that does not justify him in discussing the organization of any of these asylums.

DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid): The facts of the case are given in the Reports of the Inspectors. The Inspectors of the asylums are practically the people at the head of the Asylums Department in Ireland, and we have to deal with that Department from the Reports furnished to us by the Inspectors.

THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order! The point is irrelevant.

MR. LALOR: Dr. Hatchet is actually the father of the Resident Medical Superintendent of the asylum. This is an irregularity, and I therefore beg to reduce the Vote by £1,200, the maximum salaries of the Inspectors.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £16,666, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1887, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Offices of the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in Dublin and London, and Subordinate Departments."—(Mr. Lalor.)

MR. SEXTON: I submit to the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland that there are two of these Inspectors—"Oh, oh!" What is the matter? I must call your attention, Mr. Courtney, to the conduct of the hon. Baronet the Member for the Reigate Division of Surrey (Sir Trevor Lawrence), who persists in a course of continuous interruption. I wish to ask the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland if he will consider this point? There are two of these Inspectors, one of them is closely connected with two of the medical attendants of a certain asylum; and I would put it to the Government whether it could not be arranged that this asylum might be visited by the other of the two Inspectors?

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: If it be the fact that one of the Inspectors is the father of the Medical Superintendent at a particular asylum, it is obvious that the other Inspector ought to visit that Institution.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*.

Original Question again proposed.

MR. M. J. KENNY: With regard to the discussion raised by the hon. Member for East Clare (Mr. Cox), which has been interrupted, I should like to say a word with regard to the Vote for the Veterinary Surgeons. For some time

there has existed in Dublin and its vicinity a disease known as pleuro-pneumonia, and the Inspectors have failed to stamp it out. [*Laughter.*] I would observe that this is no laughing matter. The right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland may laugh—

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. HOLMES) (Dublin University): I was not laughing at that.

MR. M. J. KENNY: I repeat, this is no laughing matter. It is a very serious question, and one materially affecting the Irish cattle trade. I saw the other day that an outbreak of pleuro-pneumonia, which had taken place in Scotland, was attributed to cattle imported from Ireland. We know that nearly all outbreaks of cattle disease which occur in Great Britain are at once attributed to the importation of infected animals from Ireland; and the result of that has been that, in many instances, the cattle trade of Ireland has been very seriously injured. It would be a very serious matter for Ireland if the importation of cattle into Great Britain were put a stop to. The contagious diseases of cattle are not stamped out in Ireland, because the slaughtering of the animals is left to the Boards of Guardians. There is an arrangement by which half the compensation is paid by the Guardians. [*"Order!"*] This comes under the Veterinary Department.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: The expense of slaughtering in Ireland is paid out of the rates. Slaughtering is carried out, as the hon. Gentleman has himself stated, on the authority of Boards of Guardians, and that point cannot now be discussed, for the salaries of the officials of whose conduct the hon. Member complains are not included in the present Vote.

MR. M. J. KENNY: I am afraid I have not made myself clear. I would submit that half the expense of slaughtering is contributed out of the rates, and the other half by the Government.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: That is not so; but, as a matter of fact, half the cost is borne by the local rate, and half by the general rate.

MR. M. J. KENNY: My point is, that the duties in connection with the slaughtering of animals are in the hands of the Local Authority; and what I want to do is to transfer those duties

from the Local Authority to the Central Authority.

COLONEL NOLAN (Galway, N.): There is a professional adviser to the Veterinary Department included under this Vote. He gives advice from the Veterinary Department to the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland and the Local Government Board. I think, therefore, that any question connected with the Veterinary Department of Ireland would be perfectly in Order.

THE CHAIRMAN: The matter the hon. Member (Mr. M. J. Kenny) wishes to discuss is not connected with the Veterinary Department, but has reference to the Local Authorities, from whom the hon. Gentleman wishes to have certain duties transferred to the Central Authorities.

MR. M. J. KENNY: Should I not be in Order in suggesting that the Chief Secretary for Ireland should take these matters under his direct authority?

THE CHAIRMAN: It would not be relevant to this Vote.

COLONEL NOLAN: Would the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary tell us what are the duties of the adviser of the Veterinary Department who advises the right hon. Gentleman.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: He advises the Government in regard to legal matters connected with the Department; not in regard to any action imposed upon the Boards of Guardians. I cannot speak very fully on this subject now; but I am informed that, except on one or two minor points, the positions of these Inspectors in England and Ireland are on very similar lines indeed. I find that with the exception of the Veterinary Officers at London, Liverpool, and Newcastle, the salaries of those at Irish ports are in favour of the Irish Inspectors rather than the English Inspectors. The salaries in Ireland range from £182 10s. 0d. to £264; whereas in England they range from £100 to £250. With regard to another point which has been raised, I may point out that Army officers are not employed on the duties of the Veterinary Department.

DR. TANNER: In the course of this debate I was much struck by the extremely nice manner in which the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland dealt with the question of the Irish fisheries. Everybody who has

Mr. M. J. Kenny

ever been connected in any possible way with this matter of fisheries must have been struck with the fact that both the inland and sea fisheries of Ireland are deserving of the greatest care and attention. I do not intend, as the hour is so late, to deal with the matter in detail, as had been my original intention; but I cannot help being struck on going through the Report furnished to us by the Inspector of Fisheries—not merely the last Report, but the last three Reports—to see that we have the same complaints arising again and again. Do these Inspectors of Fisheries perform the duties to carry out which they are presumably nominated? It is complained that certain technical points in connection with their duties are not carried out, in consequence of the bad state of the law, or in consequence of difficulties which arise in different parts of the country, and to which the Government of the day do not pay any especial attention. It appears to me that it would be advisable to bring this matter under the direct cognizance and attention of Her Majesty's Government. We find in the last Report of Major Hayes that he calls attention to the fact that in the Report of 1884 he drew attention to the same state of affairs which exists at the present moment. In the concluding portion, he says, he begs to refer to the Report of 1884 with reference to the amendment of the Fishery Laws, and he reiterates what he said on the previous year, calling attention very strongly to the unfortunate prevalence of poisoning in some of the Irish rivers. Everyone knows that the spots which are poisoned in the rivers are the spawning grounds of the fish which run up in the spawning season. Unfortunately, the period at which the fish collect on these grounds in the largest numbers is the period chosen by the men who commit this offence for poisoning the streams. How does it come about that this poisoning is pursued on such a large scale in the Irish waters? Happening to belong to the Board of Conservators of the River Lee, my attention was drawn to the subject. We found out that in the old days the poorer people were allowed to fish one day in the week in the upper waters if they took out a licence. That was the case on the River Lee; but the same thing may be said of such rivers

as the Bann and the Blackwater. It seems to have come about, however, in recent years, that the landlords owning the property on the banks of these different rivers have taken over all the fishing rights, including those which, in times gone by, had been occasionally shared by their poorer neighbours. The consequence was that the poor people retaliated. Of course, this system of retaliation is a system which should be deprecated, and very strongly deprecated; and, for my own part, I have condemned it again and again, and have tried by every means in my power to get people to speak to the inhabitants of those districts where the poisoning occurs, in order to let them understand that by poisoning the streams they are doing not only an injury to themselves and the district, but to the people fishing down below in the tidal waters at the mouths of the rivers. Very strong representations were made to the Boards of Conservators, and those representations had at first a certain amount of effect. The Conservators of Fisheries—["Question!"]—I am dealing with what comes in the Report, and if anyone calls "Question" I can easily give him any amount of information on the matter. I am trying to cut my remarks short; but hon. Gentlemen opposite seem anxious that I should not do so, but should give them further information. This question of poisoning the rivers is of the greatest possible importance. The Inspectors of Fisheries have been giving attention to this unfortunate state of affairs, in order, if they possibly could, to try and remedy it. What was done upon these Boards of Conservators? Gentlemen were requested to try and deal generously with the poor people on the upper waters, and they were told that if they did deal generously with them, giving those who took out licences permission to fish one day in the week or one day in a fortnight, that a great deal of this trouble would be set at rest, and that a peaceful and sound solution of the existing difficulty would be found. This recommendation was tried, a great number of gentlemen allowing the poor people certain days for fishing. Some went so far as to allow two days a-week provided they took out the ordinary salmon licences. Others gave one day, whilst others, again, only gave one day in a fortnight, and the consequence was

that where this was done the poisoning ceased. Unfortunately, in my district, it happens that a great number of landlords have been very harsh and cruel. They have tried to keep all their rights to themselves, and have refused to part with a single jot, iota, or tittle of them. As a result, we have these poisoning reports again and again. We must have attention brought to the matter, and I trust that the Inspectors and other officials will seriously move in the matter, and endeavour to ascertain whether any other solution can be found of a problem which leads to great loss to the people at large. Not only does it lead to great loss and hardship to the rod fishermen, but it affects still more severely the men who fish in the estuaries of the rivers, who pay twice as much in the shape of duties as the rod fishermen. By far the greater part of the licence money is paid by professional fishermen who use drift nets in the tidal waters. These fishermen live entirely by fishing; whereas the rod fishers are either amateurs, or men who follow the business of fishing during a portion of the year and are farmers during the rest of the year. I do not like to speak longer upon this subject at this late hour; but, seeing the great importance of the subject, and the attention which has been drawn to it by both Sir Thomas Brady and Mr. Hayes, I think I am fully warranted in bringing it before the attention of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland. There are a great number of other points in connection with the seine fisheries that I should like to touch upon; but seeing the lateness of the hour I will refrain from doing so. I think it would, perhaps, be better for me to defer any further remarks I have to make to the stage of Report. I will defer also to that stage the observations I desire to make with regard to the Inspectors of Lunatic Asylums and of the Veterinary Department.

MR. BIGGAR: Before the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary replies, I wish to say that I think I heard some hon. Gentleman make representations in favour of the Veterinary Department of Ireland. I hope the hon. Member's observations will not be considered at all, for the veterinary surgeons are very well paid at present, and I think it would be a great mistake for the Go-

vernment to make any fresh arrangement and give them a larger claim on the public funds.

MR. CLANCY: I desire to ask the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary, with regard to the question of a close time for herrings, whether the suspension of trawling in Scotland has, or has not, taken place by way of scientific experiment? If it has, I should like to ask him whether he would not endeavour to have scientific experiments of this nature carried out in Ireland, not only in connection with trawling, but in connection with those other matters which have been referred to? The subject is an important one, and probably the right hon. Gentleman will see his way to making a small concession upon it.

MR. P. J. POWER (Waterford, E.): I am in the same position as some of my hon. Friends, although I have not trespassed on the attention of the Committee for any time at all this evening. I would express a hope that the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland will take care that the interests of the cot and net fishermen are not sacrificed to those of the rod fishermen. The tendency in the South of Ireland, particularly on such rivers as the Blackwater, is to safeguard the interests of the rod fishermen to the detriment of the cot or net fishermen. The cot fishermen give a large sum of money for their licences, and the rod fishermen do not. Moreover, the cot fishermen are extremely poor, and have to live by their fishing; whereas the rod fishermen, as a rule, merely fish for amusement. I would therefore ask the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to be on his guard against the influences which I know will be brought to bear upon him in Ireland, during the next few months, in order to induce him to sacrifice the interests of the net fishermen to the rod fishermen. As having some knowledge of this question, I would earnestly press it upon the attention of the right hon. Gentleman.

MR. PYNE (Waterford, W.): There is great complaint made—[*Cries of "Divide!"*] I can wait until those Gentlemen have done; my time is at their service. The question I want to come at is as to the close time. It seems that Almighty God ordained for man one day's rest in the week—that is to

say, on the Sunday; but it is ordained by the law that the salmon fishermen shall have two Sundays in the week. While everybody else in Ireland has only one day in the week upon which he cannot labour for his livelihood, the salmon fisherman has two, and I must say that that appears to me to be extremely hard lines upon these poor men, who have, for reasons I would explain, to stand idle on the Saturday as well as on the Sunday. The law says that the fishermen shall abstain from fishing in order to allow the salmon to run up the rivers for the convenience and profit of certain landlords, who let their salmon fishings to noble Dukes in Ireland. I believe the father of the present Chancellor of the Exchequer rented a fishery, and that he encroached upon the poor fishermen's water. [*Cries of "Divide!"*] Well, the grievance to which I would draw attention is that of these poor men, who are prevented from working six days in the week simply because certain noble gentlemen wish to preserve the rivers for the purpose of catching fish with the fly. I can understand it to be in the interests of the people to procure cheap fish, and I quite agree that certain laws are necessary to protect the breeding of salmon; but I cannot understand why, when the fishing is not likely to interfere with the breeding, salmon should not be caught whenever it is possible to catch them. Therefore, I must protest against this Saturday close season. I believe there is a Committee of this House which was to have sat to consider this subject, but which, owing to the peculiar circumstances of the time, did not sit last Session. The reason, I understand, was some disagreement between the Liberal and Conservative Leaders as to the number of persons to be appointed to take part in the inquiry, and as to—

THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Gentleman is, I think, travelling very wide of the Vote. It is only competent to discuss the question of fishing as connected with the functions of the Inspectors.

MR. PYNE: The Inspectors carry out the bye-laws, and one of the bye-laws is the observance of this second Sunday in the week. Owing, however, to the interruptions which have taken place I shall sit down.

The hon. MEMBER thereupon resumed his seat.

MR. BIGGAR: I trust the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary will reply to some of the questions raised.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: I have replied to every point requiring an answer from me.

Original Question put, and *agreed to*.

Resolution to be reported.

(2.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £68,688, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1887, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Local Government Board in Ireland, including various Grants in Aid of Local Taxation."

MR. BIGGAR (Cavan, W.): I think it is now time (2 o'clock) we should report Progress. The discussion of this Vote will occupy a considerable time, and it must be borne in mind that we are required to re-assemble at 12 o'clock. In the interest of himself and of all parties, the noble Lord the Chancellor of the Exchequer ought to agree to report Progress.

COLONEL NOLAN (Galway, N.): If the noble Lord the Chancellor of the Exchequer is not prepared to report Progress now—[*Cries of "Progress!"*]
—I should prefer to report Progress—perhaps he will say how much longer he proposes to continue Supply.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL) (Paddington, S.): The Chancellor of the Exchequer is ready to go on with the rest of the Class. The hon. Gentleman (Mr. Biggar) will recollect that we have spent a great many hours over one Vote. I think hon. Members might be disposed to let us take the rest of the Irish Votes in this Class, and begin with the Votes of the Criminal Law Class tomorrow. [*"No, no!"*] It certainly appears that the opinion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer is not wanted.

MR. BIGGAR: I appeal to the Government to report Progress, and not to force us into an unseemly wrangle. The discussion to-night has ranged over many questions, any one of which, when raised in an ordinary Session, say on the Motion to go into Committee on a Friday, would have occupied a whole Sitting. I think very fair progress has

been made this evening, and that the Government have not very much to complain of. I may say that though I have spoken three or four times, I have not occupied more than 10 minutes of the time of the Committee. There has been no time wasted, except possibly by the hon. Gentleman opposite, who during his speech was called to Order three times. By reporting Progress now we shall avoid an unpleasant controversy, and be able to get on smoothly with our work to-morrow.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.): I think the desire of the noble Lord the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Lord Randolph Churchill) to complete the Votes in this Class is, after all, a very reasonable one, because we must admit that there has been a considerable amount of discussion over the single one that has been passed this evening. But with regard to his suggestion that we should take the remainder of the Votes in this Class, I may remind him that one of the Votes, that for the Irish Board of Works, will lead, as it always has done, to considerable contention. With reference to another Vote in this Class, I may say that during the last Session I placed upon the Paper a Notice concerning it, and the Vote was purposely kept open in order that the House might have an opportunity of fully discussing the re-organization of the office concerned—namely, the Registrar General's Office in Dublin. Under these circumstances, I am afraid I shall have to detain the Committee longer than they will care to be detained at this hour (2.10). I am personally prepared to go on with the Local Government Board Vote now; but it would not be fair to take any other Votes now, considering that we have to come here at 12 o'clock to-morrow.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: I agree with the hon. Gentleman that it would be unreasonable to enter upon a long discussion; but I suppose I may assume from what fell from the hon. Member for West Cavan (Mr. Biggar) that as the discussion on the Chief Secretary's Vote has been a very full one, the speeches on all the other Votes of a similar value will not be long—the Government may understand something of that kind? The Local Government Board Vote, I understand, is not of a very contentious character; but per-

haps hon. Members would rather it was not taken to-night. I am entirely in the hands of the Committee. Of course, the Vote for Public Works will be postponed until to-morrow.

MR. BIGGAR: My hon. Friend the Member for East Donegal (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) has probably very little to say upon the Local Government Board Vote; but I can assure the noble Lord that a great many of the Members of the Irish Party have something to say upon it. My present estimate is that the discussion on the Vote will occupy at least a couple of hours. To commence at 2 o'clock in the morning a discussion which is likely to occupy two hours is a little unreasonable, especially as we have to meet again at 12 o'clock. Of course, I shall be here at 12 o'clock, no matter what time we separate; still I think we ought to report Progress now.

MR. DEASY (Mayo, W.): I take a great interest in the Vote which the noble Lord the Chancellor of the Exchequer proposes we should take now; but if the noble Lord will consent to postpone the Vote until to-morrow, I promise him I will curtail my remarks as much as possible. I really believe that to postpone the Vote will have the effect of accelerating Business.

Resolution to be reported *To-morrow*.

Committee also report Progress; to sit again *To-morrow*.

DISTURBANCES AT BELFAST INQUIRY BILL.—[BILL 35.]

(*Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, Mr. Attorney General for Ireland, Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland.*)

COMMITTEE.

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 1 (Short title) *agreed to*.

Clause 2 (Commission to have powers herein named).

MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W., and Sligo, S.): Before this clause is disposed of, I wish to move an Amendment by adding at the end of the clause the words—

"None of the powers conferred by this section shall be exercised before the twelfth day of October eighteen hundred and eighty-six."

I think it is essential that the inquiry should not sit until the revisions of voters

Mr. Biggar

in Dublin and also in West Belfast are concluded. Mr. Adams is a revising barrister for one of the constituencies of the City of Dublin, and it would be well that he should complete his revision before this Commission of Inquiry sits. He knows the voters' lists for the City of Dublin very well, and it would be extremely inconvenient to take him away from the Revision Court and send him to Belfast. Then, again, Mr. O'Shaughnessy, a Protestant gentleman and a member of the Bar, has been engaged by the Catholic Committee to represent them at the inquiry; but he is also engaged in the revision of voters in Donegal, and the Revision Court only opens on Monday next. Considerable importance is attached to this year's revision in West Belfast. The work there is very heavy; indeed, the Government have felt themselves bound to appoint two revising barristers to discharge the work done last year by one. In July the Tory Party in Belfast transferred some hundreds of these voters to West Belfast from the other divisions of the town, and the Nationalists followed suit. There is this year, therefore, a very extraordinary amount of work, and great interest concentrates upon it. The Revision Court is now sitting, and if the revision be interrupted by the inquiry one of two things will happen. Everyone in Belfast, whether Tory or Nationalist, who takes any interest in public affairs, concerns himself with the revision in West Belfast; and if the Court of Inquiry sits now, the result will be that everyone will either desert the Revision Court, or else the Court of Inquiry. It is necessary for the effectiveness both of the inquiry and the revision that the respective Courts should be held at different times. There is a good deal of excited feeling in Belfast, and the House of Commons ought to refrain from doing anything which will tend to increase the excitement. I can hold out no hope that the revision will proceed satisfactorily if the Court of Inquiry sits at the same time. There is no urgency about the inquiry. Peace is restored, and the Chief Secretary has taken ample measures for policeing the town. The Report of the Committee cannot be acted upon until next Session; therefore I think we may safely adopt my suggestion, and thus reduce the chance of a renewal of excitement.

Amendment proposed, in page 2, at end of Clause, add—

"None of the powers conferred by this section shall be exercised before the twelfth day of October, eighteen hundred and eighty-six."
—(*Mr. Sexton.*)

Question proposed, "That these words be there added."

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. HOLMES) (Dublin University): I do not think it would be advisable to accept this Amendment. I was under the impression that all Parties in the House were desirous that this Commission should sit as soon as possible. I think that in the course of the discussion on the second reading the hon. Gentleman himself conceded this point. An additional reason has arisen since then why the inquiry by the Commission should not be postponed until the date named in the Amendment. We have secured, or we feel certain of securing, the services of Mr. Justice Day, in accordance with circumstances mentioned by my right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary, and we all know that his duties in this country will commence at the end of October. It will, therefore, be very desirable, indeed almost necessary, that the Commission should sit earlier than the day suggested by the hon. Gentleman. As far as Mr. Adams is concerned, the Government are quite prepared, if necessary, to provide a substitute for him in the Revision Court at Dublin; and as to Mr. O'Shaughnessy, I have no doubt means can be found of getting over the difficulty in which he is placed. It will hardly be possible for the Commission to sit at once; in fact, I think I am in a position to say that the Commission will not sit much earlier than the 28th or 29th of September. If the hon. Gentleman will accept such an assurance, there will be no necessity for the Amendment he has proposed.

MR. SEXTON: On that I have only to say that if the Commission commences its sittings on the 12th of October I cannot see why it should not be able to conclude its labours before the end of October, and thus release Mr. Justice Day for his English engagements. At the same time, I am not disposed to press my Amendment in any obstructive spirit. I only desire there should be a reasonable prospect of the revision getting through before the Commission begins. Will the right hon. and learned

there has existed in Dublin and its vicinity a disease known as pleuropneumonia, and the Inspectors have failed to stamp it out. [*Laughter.*] I would observe that this is no laughing matter. The right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland may laugh—

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (MR. HOLMES) (Dublin University): I was not laughing at that.

MR. M. J. KENNY: I repeat, this is no laughing matter. It is a very serious question, and one materially affecting the Irish cattle trade. I saw the other day that an outbreak of pleuro-pneumonia, which had taken place in Scotland, was attributed to cattle imported from Ireland. We know that nearly all outbreaks of cattle disease which occur in Great Britain are at once attributed to the importation of infected animals from Ireland; and the result of that has been that, in many instances, the cattle trade of Ireland has been very seriously injured. It would be a very serious matter for Ireland if the importation of cattle into Great Britain were put a stop to. The contagious diseases of cattle are not stamped out in Ireland, because the slaughtering of the animals is left to the Boards of Guardians. There is an arrangement by which half the compensation is paid by the Guardians. [*"Order!"*] This comes under the Veterinary Department.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: The expense of slaughtering in Ireland is paid out of the rates. Slaughtering is carried out, as the hon. Gentleman has himself stated, on the authority of Boards of Guardians, and that point cannot now be discussed, for the salaries of the officials of whose conduct the hon. Member complains are not included in the present Vote.

MR. M. J. KENNY: I am afraid I have not made myself clear. I would submit that half the expense of slaughtering is contributed out of the rates, and the other half by the Government.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: That is not so; but, as a matter of fact, half the cost is borne by the local rate, and half by the general rate.

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from the Local Authority to the Central Authority.

COLONEL NOLAN (Galway, N.): There is a professional adviser to the Veterinary Department included under this Vote. He gives advice from the Veterinary Department to the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland and the Local Government Board. I think, therefore, that any question connected with the Veterinary Department of Ireland would be perfectly in Order.

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DR. TANNER: In the course of this debate I was much struck by the extremely nice manner in which the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland dealt with the question of the Irish fisheries. Everybody who has

Mr. M. J. Kenny

ever been connected in any possible way with this matter of fisheries must have been struck with the fact that both the inland and sea fisheries of Ireland are deserving of the greatest care and attention. I do not intend, as the hour is so late, to deal with the matter in detail, as had been my original intention; but I cannot help being struck on going through the Report furnished to us by the Inspector of Fisheries—not merely the last Report, but the last three Reports—to see that we have the same complaints arising again and again. Do these Inspectors of Fisheries perform the duties to carry out which they are presumably nominated? It is complained that certain technical points in connection with their duties are not carried out, in consequence of the bad state of the law, or in consequence of difficulties which arise in different parts of the country, and to which the Government of the day do not pay any especial attention. It appears to me that it would be advisable to bring this matter under the direct cognizance and attention of Her Majesty's Government. We find in the last Report of Major Hayes that he calls attention to the fact that in the Report of 1884 he drew attention to the same state of affairs which exists at the present moment. In the concluding portion, he says, he begs to refer to the Report of 1884 with reference to the amendment of the Fishery Laws, and he reiterates what he said on the previous year, calling attention very strongly to the unfortunate prevalence of poisoning in some of the Irish rivers. Everyone knows that the spots which are poisoned in the rivers are the spawning grounds of the fish which run up in the spawning season. Unfortunately, the period at which the fish collect on these grounds in the largest numbers is the period chosen by the men who commit this offence for poisoning the streams. How does it come about that this poisoning is pursued on such a large scale in the Irish waters? Happening to belong to the Board of Conservators of the River Lee, my attention was drawn to the subject. We found out that in the old days the poorer people were allowed to fish one day in the week in the upper waters if they took out a licence. That was the case on the River Lee; but the same thing may be said of such rivers

as the Bann and the Blackwater. It seems to have come about, however, in recent years, that the landlords owning the property on the banks of these different rivers have taken over all the fishing rights, including those which, in times gone by, had been occasionally shared by their poorer neighbours. The consequence was that the poor people retaliated. Of course, this system of retaliation is a system which should be deprecated, and very strongly deprecated; and, for my own part, I have condemned it again and again, and have tried by every means in my power to get people to speak to the inhabitants of those districts where the poisoning occurs, in order to let them understand that by poisoning the streams they are doing not only an injury to themselves and the district, but to the people fishing down below in the tidal waters at the mouths of the rivers. Very strong representations were made to the Boards of Conservators, and those representations had at first a certain amount of effect. The Conservators of Fisheries—["Question!"]—I am dealing with what comes in the Report, and if anyone calls "Question" I can easily give him any amount of information on the matter. I am trying to cut my remarks short; but hon. Gentlemen opposite seem anxious that I should not do so, but should give them further information. This question of poisoning the rivers is of the greatest possible importance. The Inspectors of Fisheries have been giving attention to this unfortunate state of affairs, in order, if they possibly could, to try and remedy it. What was done upon these Boards of Conservators? Gentlemen were requested to try and deal generously with the poor people on the upper waters, and they were told that if they did deal generously with them, giving those who took out licences permission to fish one day in the week or one day in a fortnight, that a great deal of this trouble would be set at rest, and that a peaceful and sound solution of the existing difficulty would be found. This recommendation was tried, a great number of gentlemen allowing the poor people certain days for fishing. Some went so far as to allow two days a-week provided they took out the ordinary salmon licences. Others gave one day, whilst others, again, only gave one day in a fortnight, and the consequence was

that where this was done the poisoning ceased. Unfortunately, in my district, it happens that a great number of landlords have been very harsh and cruel. They have tried to keep all their rights to themselves, and have refused to part with a single jot, iota, or tittle of them. As a result, we have these poisoning reports again and again. We must have attention brought to the matter, and I trust that the Inspectors and other officials will seriously move in the matter, and endeavour to ascertain whether any other solution can be found of a problem which leads to great loss to the people at large. Not only does it lead to great loss and hardship to the rod fishermen, but it affects still more severely the men who fish in the estuaries of the rivers, who pay twice as much in the shape of duties as the rod fishermen. By far the greater part of the licence money is paid by professional fishermen who use drift nets in the tidal waters. These fishermen live entirely by fishing; whereas the rod fishers are either amateurs, or men who follow the business of fishing during a portion of the year and are farmers during the rest of the year. I do not like to speak longer upon this subject at this late hour; but, seeing the great importance of the subject, and the attention which has been drawn to it by both Sir Thomas Brady and Mr. Hayes, I think I am fully warranted in bringing it before the attention of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland. There are a great number of other points in connection with the seine fisheries that I should like to touch upon; but seeing the lateness of the hour I will refrain from doing so. I think it would, perhaps, be better for me to defer any further remarks I have to make to the stage of Report. I will defer also to that stage the observations I desire to make with regard to the Inspectors of Lunatic Asylums and of the Veterinary Department.

MR. BIGGAR: Before the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary replies, I wish to say that I think I heard some hon. Gentleman make representations in favour of the Veterinary Department of Ireland. I hope the hon. Member's observations will not be considered at all, for the veterinary surgeons are very well paid at present, and I think it would be a great mistake for the Go-

vernment to make any fresh arrangement and give them a larger claim on the public funds.

MR. CLANCY: I desire to ask the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary, with regard to the question of a close time for herrings, whether the suspension of trawling in Scotland has, or has not, taken place by way of scientific experiment? If it has, I should like to ask him whether he would not endeavour to have scientific experiments of this nature carried out in Ireland, not only in connection with trawling, but in connection with those other matters which have been referred to? The subject is an important one, and probably the right hon. Gentleman will see his way to making a small concession upon it.

MR. P. J. POWER (Waterford, E.): I am in the same position as some of my hon. Friends, although I have not trespassed on the attention of the Committee for any time at all this evening. I would express a hope that the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland will take care that the interests of the cot and net fishermen are not sacrificed to those of the rod fishermen. The tendency in the South of Ireland, particularly on such rivers as the Blackwater, is to safeguard the interests of the rod fishermen to the detriment of the cot or net fishermen. The cot fishermen give a large sum of money for their licences, and the rod fishermen do not. Moreover, the cot fishermen are extremely poor, and have to live by their fishing; whereas the rod fishermen, as a rule, merely fish for amusement. I would therefore ask the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to be on his guard against the influences which I know will be brought to bear upon him in Ireland, during the next few months, in order to induce him to sacrifice the interests of the net fishermen to the rod fishermen. As having some knowledge of this question, I would earnestly press it upon the attention of the right hon. Gentleman.

MR. PYNE (Waterford, W.): There is great complaint made—[*Cries of "Divide!"*] I can wait until those Gentlemen have done; my time is at their service. The question I want to come at is as to the close time. It seems that Almighty God ordained for man one day's rest in the week—that is to

say, on the Sunday; but it is ordained by the law that the salmon fishermen shall have two Sundays in the week. While everybody else in Ireland has only one day in the week upon which he cannot labour for his livelihood, the salmon fisherman has two, and I must say that that appears to me to be extremely hard lines upon these poor men, who have, for reasons I would explain, to stand idle on the Saturday as well as on the Sunday. The law says that the fishermen shall abstain from fishing in order to allow the salmon to run up the rivers for the convenience and profit of certain landlords, who let their salmon fishings to noble Dukes in Ireland. I believe the father of the present Chancellor of the Exchequer rented a fishery, and that he encroached upon the poor fishermen's water. [*Cries of "Divide!"*] Well, the grievance to which I would draw attention is that of these poor men, who are prevented from working six days in the week simply because certain noble gentlemen wish to preserve the rivers for the purpose of catching fish with the fly. I can understand it to be in the interests of the people to procure cheap fish, and I quite agree that certain laws are necessary to protect the breeding of salmon; but I cannot understand why, when the fishing is not likely to interfere with the breeding, salmon should not be caught whenever it is possible to catch them. Therefore, I must protest against this Saturday close season. I believe there is a Committee of this House which was to have sat to consider this subject, but which, owing to the peculiar circumstances of the time, did not sit last Session. The reason, I understand, was some disagreement between the Liberal and Conservative Leaders as to the number of persons to be appointed to take part in the inquiry, and as to—

THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Gentleman is, I think, travelling very wide of the Vote. It is only competent to discuss the question of fishing as connected with the functions of the Inspectors.

MR. PYNE: The Inspectors carry out the bye-laws, and one of the bye-laws is the observance of this second Sunday in the week. Owing, however, to the interruptions which have taken place I shall sit down.

The hon. MEMBER thereupon resumed his seat.

MR. BIGGAR: I trust the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary will reply to some of the questions raised.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: I have replied to every point requiring an answer from me.

Original Question put, and *agreed to*.

Resolution to be reported.

(2.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £68,688, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1887, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Local Government Board in Ireland, including various Grants in Aid of Local Taxation."

MR. BIGGAR (Cavan, W.): I think it is now time (2 o'clock) we should report Progress. The discussion of this Vote will occupy a considerable time, and it must be borne in mind that we are required to re-assemble at 12 o'clock. In the interest of himself and of all parties, the noble Lord the Chancellor of the Exchequer ought to agree to report Progress.

COLONEL NOLAN (Galway, N.): If the noble Lord the Chancellor of the Exchequer is not prepared to report Progress now—[*Cries of "Progress!"*]
—I should prefer to report Progress—perhaps he will say how much longer he proposes to continue Supply.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL) (Paddington, S.): The Chancellor of the Exchequer is ready to go on with the rest of the Class. The hon. Gentleman (Mr. Biggar) will recollect that we have spent a great many hours over one Vote. I think hon. Members might be disposed to let us take the rest of the Irish Votes in this Class, and begin with the Votes of the Criminal Law Class tomorrow. ["No, no!"] It certainly appears that the opinion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer is not wanted.

MR. BIGGAR: I appeal to the Government to report Progress, and not to force us into an unseemly wrangle. The discussion to-night has ranged over many questions, any one of which, when raised in an ordinary Session, say on the Motion to go into Committee on a Friday, would have occupied a whole Sitting. I think very fair progress has

been made this evening, and that the Government have not very much to complain of. I may say that though I have spoken three or four times, I have not occupied more than 10 minutes of the time of the Committee. There has been no time wasted, except possibly by the hon. Gentleman opposite, who during his speech was called to Order three times. By reporting Progress now we shall avoid an unpleasant controversy, and be able to get on smoothly with our work to-morrow.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.): I think the desire of the noble Lord the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Lord Randolph Churchill) to complete the Votes in this Class is, after all, a very reasonable one, because we must admit that there has been a considerable amount of discussion over the single one that has been passed this evening. But with regard to his suggestion that we should take the remainder of the Votes in this Class, I may remind him that one of the Votes, that for the Irish Board of Works, will lead, as it always has done, to considerable contention. With reference to another Vote in this Class, I may say that during the last Session I placed upon the Paper a Notice concerning it, and the Vote was purposely kept open in order that the House might have an opportunity of fully discussing the re-organization of the office concerned—namely, the Registrar General's Office in Dublin. Under these circumstances, I am afraid I shall have to detain the Committee longer than they will care to be detained at this hour (2.10). I am personally prepared to go on with the Local Government Board Vote now; but it would not be fair to take any other Votes now, considering that we have to come here at 12 o'clock to-morrow.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: I agree with the hon. Gentleman that it would be unreasonable to enter upon a long discussion; but I suppose I may assume from what fell from the hon. Member for West Cavan (Mr. Biggar) that as the discussion on the Chief Secretary's Vote has been a very full one, the speeches on all the other Votes of a similar value will not be long—the Government may understand something of that kind? The Local Government Board Vote, I understand, is not of a very contentious character; but per-

haps hon. Members would rather it was not taken to-night. I am entirely in the hands of the Committee. Of course, the Vote for Public Works will be postponed until to-morrow.

MR. BIGGAR: My hon. Friend the Member for East Donegal (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) has probably very little to say upon the Local Government Board Vote; but I can assure the noble Lord that a great many of the Members of the Irish Party have something to say upon it. My present estimate is that the discussion on the Vote will occupy at least a couple of hours. To commence at 2 o'clock in the morning a discussion which is likely to occupy two hours is a little unreasonable, especially as we have to meet again at 12 o'clock. Of course, I shall be here at 12 o'clock, no matter what time we separate; still I think we ought to report Progress now.

MR. DEASY (Mayo, W.): I take a great interest in the Vote which the noble Lord the Chancellor of the Exchequer proposes we should take now; but if the noble Lord will consent to postpone the Vote until to-morrow, I promise him I will curtail my remarks as much as possible. I really believe that to postpone the Vote will have the effect of accelerating Business.

Resolution to be reported *To-morrow*.

Committee also report Progress; to sit again *To-morrow*.

DISTURBANCES AT BELFAST INQUIRY BILL.—[Bill 35.]

(*Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, Mr. Attorney General for Ireland, Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland.*)

COMMITTEE.

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 1 (Short title) *agreed to*.

Clause 2 (Commission to have powers herein named).

MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W., and Sligo, S.): Before this clause is disposed of, I wish to move an Amendment by adding at the end of the clause the words—

"None of the powers conferred by this section shall be exercised before the twelfth day of October eighteen hundred and eighty-six."

I think it is essential that the inquiry should not sit until the revisions of voters

Mr. Biggar

in Dublin and also in West Belfast are concluded. Mr. Adams is a revising barrister for one of the constituencies of the City of Dublin, and it would be well that he should complete his revision before this Commission of Inquiry sits. He knows the voters' lists for the City of Dublin very well, and it would be extremely inconvenient to take him away from the Revision Court and send him to Belfast. Then, again, Mr. O'Shaughnessy, a Protestant gentleman and a member of the Bar, has been engaged by the Catholic Committee to represent them at the inquiry; but he is also engaged in the revision of voters in Donegal, and the Revision Court only opens on Monday next. Considerable importance is attached to this year's revision in West Belfast. The work there is very heavy; indeed, the Government have felt themselves bound to appoint two revising barristers to discharge the work done last year by one. In July the Tory Party in Belfast transferred some hundreds of these voters to West Belfast from the other divisions of the town, and the Nationalists followed suit. There is this year, therefore, a very extraordinary amount of work, and great interest concentrates upon it. The Revision Court is now sitting, and if the revision be interrupted by the inquiry one of two things will happen. Everyone in Belfast, whether Tory or Nationalist, who takes any interest in public affairs, concerns himself with the revision in West Belfast; and if the Court of Inquiry sits now, the result will be that everyone will either desert the Revision Court, or else the Court of Inquiry. It is necessary for the effectiveness both of the inquiry and the revision that the respective Courts should be held at different times. There is a good deal of excited feeling in Belfast, and the House of Commons ought to refrain from doing anything which will tend to increase the excitement. I can hold out no hope that the revision will proceed satisfactorily if the Court of Inquiry sits at the same time. There is no urgency about the inquiry. Peace is restored, and the Chief Secretary has taken ample measures for policeing the town. The Report of the Committee cannot be acted upon until next Session; therefore I think we may safely adopt my suggestion, and thus reduce the chance of a renewal of excitement.

Amendment proposed, in page 2, at end of Clause, add—

"None of the powers conferred by this section shall be exercised before the twelfth day of October, eighteen hundred and eighty-six."
—(Mr. Sexton.)

Question proposed, "That these words be there added."

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. HOLMES) (Dublin University): I do not think it would be advisable to accept this Amendment. I was under the impression that all Parties in the House were desirous that this Commission should sit as soon as possible. I think that in the course of the discussion on the second reading the hon. Gentleman himself conceded this point. An additional reason has arisen since then why the inquiry by the Commission should not be postponed until the date named in the Amendment. We have secured, or we feel certain of securing, the services of Mr. Justice Day, in accordance with circumstances mentioned by my right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary, and we all know that his duties in this country will commence at the end of October. It will, therefore, be very desirable, indeed almost necessary, that the Commission should sit earlier than the day suggested by the hon. Gentleman. As far as Mr. Adams is concerned, the Government are quite prepared, if necessary, to provide a substitute for him in the Revision Court at Dublin; and as to Mr. O'Shaughnessy, I have no doubt means can be found of getting over the difficulty in which he is placed. It will hardly be possible for the Commission to sit at once; in fact, I think I am in a position to say that the Commission will not sit much earlier than the 28th or 29th of September. If the hon. Gentleman will accept such an assurance, there will be no necessity for the Amendment he has proposed.

MR. SEXTON: On that I have only to say that if the Commission commences its sittings on the 12th of October I cannot see why it should not be able to conclude its labours before the end of October, and thus release Mr. Justice Day for his English engagements. At the same time, I am not disposed to press my Amendment in any obstructive spirit. I only desire there should be a reasonable prospect of the revision getting through before the Commission begins. Will the right hon. and learned

Gentleman undertake that the Commission will not sit until the 24th of October? If he did not, Mr. Justice Day could be released for his higher duties.

Mr. HOLMES: I am afraid I cannot do that, as the 24th of October is the day on which the English Courts of Justice begin to sit.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR (Liverpool, Scotland): It is very desirable the Commission should not interfere with the revisions. Would it not be as easy to find a substitute for Mr. Justice Day as for Mr. Adams?

Mr. SEXTON: I wish the right hon. and learned Gentleman had gone a little further, and said the Commission shall not sit until the 1st of October at the earliest; but, under the circumstances, I beg to withdraw my Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn*.

Clause *agreed to*.

Clauses 3 and 4 severally *agreed to*.

Preamble.

Amendment proposed,

In page 1, line 22, after "disorder," to insert, "and whereas the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland intends by warrant under his hand to nominate Sir John Charles Day, one of the Judges of the Queen's Bench Division of the High Court, additional member of the said Commission."—*(Mr. Attorney General for Ireland.)*

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Mr. SEXTON: I entirely approve of this Amendment, for I think the appointment of the learned Judge will materially strengthen the Commission. It is well, however, I should say that I have never based my criticism on the ground of creed, though I remember that, in the course of the debate, some Members did point out it was unsatisfactory the Commission should be constituted of three Protestants and one Catholic. I admit that the appointment of Mr. Justice Day tends to redress that inequality. I objected to what is understood to be a judicial inquiry being presided over by a military officer. My objection is removed by the appointment of Mr. Justice Day, and I only hope that the inquiry will be conducted with that impartiality, fairness, and care, which usually distinguishes judicial proceedings in England.

Question put, and *agreed to*.

Mr. Sexton

Preamble, as amended, *agreed to*.

Bill *reported*; as amended, to be considered *To-morrow*.

House adjourned at half after
Two o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Wednesday, 15th September, 1886.

MINUTES.]—SELECT COMMITTEE—*Report*—Kitchen and Refreshment Rooms (House of Commons) [No. 35].

SUPPLY—*considered in Committee*—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES; CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS, Votes 38 and 39.

Resolutions [September 14] *reported*.

PUBLIC BILLS—*Committee*—*Report*—*Third Reading*—Expiring Laws Continuance * [46], and *passed*.

Considered as amended—*Third Reading*—Disturbances at Belfast Inquiry * [35], and *passed*.

ORDER OF THE DAY.

SUPPLY—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES.

SUPPLY—*considered in Committee*.

(In the Committee.)

[Mr. COURTNEY in the Chair.]

CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS.

(1.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £68,688, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1887, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Local Government Board in Ireland, including various Grants in Aid of Local Taxation."

Mr. GILHOOLY (Cork, W.): I wish to direct the attention of the Committee to the action of the Local Government Board in reference to some irregular proceedings on the part of the Bantry Board of Guardians. I think it is important that some responsible member of the Local Government Board should define the duties of Chairmen of Boards of Guardians. Some Chairmen seem to think that they have absolute power to receive or reject any resolution that may be handed in to them, although it may

happen to appertain to the business of the Board. To illustrate what I mean I will mention a case which relates to the conduct of the Chairman of the Bantry Board. For a long time a number of notices of eviction have been served on certain poor tenants upon the Bantry estate, and on other estates belonging to local landlords in the Bantry Union. Although it is the duty of the relieving officer to direct attention to such notices of eviction, it has not been the practice of that official to do so, and on several occasions the attention of the Chairman of the Bantry Board of Guardians has been directed to the matter, and notices of motion have been given in regard to it, with a view of compelling the relieving officer of the Bantry Union to lay these notices of eviction before the Board. The Chairman, however, has refused to receive such notices of motion, although some of them have been given even a month before the time it was proposed to bring them forward. I may say that the refusal of the Chairman of the Bantry Board of Guardians to accept the motion appears on the minutes of the Board; but, notwithstanding that fact, the Local Government Board declared that they had no cognizance of the action of the Chairman in this matter. I may say that the Local Government Board have had their attention directed to this subject, and they have been requested to compel the Chairman to receive these resolutions, as it is undoubtedly his legal duty to do. I believe that the Local Government Board did intimate to the Chairman of the Board of Guardians that it was his duty to do so; but even after receiving that intimation the Chairman still persisted in his refusal. I then, myself, wrote to the Local Government Board, and requested them to send down a sealed order to compel the Chairman to do his duty in the matter; but the Secretary to the Local Government Board wrote to say that it was not intended to take any further action in the matter, and that the Board would not compel the Chairman of the Bantry Union to receive these notices of resolution. Now, I submit that it was the duty of the Local Government Board, or, at any rate, of someone in Dublin Castle, to see that the Chairman did his duty, and that he received all notices of motion tendered to him in a legal manner in connection with the Bantry Board

of Guardians. I asked a question to that effect in this House, and the right hon. Baronet the Chief Secretary for Ireland told me that the Local Government Board had no power to compel the Chairman of the Bantry Board of Guardians to do anything of the kind. I have here a copy of a communication which the Clerk of the Bantry Union received from the Local Government Board, in which it is stated that it was the duty of the relieving officer to receive these resolutions, and that it was the duty of the relieving officer to render an account of the notices of eviction received by him at the next meeting of the Board, in addition to which it was the duty of the Clerk of the Union to make a record of them. On the 28th of August the Local Government Board issued a Circular calling attention to the fact that as early as the 21st of May 1877 they had required to be informed of all notices of eviction that might have been served within the Union, and the relieving officer was instructed to return to the Board of Guardians from time to time all such notices received by him, of which he was directed, in addition, to keep a record. The Board of Guardians were also requested to notify at once what arrangements had been made, and how the relieving officers of the Board were prepared to discharge their duties. The Local Government Board must have been thoroughly cognizant of the fact that the relieving officer had not done his duty for several months; but, nevertheless, they took no further notice of the action of the Chairman or of the relieving officer. I cannot reconcile the course pursued by the Local Government Board with the statement which has been made by the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary, that the Board of Guardians did their duty in the matter. I have myself communicated directly with the Local Government Board directing their attention to the illegal action of the Chairman of the Bantry Union; and on some occasions, instead of sending communications to the Clerk of the Union asking for information from the Board, I believe that the Local Government Board communicated privately with the Chairman of the Bantry Board, who has refused to produce the letter of the Local Government Board to the Board of Guardians. Now, I submit that it is the duty of the Secretary to the Local

Government Board to communicate directly with the Board of Guardians, and not with the Chairman of the Board. Attention has been directed to a case which concerned the property of Lord Bantry. It is alleged that Lord Bantry had served notices of eviction signed by his own agent, such agent being also Chairman of the Board of Guardians. The case is a peculiar one. It was an attempt to obtain payment from tenants who are in a position of under-rated tenants, but who were sought to be made responsible because their rentals had been aggregated together. In order to empower the rate collector to take legal proceedings in the matter, it was necessary that the Chairman, together with two other Guardians and the Clerk of the Union, should sign a notice empowering the rate collector to sue the tenants. In this case I believe that the notice was sent without the knowledge of the Board of Guardians, and that Lord Bantry's agent instructed the rate collector to sue the tenants instead of Lord Bantry himself; and although the rate collector gave receipts to the tenants in his own name, counterparts of the receipts were signed in the name of Lord Bantry. I maintain that this was a grossly unfair proceeding on the part of the rate collector, and that it is the duty of the Board of Guardians to take cognizance of the matter, and to see that Lord Bantry's tenants are not unfairly dealt with. I wish, further, to direct the attention of the Committee to the mode in which resolutions are received at the meetings of the Board of Guardians; and I ask the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary whether it is within his province to define whether it is the duty of the Chairman of the Board to receive such resolutions, or whether it is competent for that gentleman to decide what resolutions shall be received, or what shall be rejected; and, further, whether it is competent for him to say what course he ought to take in such a case? Of course, I am aware that it is the duty of the Chairman of the Board of Guardians to receive any resolution which may be presented appertaining to the business of the Board; but what I want to find out is, what is the business of the Board? For instance, in a case where evictions are pending, and the ratepayers are to be taxed for the maintenance of the victims of landlord op-

pression or cruelty in a particular district, and a resolution relating to such evictions is presented, is it or is it not the business of the Board of Guardians to take such resolution into consideration? Everyone is aware that when an eviction takes place the persons who are evicted will, in all probability, become a burden upon the ratepayers, whether they become the recipients of outdoor relief or have to enter the workhouse; and I should like the Committee to express some opinion as to what is the duty of the Chairman of the Board of Guardians in regard to any resolution which may be submitted in such a case. Some time ago I made a complaint that the tenants on the Bantry Estate were being unfairly mulcted by Lord Bantry and Major Spaight. The Local Government Board Inspector was sent down to inquire; but Major Spaight, instead of holding an open and fair inquiry, entered into a private investigation. He was closeted in a hotel at Bantry with the Clerk of the Union, and he conducted his inquiry without receiving any evidence from the members of the Board of Guardians themselves or any individual who was not a personal friend of Lord Bantry's agent. I maintain that such an inquiry was a pure farce, in the absence of evidence to substantiate the case of Lord Bantry's tenants. I shall be glad to receive an intimation from the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary that in future the Local Government Board, when they observe that there has been irregularities in the proceedings of Boards of Guardians, will immediately communicate with the Clerk of the Union instead of the Chairman, and ascertain whether any illegal action on the part of the Chairman of the Board of Guardians has taken place. If they find that irregularities have been committed it will be the duty of the Local Government Board to remonstrate and to take action, without requiring private individuals to intervene. I ask the right hon. Gentleman to see whether in the case of the Bantry Board of Guardians any illegal action has taken place or not, and to require that in future a communication shall be addressed to the Clerk of the Union requesting that the action of the Board of Guardians shall be in accordance with the law and the statutory regulations which govern

Mr. Gilhooly

their proceedings. I will only add that it is monstrous that the Local Government Board, represented by gentlemen who draw large salaries, for the payment of which the public are taxed, should overlook such transactions as these, and that it should be necessary for private individuals to occupy their time in writing letters remonstrating with the action of Government officials in regard to a plain course of procedure which their own duty ought to dictate.

MR. JORDAN (Clare, W.): Very frequently it is found exceedingly difficult for a Board of Guardians to obtain legal advice as to the course they ought to pursue when they are of opinion that irregularities are being committed, and I think that some endeavour ought to be made to satisfy the fair and just demands of all persons who have any transactions with Boards of Guardians. I notice here an item of £3,425 for the Legal Adviser of the Local Government Board. Now, I do not know who the Legal Adviser of the Board is, and am not acquainted with the character of the legal advice he gives. What is it that he does? I have been a member of a Board of Guardians for a long time, and when any vexed question has arisen in reference to the action of the Guardians we have again and again applied to the Local Government Board to give us legal advice, and the invariable reply has been that we must obtain the advice of the Legal Adviser of the Board of Guardians—that we could not have legal advice from the Local Government Board. They simply advised us to seek advice from our own legal officer. Under such circumstances, I cannot see of what use the Legal Adviser to the Local Government Board is; and as I have no doubt that he receives a large salary—probably £2,000 or £3,000 a-year—for giving legal advice, I confess that I cannot see what use his services are if, when Boards of Guardians seek legal direction, they are told that they must obtain it from their own local attorney, an individual who cannot possess general experience, and whose advice may very likely lead the Board of Guardians in the wrong direction. If this individual does not advise a Board of Guardians directly, neither does he give advice in any cases of dispute that may arise between the Local Government Board and any particular

individual. I have myself had occasion to come into contact with the Local Government Board, in relation to the law of elections for members of Boards of Guardians, and the Secretary to the Local Government Board refused directly and point blank to give the opinion of their Legal Adviser. They refused to give the legal opinion upon which they grounded their objection to my claim. On that ground, as far as the question of the Legal Adviser of the Local Government Board is concerned, I maintain that the salary paid to him is a waste of public money, and ought to be disallowed. Then there is a further question which has reference to the Inspectors of the Local Government Board. I see in the Estimates a large sum of money for the travelling expenses of those officers, amounting in all to £4,250. I believe that the best part of that sum is wasted, and that 13 or 15 Inspectors are far too many for the work they are required to do in Ireland. Personally, I do not know exactly what they do; but they travel a good deal about the country, and they get £1 1s. per day for travelling expenses while on duty; and, of course, they make it their business to travel about the country as much as possible, in order to increase their salaries by the allowance they receive per day. Now, I have seen Inspectors attend meetings of the Board of Guardians, and sit there during the progress of business; and I know that they are of no kind of use whatever in directing the affairs of the Board. In point of fact, we should altogether repudiate any interference on their part, and I think that no respectable Board of Guardians which knows its duty would tolerate any meddling from them. In fact, it appears to me that the office of Inspector is a kind of sinecure appointment given to some hanger-on of some other office, or to some person who happens to have a friend in court. Upon this point I would make a suggestion. I think that if these Inspectors, who have very little work to do, were appointed by the Local Government Board to be the Returning Officers in the case of the election of Guardians, instead of the Clerk of the Union, it would be of some advantage in the popular administration of Poor Law affairs. At present the Clerk of the Union has charge of the election of members of the Board. It is

his duty to make up the list of voters, and, as in the North of Ireland the Clerks of Union are generally partizans acting to a considerable extent in the interests of the landlords and of the Conservative Party, I maintain that it is most undesirable that they should continue to act in the capacity of Returning Officers. One part of the duty of the Clerk of the Union is to make out a list of proxy votes; and I know, as a matter of fact, within my own cognizance, that these officers have themselves suggested to the landlords and others the propriety of registering proxy votes. In more cases than one proxy votes have been manufactured in the interests of the landlords, and the Returning Officer has utilized the votes so manufactured when a contest in an election of Guardians has taken place. In March last I underwent a contest myself, and in that case the Clerk of the Enniskillen Union had all the proxy votes in his own custody, in addition to which he sat as the Returning Officer for the election. He admitted the whole of the proxy votes he had himself placed on the list, although in three cases the Local Government Board disallowed votes that I objected to at the time. In one case the proxy was of this nature—a gentleman was agent for what was called the school lands or the school board, and he claimed seven proxy votes.

THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order! I do not see how the conduct of the Local Government Board, which is the subject of this Vote, is concerned in the transaction referred to by the hon. Member. The statement of the hon. Member appears to relate solely to some alleged dereliction of duty on the part of a local clerk.

MR. BIGGAR (Cavan, W.): Upon the point of Order I wish to point out that the local clerks are under the control of the Local Government Board; and the Local Government Board, in the case mentioned by my hon. Friend, did not do their duty, because they did not discharge the clerk for his default.

THE CHAIRMAN: I do not see how the Estimate now under the consideration of the Committee can have anything to do with the particular case referred to.

COLONEL NOLAN (Galway, N.): I have been Chairman of two Unions,

and my experience is that whatever we do the Local Government Board have complete power to over-rule, and if we do not immediately submit to their directions they have sent down paid Guardians to take the business out of our hands. As a matter of fact, Boards of Guardians are completely under the control of the Local Government Board, who exercise the power of over-ruling all the actions of the Local Boards and their officials.

THE CHAIRMAN: If the observations of the hon. Member really touched the action of the Local Government Board they would be perfectly in Order; but, as I gather, he admits that the Local Government Board, in this particular instance, had discharged their duty.

MR. BIGGAR (Cavan, W.): Perhaps, Mr. Courtney, you may not be aware that the Board of Guardians have no power to dismiss any of their officers. A dismissal can only come from the Local Government Board.

THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order! It is impossible to argue with the Chair.

MR. JORDAN (Clare, W.): My argument is that the Local Government Board should have censured the Clerk of the Union, and prevented any such action on his part. I may add that there has scarcely been any contested election in this Union in which the election of a Conservative candidate has not been secured by resorting to such practices as these—that is to say, that the Clerk of the Union has so managed the list as to register fraudulent votes—votes which ought to have been disallowed. With your permission, Mr. Courtney, I will direct attention to another feature of the case in which the action of the Local Government Board will be fairly seen. One requirement of the law, in accordance with the Statute and the Orders of the Local Government Board, is that the notices relating to proxy votes should be left at some house within the division. The form by which proxy votes are allowed requires a declaration to be made by the proxy in a certain manner, and in the form it is directed that the paper shall be left at some house in the division. Nevertheless, in the contest which I underwent last March at Enniskillen there were 29 votes which were not so left, but which were left, by the direction of the Returning Officer, at his own office.

Mr. Jordan

Now, I maintain that those proxy votes were bad.

THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order! It will not be regular for the hon. Member to enter into this transaction, unless he is prepared to go further and say that it was brought to the notice of the Local Government Board, and that they took no steps in the matter. Irregularities committed by a local officer cannot in themselves be the subject of debate on this Estimate.

MR. JORDAN: I was going on to say that I myself wrote a series of four letters to the Local Government Board, drawing their attention to this point, and that I also endeavoured, although a layman, to discuss the law of the case with the Local Government Board. That is why I now complain of the Local Government Board—namely, that in refusing my interpretation of the law they did not give me the opinion of their Legal Adviser, to whom we are paying £2,000 or £3,000 a-year. I have made repeated applications to them, and for a period of three or four months the correspondence has been going on; but I have been unable to get any satisfactory explanation of the allowance by the Returning Officer of these 29 votes. I quoted the Statute and the Order of the Local Government Board themselves, together with the form in which the Order was sent round; and all the Local Government Board say is that the direction about leaving proxy papers at some house within the division is not binding. Nevertheless they used part of the form, and they refused to use the other part. If the Local Government Board had given me the legal opinion of their own Legal Adviser I should have been perfectly satisfied, and should have been saved from any further feeling in the matter. These 29 votes, when they were jotted up by the Returning Officer, I objected to, and I wrote to the Local Government Board on three separate occasions claiming that they should be struck off; but the Local Government Board decided that they should be allowed to my opponent. I feel very keenly with regard to the very arbitrary manner in which the Local Government Board have treated me. There were three or four cases of error in which the Local Government Board did disallow the votes; but in this particular case, which interested me personally, they re-

fused to disallow the votes, and the consequence was that I lost the election by two votes. My opinion is that if the Legal Adviser of the Local Government Board had done his duty I should have been retained upon the Board of Guardians, and so keenly do I feel that I have been treated, not only in an arbitrary but in an ungentlemanly manner, that I propose to move the reduction of this Vote by the amount of £1,000, which represents the salary of the Secretary to the Local Government Board, and also a further sum of £2,000 for law expenses. I do this to mark my disapprobation of the manner in which I have been treated by the Local Government Board. As a matter of fact, the Secretary to the Local Government Board is himself the Board. This occurrence happened during the time that the right hon. Gentleman on the Front Opposition Bench was Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, and I sent a copy of the letters I had written to the Local Government Board to the right hon. Gentleman at the Irish Office here. I found, however, that the Secretary to the Local Government Board was not only master of the Board itself, but that he was also master of the Chief Secretary, whose reply to me was simply a re-echo of the reply I had received from the Secretary to the Local Government Board. My opinion, therefore, is that the Secretary to the Local Government Board himself constitutes the Board. He not only has the Chief Secretary, but the Inspectors in his hands, and always at his command, and he is not only an autocrat, but a supercilious, arbitrary, and domineering person. I do not expect to be treated by any Board in a manner different from that in which any other person is treated; but I believe that the treatment I received from the Secretary to the Local Government Board is part and parcel of the system he pursues regularly towards all who are brought in contact with him. He refuses to take the slightest pains to investigate any case that may be fairly placed before him. I think the Secretary to the Local Government Board should be taught to pay respect to all persons who have legitimate claims for consideration at his hands. I had already been a Guardian for the division, and, as a candidate at the election to which I refer, I maintain

Government Board to communicate directly with the Board of Guardians, and not with the Chairman of the Board. Attention has been directed to a case which concerned the property of Lord Bantry. It is alleged that Lord Bantry had served notices of eviction signed by his own agent, such agent being also Chairman of the Board of Guardians. The case is a peculiar one. It was an attempt to obtain payment from tenants who are in a position of under-rated tenants, but who were sought to be made responsible because their rentals had been aggregated together. In order to empower the rate collector to take legal proceedings in the matter, it was necessary that the Chairman, together with two other Guardians and the Clerk of the Union, should sign a notice empowering the rate collector to sue the tenants. In this case I believe that the notice was sent without the knowledge of the Board of Guardians, and that Lord Bantry's agent instructed the rate collector to sue the tenants instead of Lord Bantry himself; and although the rate collector gave receipts to the tenants in his own name, counterparts of the receipts were signed in the name of Lord Bantry. I maintain that this was a grossly unfair proceeding on the part of the rate collector, and that it is the duty of the Board of Guardians to take cognizance of the matter, and to see that Lord Bantry's tenants are not unfairly dealt with. I wish, further, to direct the attention of the Committee to the mode in which resolutions are received at the meetings of the Board of Guardians; and I ask the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary whether it is within his province to define whether it is the duty of the Chairman of the Board to receive such resolutions, or whether it is competent for that gentleman to decide what resolutions shall be received, or what shall be rejected; and, further, whether it is competent for him to say what course he ought to take in such a case? Of course, I am aware that it is the duty of the Chairman of the Board of Guardians to receive any resolution which may be presented appertaining to the business of the Board; but what I want to find out is, what is the business of the Board? For instance, in a case where evictions are pending, and the ratepayers are to be taxed for the maintenance of the victims of landlord op-

pression or cruelty in a particular district, and a resolution relating to such evictions is presented, is it or is it not the business of the Board of Guardians to take such resolution into consideration? Everyone is aware that when an eviction takes place the persons who are evicted will, in all probability, become a burden upon the ratepayers, whether they become the recipients of outdoor relief or have to enter the workhouse; and I should like the Committee to express some opinion as to what is the duty of the Chairman of the Board of Guardians in regard to any resolution which may be submitted in such a case. Some time ago I made a complaint that the tenants on the Bantry Estate were being unfairly mulcted by Lord Bantry and Major Spaight. The Local Government Board Inspector was sent down to inquire; but Major Spaight, instead of holding an open and fair inquiry, entered into a private investigation. He was closeted in a hotel at Bantry with the Clerk of the Union, and he conducted his inquiry without receiving any evidence from the members of the Board of Guardians themselves or any individual who was not a personal friend of Lord Bantry's agent. I maintain that such an inquiry was a pure farce, in the absence of evidence to substantiate the case of Lord Bantry's tenants. I shall be glad to receive an intimation from the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary that in future the Local Government Board, when they observe that there has been irregularities in the proceedings of Boards of Guardians, will immediately communicate with the Clerk of the Union instead of the Chairman, and ascertain whether any illegal action on the part of the Chairman of the Board of Guardians has taken place. If they find that irregularities have been committed it will be the duty of the Local Government Board to remonstrate and to take action, without requiring private individuals to intervene. I ask the right hon. Gentleman to see whether in the case of the Bantry Board of Guardians any illegal action has taken place or not, and to require that in future a communication shall be addressed to the Clerk of the Union requesting that the action of the Board of Guardians shall be in accordance with the law and the statutory regulations which govern

their proceedings. I will only add that it is monstrous that the Local Government Board, represented by gentlemen who draw large salaries, for the payment of which the public are taxed, should overlook such transactions as these, and that it should be necessary for private individuals to occupy their time in writing letters remonstrating with the action of Government officials in regard to a plain course of procedure which their own duty ought to dictate.

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fused to disallow the votes, and the consequence was that I lost the election by two votes. My opinion is that if the Legal Adviser of the Local Government Board had done his duty I should have been retained upon the Board of Guardians, and so keenly do I feel that I have been treated, not only in an arbitrary but in an ungentlemanly manner, that I propose to move the reduction of this Vote by the amount of £1,000, which represents the salary of the Secretary to the Local Government Board, and also a further sum of £2,000 for law expenses. I do this to mark my disapprobation of the manner in which I have been treated by the Local Government Board. As a matter of fact, the Secretary to the Local Government Board is himself the Board. This occurrence happened during the time that the right hon. Gentleman on the Front Opposition Bench was Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, and I sent a copy of the letters I had written to the Local Government Board to the right hon. Gentleman at the Irish Office here. I found, however, that the Secretary to the Local Government Board was not only master of the Board itself, but that he was also master of the Chief Secretary, whose reply to me was simply a re-echo of the reply I had received from the Secretary to the Local Government Board. My opinion, therefore, is that the Secretary to the Local Government Board himself constitutes the Board. He not only has the Chief Secretary, but the Inspectors in his hands, and always at his command, and he is not only an autocrat, but a supercilious, arbitrary, and domineering person. I do not expect to be treated by any Board in a manner different from that in which any other person is treated; but I believe that the treatment I received from the Secretary to the Local Government Board is part and parcel of the system he pursues regularly towards all who are brought in contact with him. He refuses to take the slightest pains to investigate any case that may be fairly placed before him. I think the Secretary to the Local Government Board should be taught to pay respect to all persons who have legitimate claims for consideration at his hands. I had already been a Guardian for the division, and, as a candidate at the election to which I refer, I maintain

that I had a claim upon the Local Government Board for due consideration. I beg to move the reduction of the Vote by the sum of £3,000.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £65,688, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1887, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Local Government Board in Ireland, including various Grants in Aid of Local Taxation."—(*Mr. Jordan.*)

MR. J. O'CONNOR (Tipperary, S.): I desire to express my regret that the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland was not in his place when the hon. Member for West Cork (Mr. Gilhooly) called attention to the irregularity of the proceedings of the Bantry Board of Guardians.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH) (Bristol, W.): I was in my place during most part of the observations of the hon. Member.

MR. J. O'CONNOR: So much the better, because I think there are monstrous evils and blots in the operation of the Poor Law system in Ireland, and the way in which the benefits of the law are frustrated was very clearly put before the Committee by my hon. Friend. I do not think that there is any case that could be brought under the cognizance of the Committee which could illustrate these blots better than the one which has been brought forward by my hon. Friend. My hon. Friend has a very intimate acquaintance with the Bantry Board of Guardians. That Board of Guardians is presided over by Mr. John Warren Payne, who is the agent of the Earl of Bantry, and is noted for the tyrannical manner in which he rules that Board. As the agent of the Earl of Bantry he has used his official position at the Board of Guardians to cheat the tenants and evade the law. Now, the Earl of Bantry has a number of very poor tenants who are rated under £4, and according to the law they are not liable to pay poor rates. But what did Mr. John Warren Payne do? He aggregated these tenants together, made one of them lessor to the others, and by this means he took from the tenants their right of exemption from the rates and gave receipts to the collector in the Earl of Bantry's name; while, on the other

hand, he gave receipts to the tenants themselves in their own names. Now, Sir, I look upon that as a most elaborate system of cheating the tenants and evading the law in order to save the Earl of Bantry from making his proper contribution to the rates. But that is not the worst of it. This matter was brought before the Board repeatedly by my hon. Friend; but so powerful was Mr. Payne on the Board, and so much influence had he with the Local Government Board, that for years he defeated the efforts of my hon. Friend to rectify this state of things. I will not trouble the Committee with the Parliamentary Returns and Correspondence which were entered into between the members of the Board and the Local Government Board, and which extended over a considerable period. For the time every effort was fruitless; but finally the matter was brought before this House by my hon. Friend, and an Inspector was then sent down to Bantry to investigate the actual state of affairs. The Inspector was immediately waited upon by Mr. Payne, and so influenced was that official by Mr. Payne that he actually altered the manner of the rating so as to make one tenant liable for the rates of all the others, by that means saving the Earl of Bantry's pocket. My hon. Friend the Member for West Cork (Mr. Gilhooly) was, however, not contented with that decision, and he appealed to a higher quarter, which had the effect of inducing the Government to send down Sir J. Vaughan Green, the Commissioner of Valuations, to Bantry. The Commissioner took evidence and held an inquiry, at which both sides were heard. What was the result? The decision of the Inspector was immediately reversed, these tenants have been saved the unjust imposition which had been placed upon them, and the Earl of Bantry has been compelled to place himself on all-fours with the law and contribute his proper *quota* to the expenses of the Union. Now, I think this is a very proper subject for investigation. It is a typical case of many others that occur all over the country, and it shows how the landlords of Ireland and their agents, backed up by the officials of the Local Government Board, have been able to defeat and evade the law in every particular that can be devised by the fruitful ingenuity of the

Mr. Jordan

landlords and their agents in Ireland. Well, Sir, the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary is Chairman of the Local Government Board, and I think he will do well to inquire into this matter. He cannot be too strict in his investigation of the conduct of the officials who are immediately under him. He cannot be too precise and exacting in looking into the Reports of the Inspectors who go down into the country, who are attended by the agents of the landlords, and who are surrounded by every influence at the command of such agents, so that they may assist the landlords in evading the law. There is another way in which these gentlemen endeavour to prop up the rotten system of which they are the representatives, and to procure the assistance of officials in so doing. My hon. Friend has very properly brought before the Committee the manner in which resolutions are proposed and received by the Chairmen of Unions. The system is one which has led to a great deal of contention, and much disagreeable controversy in the Land Courts of Ireland. Although I have never had the honour of being a Poor Law Guardian, I have had occasion to observe from time to time the way in which these resolutions have been brought forward and received, and I have often deplored the manner in which the Chairman of the Poor Law Board has broken up a meeting of the Guardians, retired from his position as Chairman, and then defied the Board to pass resolutions of which the majority were in favour—resolutions affecting the rates and the condition of the country. In more than one case the Chairman has in this way left the proper work of the Board undone in order that he might defeat the proposers of these resolutions. Now, I do not know anything that could more properly form the business of a Poor Law Board than that they should bring their opinion to bear upon the subject of evictions in Ireland. What has been the case in the Bantry Board of Guardians, of which my hon. Friend is a distinguished member? In the case of that Board the rate collector has failed to lodge the necessary notices of eviction. These notices of eviction ought to be placed upon the table of the Board of Guardians; and what can be more proper than that the Board of Guardians should

pass resolutions in regard to such notices of eviction? Can it be said that they do not affect the rates? Do they not affect the poor? Do they not affect the Union over which the Board presides; and is it not almost certain that the unfortunate people who are evicted for the non-payment of rack-rents will eventually become the recipients of parochial relief? Occasionally—in fact, very frequently—throughout the whole of Ireland resolutions have been brought forward by humane men expressing a strong opinion upon evictions that were about to take place. Some of these resolutions may have been couched, perhaps, in the language of entreaty to the landlords and their agents, asking them to stay the evictions, and not place upon the rates already over-burdened a number of evicted tenants who would have no other resource than entering the poor-house. Surely that is a very proper subject for the Board of Guardians to entertain; and I think it was a very proper subject for the hon. Member for West Cork (Mr. Gilhooly) to introduce here to-day, in order that an expression of opinion may be obtained from some person in authority as to how far a member of a Board of Guardians is justified in bringing forward such a resolution, and how far the Chairman of the Board is justified in refusing to accept it as far as it affects the rates which the district may be obliged to pay and the position of the Union. Many disagreeable conflicts have occurred in certain Boards of Guardians from time to time arising out of the introduction of these resolutions, and we are very anxious that the matter should be disposed of once for all. On some occasions the Chairman of the Board, in a passionate and heated moment, leaves the Chair, and on other occasions disagreeable scenes arise in consequence of the conflicts which are entered into between the members of the Board and the Chairman, and the refusal of the Board to accept his *ipse dixit*. I admit that in many respects the Chairman of a Union may be the most suitable person for the position. We are sometimes accused in Ireland of being intolerant; but in Ireland the public positions at the disposal of the country are all of them placed in the hands of a privileged class. This gives rise to constant bickerings; and can there be

any wonder, when we find a gentleman filling the chair at a meeting of a Board of Guardians, who is otherwise eminently suited to occupy the position, but who places himself at right angles with the public by refusing to put these resolutions in the interests of the ratepayers—can there be any wonder, under such circumstances, that the Irish Members avail themselves of the first opportunity to ask Parliament to review the position occupied by the gentlemen who fill that post, and who at present study only the interest of the one class to which they themselves belong? I rose to take part in this discussion simply because I was under the impression that the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary was not in his place, and I wished to emphasize the matters which had been brought forward by the hon. Member for West Cork. I trust that these important questions will receive careful consideration at the hands of the right hon. Gentleman, and that the several points that have been brought forward by my hon. Friend will be satisfactorily answered. I trust that the right hon. Gentleman will carefully inquire into the conduct of the Inspectors—that he will see that they hold an even hand and steer an even keel between the people and those who, in the performance of the duties of Chairmen of Poor Law Guardians, interfere with the operation of what might otherwise be very carefully drawn regulations and very just provisions of the law.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH) (Bristol, W.): There was one observation which fell from an hon. Member who addressed the Committee to which it is very difficult to give a reply. I quite agree with the proposition that it is the duty of the Local Government Board to watch very carefully, through its Inspectors and the Reports it receives, over the proceedings of Boards of Guardians in Ireland; that it is bound to keep an even keel between the various conflicting interests; and that if it observes any infraction of the law, or any improper administration of the law, no time should be lost in putting in force, without fear or favour, the powers at its disposal to check irregularities. That being so, on the other hand, I should entirely deprecate any persistent or continual in-

terference with Boards of Guardians on the part of the Local Government Board beyond the lines laid down by the law. It appears to me that this would be absolutely contrary to any progress in that system of local self-government which I understand it is universally admitted we should endeavour to sustain and extend in Ireland as in other parts of the United Kingdom. The hon. Member for West Cork (Mr. Gilhooly) has called attention to certain conduct on the part of the Chairman of the Bantry Board of Guardians, and he has been followed in that course by the hon. Member who has just sat down. My own opinion is that it is obviously the duty of Boards of Guardians to take cognizance of the evictions which may happen in their Union in order to prevent any hardship or suffering to the poor from them. The law imposes on them and on their officers certain duties in that respect, which, of course, they ought to perform. The Local Government Board intimated to the Bantry Board of Guardians what the duty of the relieving officer was in this matter; and they added that, in their opinion, the Chairman had not acted properly in declining to put a certain resolution. But now the Government are asked to go further. They are asked to take some action, as I understand, with reference to the conduct of the Chairman of the Board. To that I reply that I am not here for the purpose of laying down—and it would be impossible for anyone to lay down—precisely what resolutions the Chairman ought or ought not to put from the chair, or what kind of business ought or ought not to come before the Board. I am afraid that a good many subjects are discussed by Boards of Guardians in Ireland, and possibly in England, which are certainly not within the ordinary administration of such Boards. But the Local Government Board were advised that in this case the conduct of the Chairman did not justify the interference by sealed order which was asked for by the hon. Member for West Cork. In my opinion, those who have a local interest in the matter, and who consider that the Chairman exceeded his duty, have the remedy in their own hands if they choose to exercise it. When the time comes for re-electing the Chairman, if he has failed to discharge his duty, they possess a

Mr. J. O'Connor (Tipperary, S.)

remedy by replacing him by someone else. [*Home Rule cries of "No, no!"*] If that were so, then obviously the Chairman has the support of the ratepayers of the district.

MR. M. J. KENNY (Tyrone, Mid): He is the understrapper of the *ex officio* Guardians.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS - BEACH: He is elected by the Board of Guardians to be Chairman of the Board; and if hon. Members can furnish me with an instance in which the Local Government Board, either of England or of Ireland, have removed a Chairman of a Board of Guardians, by a sealed order, for declining to put a resolution, I should consider the suggestion for such interference on the part of the Local Government Board in this case with more favour than I am disposed to extend to it at present. With regard to the action of the Chairman in this particular instance, as I have already stated, it is the opinion of the Local Government Board that he was not justified in the course he took. The blame which has been cast on the Local Government Board for declining to go beyond the expression of that opinion is in strong contrast to the observations which have been made by the hon. Member for West Clare (Mr. Jordan) as to the arbitrary conduct of the Board and the action of its Secretary in certain other matters which have been brought under the notice of the Committee. The Local Government Board are charged, on the one side, with non-interference; and, on the other, with arbitrary interference. I can only say that I am as anxious as any hon. Member below the Gangway that the action of the Local Government Board should be fair between all parties, and that it should deal with any infraction of the law, no matter by whom it may be committed. Some information has reached me as to the condition of certain Unions in Ireland which inclines me to believe that a little more action on the part of the Local Government Board might have stopped certain evils that have occurred. However that may be, I will promise hon. Members not to lose sight of the matter, but to do the best I can to secure that the law is carried out, and not evaded. The hon. Member for West Clare put two points, the first of which had reference to the action of the Inspectors of the Local Government

Board. He spoke of the Inspectors of the Local Government Board as if they were of no use, and he went so far as to move the reduction of the Vote in order to get rid of them.

MR. JORDAN: No; not the Inspectors.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS - BEACH: The hon. Member seemed to think that the Inspectors did not discharge their duties satisfactorily. He spoke of their attendance at the meetings of the Board of Guardians, and I certainly understood him not only to say that they were useless, but that any interference on their part would be resented by the Board of Guardians. Now, I understand that the Inspectors of the Local Government Board do not attend the meetings of the Boards of Guardians for the purpose of directing the course of procedure, but simply to observe what goes on, and to report to the Local Government Board how the affairs of the Union are conducted. Of course, if the Board of Guardians asks for their advice, they would be perfectly willing and ready to give it.

MR. JORDAN: The experience we have of the Inspectors in Ireland is that their services are nearly altogether: useless.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS - BEACH: That has not been found to be the case in England, and I do not think it will be found to be the case in Ireland. I believe that without the assistance of the Inspectors it would be impossible for the Local Government Board to perform their duties. The Local Government Board, however, have no desire to take out of the hands of the Boards of Guardians their proper administrative duties. Generally speaking, I do not believe that the Inspectors of the Local Government Board are fairly open to the charge which has been made against them, and without some such system of inspection it would be impossible for the Local Government Board to go on. An hon. Member has suggested that the Inspectors should do the duty of the Clerks of the Union in revising the List of Voters, and conducting the election of Boards of Guardians. Now, I should like to know how long it would take the 13 Inspectors of the Local Government Board to perform the duties of Returning Officers at elections, and what time they would have left to devote to other and more important

ant duties? Such a suggestion is also directly in antagonism to the extension of local self-government or the granting of greater freedom to the Local Authorities of Ireland. As to the Legal Adviser of the Local Government Board, he has very important duties to perform, and his services are largely called into requisition. He gives advice as to the general action of the Board, and the remuneration he receives is included in the Estimate for the year. I do not think that any point which has been raised in the course of this discussion remains unanswered, and I trust that hon. Members will believe me when I say that my desire is to see the working of the Local Government system made thoroughly efficient, and carried out as far as possible by the Local Authorities themselves.

MR. DEASY (Mayo, W.): I and my hon. Friends are also anxious to see local self-government thoroughly established in Ireland; but we do not consider that the present system of local government which the right hon. Gentleman has alluded to is at all satisfactory, or that it is in reality local government in any sense of the word, for the simple reason that the Boards of Guardians in Ireland are composed, to a large extent, of the landlord class, elected on a fancy franchise, and that the Chairman is, as a general rule, nominated and elected by Justices of the Peace who are *ex officio* Guardians. The right hon. Gentleman informs my hon. Friend the Member for West Clare (Mr. Jordan) that there is nothing easier, if the majority of the Board are dissatisfied with any decision the Chairman may give, than to refrain from electing him again. Is the right hon. Gentleman aware what the composition of a Board of Guardians really is in Ireland? In the first place, you have half the Board composed of *ex officio* Guardians, who are magistrates, mostly resident within the Unions of which they are Guardians. They are the highest rated Justices in the Union, and are nominated by the Clerks. Those men are landlords and their agents; consequently, nothing like fair-play can be expected from them. In the next place, the landlords exercise an enormous power at the annual Elections by means of their proxy votes. As a matter of fact, when a Board holds its first meeting more than one

half of the Guardians have been nominated without a single ratepayer having had a voice in the nomination. It will, therefore, be seen that they are able, almost in all cases, to elect their own Chairman, and as a general rule the Chairman is a political partizan, placed in that position for the purpose of preventing Guardians of Nationalist sympathies, who represent the ratepayers, from expressing opinions which do not coincide with their own. It is the landlords who place the Chairman in that position on the 25th of March every year, and it will be found that they pay no attention to the business of the Board until the 25th of March following. They permit the work of the Union to be carried on by the representatives of the ratepayers, unless there is some job to be effected, upon which special occasions they are whipped up. The ratepayers in Ireland have not the slightest control over the action of the Chairman of the Board of Guardians, and they have very little influence, practically speaking, in the administration of the Poor Law itself, owing to the system of nomination and election which prevails. Nothing can be more absurd than to impute to hon. Gentlemen on these Benches that they are pressing the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to exercise his authority, as Chairman of the Local Government Board, in order to interfere unduly with local representation. The members of the Poor Law Board are in no sense of the word the representatives of the local ratepayers. We do not ask the right hon. Gentleman to exercise his authority in an unfair or an arbitrary manner. All we ask is that he will compel the Local Government Board to see that the law is administered in the spirit in which it was intended to be administered. All we wish the Local Government Board to do is to observe the minutes and proceedings of the Boards of Guardians, and if they find that any illegality has been committed by the Chairman of a Board, or anyone else, at once to take notice of it, and write to the Board, and have any illegal decision reversed. That is all we ask of the right hon. Gentleman; and as to the removal of the Chairman, surely it is not argument that if no Chairman has yet been removed by a sealed order, that course should not be commenced now. If Mr. Payne, the Chairman of the

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Bantry Board of Guardians, persists in acting contrary to the law, I do not see why the Local Government Board ought not to step in and use their authority. The reading of notices of eviction at the meetings of Boards of Guardians is certainly a matter of serious consequence, because, under the law, the relieving officer is compelled to be on the spot when an eviction takes place. How is the relieving officer to be on the spot, or how is he to be directed by the Board of Guardians as to the steps he ought to take with regard to the relief of an unfortunate family who may be cast on the roadside, unless public notice is given at the Board that the evictions are about to be carried out? It is said that in the coming winter the landlords intend to evict by wholesale, and surely the matter is one of vital and urgent importance. I ask the right hon. Gentleman to give his serious attention to this question of evictions in Ireland, and to the manner in which Chairmen of Boards of Guardians may deal with eviction notices. There is another matter which I also desire to bring under the notice of the right hon. Gentleman, and it is one with which I believe he is personally acquainted. He was a Member of the Royal Commission of 1878 which inquired into the operation of the Poor Law in Ireland. At that time it was hoped that the result of the inquiry would be to secure lunatic paupers from the treatment to which they had previously been subjected, and that a separate establishment in each county would be set aside in which they would receive proper care and attention. The present system in Ireland in this respect is probably the greatest blot upon the whole Poor Law administration of the country, because, mainly on account of the helplessness of these unfortunate individuals, who are unable to do anything for themselves, they are absolutely at the mercy of the Board of Guardians and the people the Board employ to look after them. I am quite aware that many Guardians in Ireland would do something to alleviate the sufferings of these unfortunate people; but they are afraid of the ratepayers, and the majority of them are not inclined to lend a willing ear to any story of what goes on in the lunatic wards. The result is that hundreds of these unhappy people are huddled together in the workhouses, two

or three in a bed, without any proper medical treatment, or skilled nurses to take charge of them.

THE CHAIRMAN: I am afraid that the hon. Member is travelling beyond the question before the Committee. The Local Government Board have nothing to do with the arrangements which the hon. Gentleman is condemning.

MR. DEASY: The Local Government Board reports upon the state of things that exists in the workhouses, and their Inspectors have to visit the workhouses, and to make frequent Reports to the Board itself as to the condition of these pauper lunatics. Moreover, a Royal Commission was appointed for the purpose of inquiring into and reporting upon that, among other questions. The subject was raised on the discussion of this Vote last year, and also the year before, and I would therefore submit that I am perfectly in Order in raising it now.

THE CHAIRMAN: I do not know what may have happened in a former year. The hon. Member is irregular, because the Local Government Board are in no way responsible for the state of things which may exist in the workhouses.

MR. DEASY: The Local Government Board have to sanction the appointment of medical officers, and have control over the workhouses, and, therefore, I venture to submit that I am quite entitled to go into the question.

THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member is not entitled to continue his remarks.

MR. DEASY: May I go into the question of the medical officers?

THE CHAIRMAN: No.

MR. DEASY: I am very sorry that I am not at liberty to pursue the subject further. It was one to which I wished particularly to draw the attention of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary, and I will take care that on the first opportunity which is afforded I will bring the matter under the notice of the Government, particularly on account of the fact that the right hon. Gentleman himself is very well acquainted with the subject. With reference to the Auditors of the Local Government Board, that is also a matter which has been brought under the notice of the right hon. Gentleman. Even in the present Session one or two Questions were put upon the subject, and the whole

matter was gone into completely on a former occasion. I have no doubt that it was brought under the notice of the right hon. Gentleman when, some years ago, he occupied the same position he now occupies in connection with the Irish Office. It appears to me to be an insult to Magistrates and Justices of the Peace sitting at Petty Sessions that they should be called upon simply to register the decrees of the Auditor. This is the *modus operandi*. The Auditor objects to some amount which may have been voted away for some purpose or other, and for which special authority may not be given by Act of Parliament. The Auditor writes a certificate which has the effect of surcharging the Guardians who may have signed the cheque, and the certificate goes down to the Petty Sessions to be endorsed; but the magistrates have no power to enter into the facts of the case, and they are simply bound by Act of Parliament to issue a decree against the Guardians. This, I maintain, is an insult to the intelligence of the magistrates. I do not know why they should merely sit upon the Bench for the purpose of registering the decisions already arrived at by the Local Government Board Auditor, or by any other persons. They are precluded from taking any evidence whatever upon the merits of the case, and they are obliged to register a decree against the individuals who may have signed the cheque. The Irish Members have asked, on more than one occasion, that this injustice should be remedied—that evidence may be taken by the magistrates, and in case their decision is adverse that the defendants may appeal to the Court of the Quarter Sessions. We had a distinct pledge from Mr. Trevelyan, when he was Chief Secretary some two years ago, that this grievance should be remedied; but since then nothing has been done in the matter. We are very frequently told that the Irish Members have only to open out some specific grievance which they desire to have remedied, and that they have only to give an intimation of their wishes to the Government, in

secure that the law in some particular direction shall be altered forthwith. Now, here is a matter which has attracted considerable attention in Ireland; it has been made a special matter of debate; but although attention has been drawn to it, year after year, for a

number of years, no attempt has been made by any Government to remedy it, although it is a source of considerable irritation. I may add that the change we desire could easily be effected in a short Bill of one or two clauses, and I do not think that any opposition would be raised to it in any quarter of the House. I wish also to draw attention to another matter, in reference to which a Question was asked a few evenings ago—namely, the appointment of Inspectors under the Explosives Act. One of the recent Orders of the Lord Lieutenant made an alteration in regard to the appointment of these officials, and the appointment itself is vested in the hands of the Local Justices. Formerly, it was the practice when a vacancy occurred to give the appointment to a member of the Royal Irish Constabulary, who, certainly, are better qualified persons than any others to carry out the duties of the office. Under the present system, however, the Local Justices come together when there is a vacancy, and they give the appointment to one of their friends, at the same time naming the salary. It does not matter whether they fix the salary at £10 or £1,000, the Board of Guardians are obliged to pay it. A certificate is issued every six months to the treasurer of the Board of Guardians, making a demand for any sum the magistrates choose to name as the salary of the Inspector, which the treasurer must pay. What I ask the right hon. Gentleman to do is to make it compulsory on the magistrates of Petty Sessions to abolish the office of Inspector of Explosives as it at present exists, and to give the appointment to some member of the Police Force, who will carry out the duties more efficiently, while the expense would be disbursed by a different body from that which pays the Inspectors at present. I may add that the matter is one which has given rise to some dissatisfaction among the Boards of Guardians. I do not think it is necessary that I should detain the Committee longer; but I trust the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary will give his best attention to the few points I have ventured to bring under his notice, which are really of much consequence to the Irish people.

MR. CLANCY (Dublin Co., N.): The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary spoke of an inconsistency in the

complaints of hon. Members on this side of the House with regard to the Local Government Board. He said that one hon. Gentleman complained that the Local Government Board interfered too much with the action of Boards of Guardians, and that another hon. Gentleman complained that they had not interfered enough. Why, that is precisely our complaint—namely, that it all depends upon the composition of the Board of Guardians—whether the Board is a Tory Board or a Nationalist Board—whether there is too much or too little interference. On the one hand, if it is a Tory Board, the Local Government Board keeps its hands off; whereas if, on the other hand, it is a Board that represents the popular Party, we have the Local Government Board down on it like a shot. The right hon. Gentleman charged us also with another inconsistency—namely, in demanding an extension of local self-government in Ireland, and in the same breath objecting to the present system of local government in that country. But, Sir, we indignantly deny altogether that the system which now exists in Ireland is a real system of local representative government. On the contrary, it is a system of government by Dublin Castle. In the first place, the Boards of Guardians themselves are composed one-half of *ex officio* members, and the mode in which the election of the representative Guardians is conducted is of such a character that it is impossible almost anywhere to secure the return of Nationalist representatives in proportion to the number of Nationalist ratepayers. A landlord can have as many as 36 votes, whereas the overwhelming majority of the ratepayers have only one vote each. In the next place, this Local Government Board is a nominated body entirely beyond the control of the representatives of the people. In this state of things it is simply preposterous to pretend for a moment that we are inconsistent in expressing our desire for the extension of local government in Ireland, and in then finding fault with an imitation of the reality of this sort. I trust we shall hear no more of these taunts. I wish now to draw the attention of the right hon. Baronet to the fact that there are some officials connected with the Local Government Board in Ireland who are engaged in

offices connected with very questionable speculations. I find, from a letter I have recently received, that Mr. R. Jephson, Auditor of the Local Government Board in Dublin, was formerly a Director of the National Discount Company, which recently “came to smash.” It was, in fact, something very like a swindle; and it is notorious, in Dublin, that a great many people have been the dupes of the Directors of that Company, and have had their private fortunes utterly ruined. I entertain not the least doubt in the world that many people were induced to invest money in this concern from the fact that they saw upon the Board of Directors persons like Mr. Jephson, a Government official. I want an assurance from the right hon. Gentleman that Government officials in Ireland, in future, shall be prevented, by express direction, from taking any part whatever in speculations of this kind, which, to say the least, are very questionable undertakings, and calculated, most of them, to end in financial disaster. There is another matter, not connected with any point which has already been touched upon. I wish to direct attention to the Rules laid down by the Local Government Board with regard to the copying of the rate books for the purpose of the registration of Parliamentary voters. This is a very important matter. The present Rule is that no person except a ratepayer can go into the Board Room and see a copy of the rate books of the Union. That Rule works in this way—when the majority of the Board of Guardians consists of landlords or Tories, any Nationalist Organization which is established for the purpose of revising the list of voters is absolutely prevented from, or has great difficulty thrown in its way in, getting a copy of the rate books. Anyone who is acquainted with the registration of voters in Ireland, will know that no Registration Society can go to work efficiently without having a copy of the rate books before it. That is the basis of its operations. Now, let me mention a case illustrative of the state of things of which I complain. It has been reported in a Dublin paper, within the last few days, that in a Union in a Division of South Tyrone, the Nationalist Registration Society wanted to copy the rate books for the purpose of the

coming revision. The Clerk of the Union and the Guardians, all of whom I believe are Orangemen—at any rate, all of them are Tories—objected to let anyone look at the rate books except a ratepayer. Consequently, a ratepayer did attend with a clerk in order to perform this work, but the clerk was not allowed to work, although he was accompanied by a ratepayer; and at last the expedient resorted to as the only one possible under the circumstances was to get a sufficient number of ratepayers to go to the Board Room—I believe they numbered seven—and to sit down there and copy the books. It is said that they were occupied, for several weeks, from 10 o'clock in the morning until 6 in the evening in performing the task. Now, a case like this shows that this Rule is enforced in Ireland for partizan ends; and I have not the slightest hesitation in saying that if it is continued to be so enforced, it will lead, and I think it ought to lead, to retaliation in places where the Nationalists are in a majority. Certainly, if the right hon. Gentleman does not consent to alter this Rule, I at least would suggest that for every instance in which a Tory Board of Guardians throws obstacles in the way of a Nationalist Registration Society copying the rate books, the Nationalists in some other district in which they are in a majority should interpose similar obstacles in the way of the Conservative Party. I believe that the adoption of a system of retaliation of that kind would soon bring about an alteration in the Rule. What I would suggest, is this, that wherever there is a recognized Registration Society, whatever be its political complexion, its agents should be allowed to copy the rate books in the same manner as ratepayers are at present. This is the practice at present in Dublin, though in the South Dublin Union, where the majority is Tory and Orange, and where the Clerk is a notorious partizan of the Tory Party, I am sorry to say that, in the interests of the Conservatives, the officials have been in the habit of placing very considerable difficulty in the way of the inspection of the rate books, by the Nationalist agents. I would repeat my suggestion to the right hon. Gentleman that he should so alter the Rule about copying the rate books as to lay down that the agent of any recognized

Registration Society shall be entitled to copy the rate books at all convenient times. I do not see that there can be the least objection to that; and I can again assure the right hon. Gentleman, and I tell the Committee, that if this alteration is not made, and if the Boards of Guardians in the North of Ireland continue the tactics they have hitherto pursued, by the foul means I have referred to of preventing Nationalist agents from obtaining copies of the rate books, the time will soon come when there will be a system of retaliation throughout the rest of Ireland.

COLONEL NOLAN (Galway, N.): I wish to bring before the attention of the Committee the subject which is alluded to on page 11 of the last Report of the Local Government Board, somewhat briefly, I admit, but it is also referred to on page 155—I refer to the collection of the advances for seeds which are collected under the authority of the Local Government Board. I asked a Question upon the subject a short time ago, and perhaps I may be allowed to recapitulate briefly the facts of the case for the information of the Committee. A sum of £594,000 was advanced in the year 1880, by the Conservative Government, for the purchase of potato seeds. It was one of the best things the Conservative Government ever did in connection with Ireland. The money was originally proposed to be advanced only for the purchase of potato seed; but as the Bill went on the advance was extended also for the purchase of other seeds as well as potatoes, such as oats and corn generally. In Committee on the Bill, it was provided that the money should not only be advanced to tenants, but that it should be lent to anyone else provided that good security was given. Out of the £594,000 advanced, there is now only a sum of £37,000 outstanding, and that is due from certain Unions. It is to this balance I wish to call the attention of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary. Some of the Unions found it very hard to make up their share of the interest on the outstanding debt, and there was great dissatisfaction on the part of the tenants and others with the way in which the money had been advanced. A good deal of the money had been advanced to persons who were not tenants, on the system of con acre—

that is to say, that somebody lets out the land, and some other person who is not the tenant sows it with seed; very often the manure is supplied by the man who lets out the land; but it is very difficult to collect the money which has been paid in the shape of advances where the advances has been made to persons who were not the tenants. Out of the outstanding balance of £37,000 there is clearly a considerable sum of money which is not collectable by the Unions, and they will not be able to pay the whole of the balance. As I have stated, there is only this small sum of £37,000 due out of the original amount advanced, and one reason why the balance has not been collected is the action of the Local Government Board themselves. When the Bill was before Parliament, the Local Government Board sent out a Circular stating that seed would only be given for a quarter of an acre of potatoes. Afterwards they altered the limit and extended it to an acre, which was a considerable change—namely, 4 to 1. The Local Government Board, in reply to a letter from me, explained the circumstances; but it is not necessary that I should enter into them now. At any rate, they refrained from issuing a second Circular until the Act had passed the House of Commons. It was altogether a mistake to issue the first Circular at all, but even a greater mistake to refuse to issue a second until the Act passed. The consequence was that Boards of Guardians were left in a state of extreme uncertainty as to the amount they might advance, and nothing was done until the moment arrived for supplying the seed. The Clerks of the various Unions then found themselves quite unequal to the sudden opening of 8,000 or 10,000 fresh accounts, and I believe that a great many Unions in England would, under the circumstances, have found themselves similarly situated. Many of the persons who applied for advances were illiterate, and unable to even write their names. The result was that considerable confusion was introduced into some of the accounts, and it has been very difficult indeed to recover some of the small debts which were incurred at that time.

THE CHAIRMAN: I fail to see how the hon. and gallant Member connects this subject with the Vote of the Local Government Board.

COLONEL NOLAN: I was anxious to spare the time of the Committee; but if it is considered necessary, I will read the whole of the correspondence of the Local Government Board on the subject.

THE CHAIRMAN: As I understand the hon. and gallant Gentleman, he is about to urge a claim for the remission of the balance of the debt. If that is the object of the hon. and gallant Gentleman, it is not a question connected with the Local Government Board, and cannot be discussed on this Estimate.

COLONEL NOLAN: I do not intend to urge the remission of the whole debt, but only a portion of it. I will, however, studiously leave out that part of the matter, and put the question in another form either to morrow or some other day, I wish, however, to add that the question is one of very considerable importance, and that it is referred to in the Report of the Local Government Board.

THE CHAIRMAN: I must ask the hon. and gallant Member to show how he can connect the matter with the Vote now under discussion.

COLONEL NOLAN: Perhaps you will allow me to read some of the correspondence under the head of loans in connection with the seed supplied by the Local Government Board. The Local Government Board called attention to the collection of the debt and the necessity of watching how it is collected, and in their Report they go on to say—

“The collection still proceeds on the whole satisfactory. The sum advanced to Boards of Guardians in 1880 was £598,306; of this sum £496,685 were paid up on the 31st of March, 1885, leaving a balance of £101,621 due at that date. The last instalment of the debt will not become due until next year.”

On page 155 of the Report of the Local Government Board there is a letter from the Lords' Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury to the Local Government Board, in which the Treasury agrees to reduce the balance of £101,000 to £37,000.

THE CHAIRMAN: I do not see that the extract which the hon. and gallant Gentleman has read brings this subject in any connection with the Vote. It is true that the loan was originally administered under the supervision of the Local Government Board, who are still charged with the collection of the balance due; but the hon. and gallant Member is not pointing to any

difficulty raised by the Local Government Board, nor is he making any criticism upon their action.

COLONEL NOLAN: I will endeavour, Sir, to follow your ruling. Of course, the subject is one which divides itself into a good many branches. I was anxious to point out to the Committee that some of the difficulties connected with the collection of this debt are exclusively due to the want of action on the part of the Local Government Board. In the first place, the great difficulty in collecting the debt has arisen on account of legal circumstances, and those legal circumstances I think ought to be met by some definite action on the part of the Local Government Board, who ought to supply the Boards of Guardians with the best legal advice. One difficulty in collecting the balance has arisen from the decision of the magistrates in Petty Sessions. They refuse to put the law in motion, and, among other reasons, they say that the debt has lapsed on account of the length of time that has elapsed since the advances were made. Now, in that matter, I think the magistrates are wrong; and I am of opinion that the Local Government Board should supply them with sound legal advice so as to enable them to get over the difficulty. At present, when we go to the Petty Sessions, the case is remitted to the Court of Quarter Sessions, and what does the Chairman do there? He says—"It is all very well for the Petty Sessions to take any action it pleases; it is only an informal Court, and it requires no formal proof of delivery. We do require formal proof of delivery." That is a difficulty which I maintain the Local Government Board ought to show us how to surmount. A large number of persons were supplied with seed potatoes; but there are now legal difficulties in the way of recovery in which I think the Guardians are entitled to assistance from the Local Government Board. It certainly will be impossible for the Guardians to collect the outstanding debts unless they get a large amount of assistance from the Local Government Board, assistance which, I am sorry to say, they have not been able to get up to the present moment. So long as we are dealing with *bond fide* people, and moderately well-off people, there is no difficulty in obtaining the interest upon the advances; but

I am sorry to say that in Ireland, unless accounts of this nature are collected regularly, there are a certain number of people who will not pay. Another difficulty in connection with the Local Government Board ought to be pointed out to the Chief Secretary—namely, that the Local Government Board are in the habit of sending out their Inspectors; but I do not see that the services of the Inspectors are of any considerable value in any of the Unions. In most Unions there are five or six Guardians who attend pretty regularly to the business; and in the case of such well-managed Unions there is very little to complain of. The Inspectors I have known have never been the slightest hindrance to the Guardians whom I have been connected with. I have never known them to be objectionable. There is new work for the Inspectors. They might be asked to look into the accounts and see what part of the debts are recoverable and what are not. This is a matter that might well be gone into; and, if not out of Order in doing so, I would ask that the Inspectors should find out which of the debts are recoverable and which are not, and that they should recommend that those which are not recoverable should be remitted. I think they should report to the Local Government Board, and give full information on this matter. Then there is a point raised with reference to the seed rate that merits the attention of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland. Chief Secretaries get so much taken up with matters affecting the police and with exciting political questions, that they are sometimes unable to attend to the material development of the country. Well, but it is the want of this material development which throws the country into a state of disturbance, and which doubles the duty of Chief Secretaries in connection with police work. I think if the right hon. Gentleman who at present occupies the position of Chief Secretary would devote a greater part of his time to these economic questions and to the material development of the country, he would very soon find that there would not be so much police work to deal with. I would point out the difficulty he gets into as to the seed rate. It is not a large sum, but it has to be collected with the poor rate, and the collector cannot receive the poor rate unless he receives the seed

rate too. That, if not an altogether universal rule, is, at any rate, the rule in the great majority of Unions. The consequence is that some of the poor rates are getting into arrear owing to the seed rate not being collected in certain instances; and it certainly seems to me that the right hon. Gentleman should direct the Local Government Board to settle up this question of the seed rate. Some resolution will have to be arrived at upon it next year. The account cannot be kept hanging on for ever, though it is not of a very considerable amount, except in some 10 or 20 Unions of Ireland. Unless the Government obtain proper Reports from the Local Government Board as to what part of the rates are recoverable, they will not be able to find out a satisfactory remedy; but if all the necessary information is obtained for them, I think the right hon. Gentleman will be able to discover a means by which he will find it in his power to remove a large part of the standing debt, and not leave more than 4 per cent, probably not leave more than 3 per cent, of the whole amount now due as the loss to be borne by the Treasury. This is a question of great importance — of particular importance to 15 or 20 of the Boards of Guardians in Ireland. You cannot have the thing well managed unless you go into this matter. I certainly think if the Chief Secretary would look into this by next year, he would be able to bring about a settlement of the business, and enable a good many Unions to get their accounts into proper order.

MR. MACARTNEY (Antrim, S.): The hon. Member for North Dublin (Mr. Clancy), in the observations he made as to the administration in Ireland, reviewed the conduct of several gentlemen in connection with the Poor Law Guardians. He brought forward a specific charge against the Clerk of a Poor Law Union in the county I reside in in reference to the revision of the list of voters. Well, I myself am very deeply interested in the list and the revision to which the hon. Gentleman alluded. The hon. Member complained that owing to the fact that the Board of Guardians were mainly Tories, and also principally of that most objectionable class of Tories—namely, Orangemen; and owing to the fact that the Clerk of the Union was a partizan, and

devoted to the political interests of the Party opposed to that to which the hon. Gentleman belongs, I say he complained that justice was denied to the agents of the Nationalist Party in connection with the inspection of the rate books. Now, I was very much interested in the revision of the lists, and though I was interested on behalf of the Tory Party, and although I could command the influence of the Orange Party, I also was refused the facilities which were refused to the Nationalist agents. [MR. CLANCY: What year was that in?] I am talking of the present year. The hon. Member impugned the conduct of the Clerk of this Union, accusing him of partiality. Now, I am not prepared, at the present moment, to say whether or not the Clerk of the Union in question has in any way departed this year from the conduct he laid down last year; but I would like to remind the hon. Member that there is a perfectly simple way by which he could obtain the information he wants without applying to the Clerk of the Union for the information afforded by the rate book, which book the hon. Member says it is so necessary for the agents of his Party to inspect. On application to the Registrar General's Office in Dublin he could have obtained, as I obtained last year, a complete copy of the rate book with the latest alterations. It only requires the expenditure of a small sum of money, and I am not led to believe that there was any lack of funds at the disposal of the Party the hon. Gentleman is associated with in connection with the revision in South Tyrone last year. I am disposed, myself, to agree with what the hon. Gentleman has said as to further facilities being given for the inspection of the rate book to properly constituted agents representing the different Parties in Ireland. I am not disposed to disagree with him in that matter, and I think that in all probability neither the administration of the Poor Law nor the Public Service would be in any way hindered by the Clerks of the Unions being permitted, as they are not at present, to allow the rate books of the Union to be investigated by properly authorized agents belonging to both Parties. I do not dispute with the hon. Member on that point; but I would point out that neither he nor his friends in any part of Ireland are precluded by the action of the Clerks to the Poor Law

Unions, whether that action is partial or impartial, from obtaining elsewhere the information they desire to obtain from the rate books. [Mr. CLANCY: I gave a specific instance.] I maintain that the hon. Member can obtain identically the same information from an Office in Dublin by the expenditure of no great amount of money, or no more than would certainly have to be expended in securing the information if it were to be obtained through the Clerks of the Unions from the rate books. During the discussion which has taken place hon. Gentlemen opposite have impugned the action of the Chairmen of the Boards of Guardians in Ireland, and, generally speaking, the action of all the Boards of Guardians, the majority of the members of which hold views which are not in accordance with those of hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway opposite. They have treated the subject as though the *ex officio* Guardians were in no way interested in the well-being of the Union.

THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Gentleman is not entitled to go fully into the question of the conduct of Boards of Guardians. He is only entitled to discuss these matters so far as they are connected with the action of the Irish Local Government Board.

MR. MACARTNEY: I regret that I have overstepped the limits of the debate. I wish to allude to an interruption which took place while the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland was speaking with regard to the conduct of Boards of Guardians. An hon. Member on the opposite side of the House pointed out that the Local Government Board of Ireland was precluded from influencing, or was not able to influence, the conduct of Chairmen of Boards of Guardians, and that the rate-payers were not able to influence them, because these gentlemen were, as a rule, elected by voters who had no interest in the Poor Law. Now, I wish to point out that the *ex officio* Guardians of Ireland have as large an interest as any other portion of the electorate in the conduct of the Boards. It is impossible to suppose that a Chairman who has the confidence of a Board would be permitted to continue in his office unless he retained that confidence with regard to all his action during the year. The *ex officio* Guardians, to whom hon. Gentlemen on the other side of the House ob-

ject so much, contribute by far the greater proportion of the poor rate in Ireland.

MR. HANDEL COSSHAM (Bristol, E.): I have listened to the debate which has been going on now for some time, and especially to the opening remarks which were made in reference to the general administration of the Local Government Board. The objectionable features pointed out in that administration are not solely to be found in the Department as it affects Ireland, but they apply also to the case of England. The same blots which exist in the administration of the Local Government Board, and which have been pointed out to the Committee, exist also in reference to England. I think the subject would, perhaps, come up better on the Local Government Question generally, whenever that comes on.

THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Gentleman is not entitled to go into that subject now.

MR. HANDEL COSSHAM: I was going to deal with the fact incidentally and say that when the question comes up there are two points which have been brought under discussion this morning which I think will have to be dealt with. First of all—

THE CHAIRMAN: I have told the hon. Member that these remarks are irregular.

MR. HANDEL COSSHAM: Then I will not go on with them; but I would say that the questions of *ex officio* Guardians and the cumulative vote are matters—

COLONEL KING-HARMAN (Kent, Isle of Thanet): I rise to Order. I wish to know if the hon. Gentleman has any right to go into this question of the election of Boards of Guardians after your ruling, Mr. Courtney?

THE CHAIRMAN: I have already told the hon. Member that he is not in Order.

MR. HANDEL COSSHAM: I thought the Committee did deal with that subject this morning; but I will not question your ruling, Sir. I wish to see some change made in the mode by which Guardians are appointed.

THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Gentleman is quite irregular.

MR. HANDEL COSSHAM: All I wanted to say was this, that the choice of Guardians in Ireland should rest with

Mr. Macartney

the Irish people—the Guardians should have the confidence of the people. That result would be obtained by doing away with the cumulative vote and—

THE CHAIRMAN: I must take notice of the hon. Member's continued irrelevance, and ask him to discontinue his speech.

MR. P. J. POWER (Waterford, E.): Some of the points which have been raised in the course of this debate may appear to some hon. Members to be trifling, and of very little value; but I can assure them that to us and to the Poor Law Guardians of Ireland, and also to the ratepayers, a great deal depends upon the careful consideration of some of the points which have been raised. That point of the appointment of Inspectors under the Explosives Act is one to which I should wish to call the serious attention of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland. At present the system prevailing is this—the Justices assemble at Petty Sessions and appoint these Inspectors. In these appointments the ratepayers of the Petty Sessional Districts have no voice whatever. These gentlemen are appointed by the Justices, and, in due course, are presented, and the Guardians have no option but to accept them. The cheque for their salaries is presented to the treasurer and cashed as a matter of course. Now, we maintain that the duties under the Explosives Act could be far more efficiently performed—

THE CHAIRMAN: I do not perceive the connection between the hon. Member's observations and the Local Government Board of Ireland. I know the subject was gone into at some length by previous speakers; but I could not then see any connection between it and the Local Government Board.

MR. P. J. POWER: I bow to your ruling, Sir; but I certainly did imagine that the subject came under this Vote. However, I will not persist in these observations, because I believe that in consequence of what fell from the hon. Member for West Mayo (Mr. Deasy) the matter will receive the attention of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland. There is another matter connected with the Poor Law Board, which I think the right hon. Gentleman would do well to turn his serious attention to, and that is the

classification of paupers in particular Unions. We are aware that, according to law, the children should be separated from the ordinary inmates. That is a rule with which most hon. Gentlemen will agree, as it is one founded upon justice and humanity; but, unfortunately, in many of the Unions that regulation is not carried into effect, and you have in them poor children brought into contact with very questionable characters. It is unnecessary for me to explain to the Committee the injurious effect mixing with the adult pauper inmates has on these children, and I hope sincerely that this matter will engage the serious attention of the right hon. Gentleman. I am not allowed, I believe, by your ruling, Sir, to refer to the condition of pauper lunatics; but anyone who has any knowledge of the Unions in Ireland, will know that that is a most serious question also with regard to the Irish Poor Law. The question of the Auditors is another matter which certainly deserves the attention of the Local Government Board and of the Committee. At present, the Poor Law Guardians, and particularly the Chairmen of the Guardians, are subject to the whims of the Auditors for the time being, who may be sent round. We have little or no voice in appealing against their decisions, and we are altogether in their hands. It is a notorious fact, I am sorry to say, that the Local Government Board is a Board that does not possess the confidence of the Irish people, and I think I may say that the Auditors that they send round to the different Unions are equally without the confidence of the Irish people. The Auditors are appointed by a Board which we look upon as a partizan Board, therefore the Auditors themselves are considered partizans. I wish to just mention a case which came under my own immediate attention with regard to these Auditors. I have had the misfortune to be surcharged in a couple of instances on the Board of the Union in which I reside, and, perhaps, this statement may affect the right hon. Gentleman's decision in the matter. My predecessor in the Chairmanship of the Waterford Board of Guardians was a staunch Conservative. Well, he was in the habit of signing cheques for certain payments, and one of the cheques it was customary for him to sign was for the

payment of £50 for school teachers attached to the Union. Whilst this gentleman—for whom, by the way, I have a great respect—was Chairman of the Union, the validity of these payments was never called in question. I was appointed as Chairman in 1882, and when these cheques came up for payment I signed them as a matter of course. Well, the next occasion on which the Auditor came round, I was surcharged £50. I thought it a very extraordinary thing that, seeing that these cheques were signed by my predecessor without objection, I should not be allowed to do as he had done. My predecessor was of the same opinion, in fact, that gentleman came down to a Board meeting and moved a resolution asking the Auditor of the Local Government Board to reconsider his decision, and another gentleman of high standing in the district seconded the proposition. The matter went before the Local Government Board, and in due course this surcharge was rescinded. We maintain that such a state of things should not exist, and that it should not be in the power of an Auditor to act in such an arbitrary manner. Had it not been that this gentleman, my predecessor, from a sense of duty came in and protested against this surcharge, I should have had the misfortune of being obliged to pay the amount in question. Now, Sir, there is no doubt that a great deal of friction does exist between the representatives of the people, the Poor Law Boards and the Local Government Boards. I think that everyone who takes an interest in the well-being of the Unions in Ireland, and in the well-being of the unfortunate inmates of the workhouses, would like to see that friction lessened, and a better feeling—a feeling of cordiality—existing between the elected representatives of the ratepayers and the Local Government Board. We maintain that the Government have a great deal of power in this matter, and that it would be possible for them to bring the Local Government Board into greater harmony with Boards of Guardians in Ireland than at present exists. I do not wish unnecessarily to rake up bygones; but as an instance of the unfortunate feeling that does exist between the Poor Law Board and the popular representatives, I would ask the

right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland to go back a few years and look into the conduct of the Local Government Board in connection with some of their officers. We know that if the officers of the Local Government Board and of the Poor Law Guardians stand well with the Conservative Party, they are not much interfered with; but if, unfortunately, the doctors or other officers do not stand well with the Conservative Party, they have much to contend against, and their position is anything but a comfortable one. The instance to which I refer was the treatment which my hon. Friend the Member for one of the Divisions of Cork received some time since at the hands of the Local Government Board. I will not dwell at length upon the conduct adopted towards him; but I would say that merely because he happened to be a Nationalist in his political views, by most unwarrantable action on the part of the Local Government Board he was deprived of his place under a sealed order of that Board.

THE CHAIRMAN: I must point out to the hon. Member that the narration of this incident is irrelevant and out of Order.

MR. P. J. POWER: I will not proceed with that. I would ask the right hon. Gentleman to endeavour to bring this Board, which is one of those alien Boards to which the right hon. Member for West Birmingham (Mr. Chamberlain) has so graphically referred in some of his correspondence, into greater harmony with the people. If he does, we shall find that the position of the Poor Law Guardians in regard to this Board will be improved, and we shall find that the position of the paupers of Ireland will also be improved, and that a better state of feeling will exist all round. In concluding, I would seriously ask the right hon. Gentleman's attention to the points raised by the hon. Member for West Mayo (Mr. Deasy), and also to the most important state of things that exists in Ireland with regard to the classification of the inmates in the Unions; and I would also ask him seriously to give his attention to that matter of the Inspectors under the Explosives Act. It may not appear to be a very great question to the right hon. Gentleman; but I can assure him that every time the cheques for the payment of Inspectors

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under this Act are brought up, they give rise to a lengthened discussion. If the right hon. Gentleman will take the trouble to appoint officers of the Crown to perform the duties, all controversy will cease, and a better state of things will be brought about.

MR. PINKERTON (Galway): I must confess that, to a great extent, I am bound to agree with the sentiments expressed by the right hon. Baronet. I think it is a pity that Boards of Guardians in every part of Ireland should be turned into political arenas. I think that in every part of the country these Boards should be strictly confined to their legitimate functions; and I am compelled to bear this testimony to the work of Chairmen of Boards of Guardians in the North of Ireland, that they act very impartially and fairly. I have the honour to be a member of the Coleraine Board of Guardians, which is presided over by Sir Hervey Bruce, a gentleman who, although he holds strong political opinions, has—and I myself can bear testimony to the fact—always borne the balance fairly between the two Parties on the Board. I cannot say the same with regard to the other *ex officio* Guardians. I know several cases in which questions have been decided by the majority of the elected Guardians, and, subsequently, an *ex officio* member of the Board, who is probably well known to many Members of this House—I allude to Dr. Traill—has brought up other *ex officio* members, some of them on crutches, some of them from their sick beds, and when by these tactics he succeeded in defeating the elected Guardians—by a majority of one—a mandate was received from the Local Government Board forbidding the re-opening of the question. The occasion which I have especially in my mind was the question of the superannuation of a medical officer. This medical officer, previous to his resignation, had accepted another appointment. I should say that some time previous to this a contest had taken place for the appointment of medical officer, the two candidates being one a Liberal and the other a Conservative. In the first place, the Liberal was elected. This was rather a disappointment to the friends of the Conservative doctor, and, in order that he might not retire from the neighbourhood, the dispensary doctor retired in

order to create a vacancy for the disappointed candidate. The elected Guardians thought it unfair that this gentleman, who resigned in this obliging fashion, who had a large practice, who had also accepted another office, and who was in the prime of life, should be provided with a retiring allowance at the expense of the ratepayers. I agreed with that view, and on two occasions brought forward a resolution against the granting of this retiring allowance. We succeeded on these occasions in defeating Dr. Traill and the *ex officio* members of the Board; but, as I said before, *ex officio* members were brought from their sick beds, the question came up a third time for decision, and the two previous resolutions of the Board were reversed. The Local Government Board, in a very unfair manner, as soon as their friends won one single fight out of three, permitted no further action in the matter. With regard to Poor Law Inspectors, I quite agree with the remarks which have been submitted to the Committee. I think that, in connection with the majority of well-regulated Boards of Guardians, there is no necessity for Inspectors; but, at the same time, I must say that the Poor Law Board Inspectors have acted, as a whole, very fairly, when I consider the tremendous amount of outside pressure brought to bear upon them. The pressure is all from the one side. It is not an unusual thing for the Inspector to take a week's shooting with the Chairman of the Board. It is not an unusual thing for an Inspector to be the favoured guest of a Chairman. The elected members, of course, are not able to exercise these courtesies; therefore, whenever the two interests clash, the decision of the Inspector is almost always unfriendly to the elected Guardians, and in favour of the *ex officio* Guardians. As to the statement of the hon. Gentleman the Member for South Antrim (Mr. Macartney) that the greater portion of the rates is paid by the *ex officio* Guardians, I totally deny it. The annual value of the property of one of the *ex officio* Guardians on the Coleraine Board did not exceed £20, whereas there are elected members on the Board holding property of £200 valuation. As the law stands, if a man happens to be a magistrate within the radius of the Union, if the number of *ex officio* Guardians do not exceed the elected Guar-

dians, he would, of necessity, have the right to sit on the Board. Within the past 12 months a material change has taken place with regard to that. More attention has been paid to the interests of the people, and an influx of new and, I hope, more impartial magistrates has been added to the Magistracy. The official element on the different Boards is now not—

THE CHAIRMAN: The subject the hon. Member is now discussing I have already several times ruled to be wide of the question.

MR. PINKERTON: I was trying, Sir, to discuss the action of the Local Government Board in reference to the *ex officio* Guardians. I thought it was necessary to my argument to show how the *ex officio* element was constituted; but I certainly bow to your ruling. Though I agree with many of the remarks which have fallen from the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland, I am compelled to say that the Local Government Board of Ireland does not command the confidence of the people. It is not right that the action of the elected members should be set aside by an irresponsible Board in Dublin, who have no knowledge of local circumstances.

MR. HARRIS (Galway, E.): I remarked earlier in the debate that the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland had dwelt on a point of some importance. On this side of the Committee we were condemning the Local Government Board, and I would draw the attention of the right hon. Gentleman to the fact that under the Local Government Board, or any other form of government, the Local Bodies require to be suited to the condition of the majority of the people. I am very much in favour of local government, and would not like local government or local sentiment to be brought into collision with the national sentiment. My object in rising was to draw attention to some facts connected with the action of the Local Government Board in the town of Ballinasloe, where I reside, and they have reference not to Poor Law Boards, but to the Town Commissioners. The Town Commissioners are an elected body pure and simple. None of the objections that are brought against the Poor Law Boards can be brought against the Town Commissioners. There is an item for

Law Expenses in this Vote. Well, on legal questions individual members of the Town Commissioners are very often at sea; and when they make inquiries of the Local Government Board, or when the Clerks to the Town Commissioners make these inquiries for them, the answers they receive are very often very unsatisfactory. I myself, though elected at the head of a list of strong opponents as Town Commissioner in Ballinasloe, owing to the fact of my having removed from one house to another, found that a legal difficulty had arisen, and was informed by the Clerk to the Board—who was a strong Conservative in his tendencies—that I could not sit upon the Board without subjecting myself to a fine of £50. I asked him to communicate with the Local Government Board on the point. He did communicate with them; but they returned an unsatisfactory answer. They left the matter precisely where they had found it. There is an item down here for Inspectors. I should like to know what these Inspectors do? We have in our town a gas-house where gas is manufactured. It is carried on by the Local Authority; and I dare say it will surprise the Committee to hear, and I dare say, also, it will surprise the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland to learn, that though Ballinasloe, as represented by its Commissioners, has expended a large amount of money on its gas-house, it has no lease whatever of the works, the Commissioners being merely tenants at will, and, being so placed, that it is possible for them to be cleared out tomorrow.

THE CHAIRMAN: I do not see any connection between the Local Government Board of Ireland and the subject to which the hon. Member is now referring.

MR. HARRIS: Then I shall go to another point, Sir, as I do not wish to enter into a controversy with the Chair. After all, it is on general points that we wish to have reforms introduced. I put a Question in this House not long ago with regard to Colonel O'Hara, who is Auditor for our district. In auditing the accounts he passed over an item which, in my opinion, he should not have passed over—an item allowing the police of Ballinasloe to have gas without payment. I put a Question in this House with regard to it to the late Chief

Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley), and the answer I received from the right hon. Gentleman was that it was optional for any taxpayer in the town to question this particular item. But it must be remembered that it is a very serious thing for a person living in a country town in Ireland to put himself in any way in opposition to the police force, and I maintain that it should be the duty of the Auditor to look at such an item as that, and that it should be the duty of the Local Government Board, with their lawyers, and Inspectors, and auditors, and their whole machinery, to put these things to rights, and not be leaving it to individuals to do work which public bodies ought to undertake. Unquestionably, it should be the duty of public bodies to settle the rights of the public and the rights of public officials, and any difficulties which may arise between one public body and another. Now, Sir, I am very strong upon this point, because it is felt to be a very great grievance in the town of Ballinasloe. We have the gas-house and everything connected with it on land of which we do not hold the lease, and then we have this system of giving free gas to the best paid body of men connected with the Public Service in Ireland—namely, the police. It is a great injustice that this unnecessary extravagance should exist in a town in which there are so many people in distress, and where there is such little employment to offer by way of relief. With regard to the Inspectors, I want to know if it comes within their duty to see that the law is carried out in regard to obtaining information with reference to the back-yards in the poorer districts of the town? I contend that the whole Local Government Board system of inspection as established in connection with Dublin Castle is a waste of public money. It is a machine established for the sake of giving appointments, and not in the interests of the Irish public, and this I shall be able to show the Committee. In the town of Ballinasloe there are 1,000 houses without back-yards.

THE CHAIRMAN: It is quite outside the Vote before the Committee to discuss such a matter as that. It has nothing in the world to do with the Local Government Board.

MR. HARRIS: I would say it would, at all events, be the duty of the Govern-

ment to give what information they can within the limits of the Vote to the points I have alluded to. I could quote facts and give names; but I do not care to do so, as I do not wish to be understood as desirous of bringing contumely or injury upon any man. I assume, from what you say, Sir, that it would be out of the range of this discussion for me to allude to local taxation. With regard to the potato rate, I wish to say that the people in many parts must have some further supply of seed to enable them to tide over their difficulties. I think that point is worthy of the attention of the right hon. Gentleman, and I should very much like him to give the Committee some information on the point, and, at the same time, say whether there are any remedies for the state of things I have mentioned. I must say that I believe the right hon. Gentleman's powers on these matters are very limited. The right hon. Gentleman holds as anomalous a position as it is possible for anyone to hold. He is responsible for all the acts of a Department over which he virtually has very little control. One of the highest qualifications for all officials connected with the Castle is ability to divert the attention of the Chief Secretary from a point. They know that he is only there *pro tem*, and they exercise themselves in trying to humour and mislead him for the time being. They know very well that the power in the various Departments when he has gone away will cease to be in his hands, and that it is out of his power, as I might say, to bring forward any thorough radical remedy for the various grievances that the country suffers through the action of the officials of Dublin Castle.

MR. J. F. X. O'BRIEN (Mayo, S.): The case the hon. and gallant Member for Galway (Colonel Nolan) has made out on behalf of those districts which are still indebted under the seed rate, is, I think, worthy of consideration.

THE CHAIRMAN: I told the hon. and gallant Gentleman that he was not at liberty to enter into the question of relieving the Unions from their indebtedness. That question is outside the Vote.

MR. J. F. X. O'BRIEN: I thought, Mr. Courtney, that inasmuch as the matter has been mentioned, I might be allowed to refer to it.

COLONEL NOLAN (Galway, N.): Refer to the question of the Local Government Board.

MR. J. F. X. O'BRIEN: I perceive, from the Report of the Irish Local Government Board, that they say with regard to that seed rate that a very large proportion of it has been paid by the Unions. I find, also, that it is reported that these Unions, in endeavouring to make repayments of that seed rate, have not only done their best to collect it—

THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Gentleman is not entitled to pursue that subject. I have already informed the hon. Member that I checked the hon. and gallant Gentleman for discussing the matter.

MR. J. F. X. O'BRIEN: I presume I shall be in Order in referring to the neglect, or the apparent neglect, of the Local Government Board in Ireland in not taking advantage of the highly-paid official who acts as their legal adviser. I perceive that the sum put down for legal advice is rising very rapidly. I observe that in 1885-6 £1,000 is set down for the payment of the expenses of this office, whilst for the current year the sum of £2,636 is set down. The Local Government Board appear not to have consulted their legal adviser on certain important matters. If they have not consulted him, this is a very curious illustration of the extraordinary manner in which they carry on their business; and if they have consulted him, then this highly-paid official does not appear to have given them any advice on the matter submitted to him. It is a point worthy of the consideration of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland, whether the services of this highly-paid official should not be utilized for the different Boards of Guardians all over the country. In that way a considerable saving might be effected in the rates of the different Unions, in addition to useful advice being given to the different Unions. I feel it my duty, Sir, to make a slight reference to the arguments of the right hon. Gentleman with regard to the action he appears to attribute to hon. Members on this side of the House in their observations concerning the Local Government Board. He appears to pretend that in commenting on the action of the Local Government Board and its interference with Boards

of Guardians we desire to restrict the action of local government in Ireland rather than extend it, as our principles ought to lead us to do. Now, that I believe to be a disingenuous argument, for the right hon. Gentleman must know that the system of local government in Ireland is anything but a system of local government—that it is, in fact, the most centralized system of bureaucracy that exists in the world, that in place of being a genuine system of local government it is a system of irresponsible tyranny. Coming back to the legal adviser of the Local Government Board, it appears to me that he has been guilty of a dereliction of duty with regard to the conduct of the Bantry Guardians. Notwithstanding that they have had the doings of these Guardians brought under their notice in a manner that must have shown them that the Board was guilty of an infraction of duty in regard to evictions, they appear to have taken no notice of the fact; indeed, they appear to have covered up in a most reprehensible manner the conduct of the Chairman of that Board of Guardians. With regard to the action of Chairmen of Boards of Guardians generally, I sympathize very strongly with my hon. Friends who have commented on that action, and I think it very desirable that some means should be devised whereby their authority might be confined within reasonable and proper limits. I certainly think they should not be allowed to exercise the responsible duty they appear to exercise of repressing all resolutions of which they do not themselves approve. In a word, I think it time that the Chairmen of Boards of Guardians should be put in their proper places and made to recognize their proper position, and that they should not have power to overrule the majority of the Boards.

MR. TUTE (Westmeath, N.): I wish very briefly to call attention to the decisions of the Arbitrators under the Labourers' Act. The cost of the awards made by these gentlemen is altogether excessive, and several Unions of Ireland have complained of it. The delay in furnishing the awards is too great, and the Act is encumbered with too many technicalities. Full of difficulties as it is, the Arbitrators help to make it still more difficult to bring it into operation,

and I think it would be well if the Government would devote some attention to the subject.

Question put, and *negatived*.

Original Question again proposed.

MR. FINUCANE (Limerick, E.): I beg to move the reduction of the Vote by £3,490, for the following reason. I dare say the Committee are aware that the Local Government Board are the administrators of the Labourers (Ireland) Act. Whenever the Guardians and the landlords cannot agree as to the value of the landlord's interest in the half-acres to be attached to the cottages, the Local Government Board are directed to send arbitrators to ascertain such value; hence the necessity of appointing impartial arbitrators. Now, what has the Board done? In some instances, to my own knowledge, it has appointed land agents as arbitrators, and, I believe, even landlords. I believe they have so in more than one case—at any rate, to my own knowledge they have done it in one case, and I am prepared to give the Committee the name of that arbitrator. It is Mr. Posnett. He is agent to several landlords in the South of Ireland—for instance, to Lord Hawarden, a gentleman not remarkable for his kindly treatment of his tenants—I do not wish to make this a personal matter against Mr. Posnett. I am dealing with principles and not individuals, and I object to the question as to the number of years' purchase to be given for the fee simple of the land being investigated and decided by a person who is friendly to the landlord himself. Such action is most unfair, and is as dishonest as would be the proposal to leave the fixing of the price of a lot of fat cattle to a Committee of butchers. These arbitrators have in some instances given as much as 26 years' purchase to the landlords, a price not measured by a fair rent, but by an existing rent paid under a lease—a rent that is more than twice the value of the land. What compensation have they given to the tenants? Why, it varies from five to seven years' purchase, and in no instance has it gone beyond seven years. In some cases it has not gone higher than four, though it is well known that in every county in Ireland there are thousands of farms in which, if justice were done, the tenants would be accredited with greater in-

terest than the landlords. This question is of vital importance first, and principally, to the labourers, but also to the ratepayers and farmers. It is of great importance to the labourers, for the reason that the higher the compensation awarded to the landlords the higher must be the rent charged by the Guardians to their labourers. It is also of interest to the ratepayers, because the erection of each cottage and the compensation given for half-an-acre costs, on an average, about £105. This must be borrowed from the Board of Works, and an annual instalment must be paid for a period of years by the Board of Guardians—an instalment amounting to £5 10s. annually. It is evident that the labourers cannot pay such a high rent; and the difference between the rent and the annual instalment must, therefore, be paid by the ratepayers. It is to the interest of the ratepayers to see that the cost of these cottages shall not be unduly increased; but this is of greater interest to the farmer. The landlords are moving heaven and earth at this moment to keep up the value of their properties by artificial means. They see that within a very short time there may be a land purchase scheme, probably containing a compulsory clause, which will be administered by the present Land Court, or one similarly constituted. The landlords think it would be to their interest if they could, whilst before the Court, point to the fact that they had got 20 or 22 years' purchase from the Boards of Guardians, especially as it is known that in many cases these Boards are largely constituted of farmers. In Ireland great interest is taken in this subject; and as there has been no satisfactory answer given on this point, I shall feel it my duty to move that the Vote be reduced by the sum mentioned—namely, £3,490.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £65,198, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1887, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Local Government Board in Ireland, including various Grants in Aid of Local Taxation."—(*Mr. Finucane.*)

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND (Fermanagh, N.): I do not propose to detain the Committee by enumerating any special or particular grievances which

might be brought up under this Vote for the Local Government Board of Ireland. I think that, except for the purpose of drawing public attention to the grievances in connection with the Local Government Board, there is very little use in dealing with these grievances, and for this reason—that from beginning to end the Local Government Board in Ireland is a gigantic fraud. In the first place it is a fraud as regards its name, for it is not a Local Government Board at all. It should be called “The Centralized Government Board. It is in no respect—in no sense whatever—a Local Government Board. Day after day, and week after week, the Local Government Board Office in Dublin comes into conflict with the Boards of Guardians throughout the country. The Local Government Board Office in Dublin is presided over by a set of gentlemen who are altogether out of sympathy with the people of the country. The President of the Local Government Board and all the officials of the Local Government Board are appointed despotically through some unknown influence, and some power which is not the power of the people, and the consequence is that the people are totally dissatisfied with the government of the Board in Ireland; and, as a result of this dissatisfaction with the government of the Board in Ireland, there are constant conflicts going on between the Central Government in Dublin and the Local Bodies throughout the country. These conflicts will go on increasing year after year, and will cause still more dissatisfaction and discontent in the minds of the people until a radical change is arrived at. The Local Government Board is in itself, in its constitution, a grievance which can only be met by a thorough revolution. It ought to be abolished altogether, and a proper system of real local government ought to be instituted in Ireland to take its place. But, Sir, if there is one grievance more than another which occurs under this system of so-called local government in Ireland, that particular grievance is the present system of *ex officio* Poor Law Guardians. These men come in the most arrogant style—

THE CHAIRMAN: I have several times ruled that subject to be irrelevant to this Vote.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: I did not know that you had ruled that to be

out of Order, Mr. Courtney. I was not here at the time. Of course, I shall not speak upon that. I do not intend, as I said in my opening remarks, to go into any particular grievances, because a very long time has been occupied already by Members from Ireland in stating grievances. But I do not think their statements of these grievances under the Local Government Board by any means concluded as yet. A long time, however, has been occupied in setting forth the different grievances felt throughout the country under the government of this Board, and I think that that itself should be sufficient to prove that a change is necessary, and that it will be absolutely essential, for the proper government of the country, to substitute for the Centralized Body in Dublin a government which will rest upon the will of the people, a government whose officers will be directly responsible to the people; and if I were to advise my Colleagues who have been moving in this matter, I would strongly urge them, as a protest against the existence of the despotic power of the Local Government Board in Dublin, and as a demand for a change, to push the Motion for a reduction of this particular Vote to a division.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH) (Bristol, W.): There are some points that have been alluded to since I last addressed the Committee upon which I should like to say a few words. One or two hon. Members have alluded to the system of arbitration and inquiry under the Labourers' Cottages Acts, and one hon. Member has animadverted on the action of one of these arbitrators, and has expressed a strong opinion against the employment of land agents on such inquiries. Well, nothing could be more wrong than the employment as arbitrator, under these Acts, of any person connected with the ownership or agency of land near the district in which the property to be adjudicated upon is situated. The arbitrator ought obviously to be beyond influences of that kind in arriving at his decision. But, on the other hand, I think it would be absurd to say that no man who had ever acted as a land agent, or who was acting as a land agent at the present time, say in the North of Ireland, should hold an inquiry in the South of Ireland. On the con-

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trary, it is evident that the experience of such a man would be of the greatest value to him in ascertaining the value of the land, provided the inquiry were held in a place with which he had no connection. Then, an hon. Member has referred to a particular case which occurred in the Waterford Union. I am not acquainted with the facts of that case; but I will inquire into them as the hon. Member has asked me to do. The system of auditors has been objected to, and some reference has been made to a promise alleged to have been given by one of my Predecessors in the Office of Chief Secretary for Ireland, as to some change, I believe, by legislation, in the position of these officers. I do not know what may have been said by that right hon. Gentleman; but there, again, I will promise to look into the matter and see what is the precise point upon which it is desired to bring about an alteration. But, I must say, I was not impressed with the instance given by the hon. Member who referred to his own experience as to a surcharge made against him as Chairman of a Union. I daresay it is possible that in that case the auditor may have been mistaken; but what he clearly showed was, that if the auditor was mistaken there was an appeal to the Local Government Board. The surcharge was remitted, and the hon. Member suffered in no way from the act of the auditor. Auditors do a very necessary work in surcharging improper payments. I do not touch on the points which have been dealt with, with regard to the officials under the Explosives Act, because I understand that is held to be not pertinent to the discussion. There is one matter which was alluded to by an hon. Member who objected to the action of some Boards of Guardians in refusing to allow the rate books to be inspected by persons interested in registration. Well, every facility ought to be given by Boards of Guardians to persons interested in the constituencies to inspect the rate books for the purposes of registration. I believe that as the law at present stands the only person entitled to demand inspection is a ratepayer; and if I am correct in that, it would, of course, be impossible for the Guardians to allow persons who are not ratepayers to demand inspection.

MR. CLANCY (Dublin Co., N.): That is a bye-law made by the old Poor Law Board.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: If it is only a bye-law I will have it looked into, and will endeavour to see in what way it can be modified, so as to secure that the principle which I have laid down shall be carried out. But I think, on the other hand, that the Guardians ought not to be troubled by demands for inspection of the rate books by persons who really have no business whatever either in the district to which these rate books relate, or with anything connected with the rates. I imagine the reason for imposing that limitation was to secure that there should be some real interest in the matter taken by the person wishing to make the examination. The hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for Galway (Colonel Nolan) referred to the question of the seed loan. Here, again, I am precluded from entering fully into the point; but with regard to the particular matters the hon. and gallant Member raised, as to the action it was competent for the Poor Law Board to take in the matter, I have already replied to him as to the difficulties raised by the magistrates in carrying out the law. The hon. and gallant Member suggested that the Inspectors of the Local Government Board should be directed to inquire into the possibility of recovering the arrears of this rate. I am well aware of the difficulties of that subject; but my strong opinion is that it would not be fair to those who have paid to excuse those who decline to pay without very strong proof indeed that they are unable to do so. I trust that the Committee will now be allowed to proceed to a division on the Vote. We have had a discussion, lasting for more than three hours, in which, I am bound to say, I have listened to the reiteration of some points with which I have endeavoured, probably not satisfactorily, but to the best of my power, to deal. And I have listened, also, to constant attempts to enlarge the scope of the discussion. I decline altogether to consider such matters as the production of gas in Ballinasloe and the state of the back yards in that town, as I do not consider them relevant. I cannot conceive why anyone should attempt to introduce such matters into this discus-

sion, unless it be from a desire to waste time, bearing in mind that last night hon. Members below the Gangway, when appealing to the Chancellor of the Exchequer not to take this Vote, stated of their own free will that they would do their best to confine the discussion within reasonable limits, and that it would not occupy more than two hours. We have already been occupied three hours on the debate; and I hope that after this waste of time we shall be allowed to proceed.

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.): I think it would be well that my hon. Friends should now allow the Vote to be taken. At the same time, I think the hon. Gentleman the Member for Limerick (Mr. Finucane) was quite justified in raising the question whether men in the position of Mr. Posnett should be allowed to act as arbitrators.

COLONEL NOLAN (Galway, N.): I must say that after the concluding remarks of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland we are entitled to a reply. The question which has been raised by the hon. Member (Mr. Finucane) is one of great practical importance; and I cannot help thinking that the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland has been led to an erroneous conclusion in regard to it. He threw down a sort of challenge to the Irish Members. Now, we have discussed these Estimates with very great care, and no doubt, in doing so, we have taken up a large amount of public time. [*A laugh.*] The hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for North Armagh (Colonel Sanderson) may laugh; but he will have frequent opportunities of talking with the Chief Secretary during the next five months, and discussing privately all these local matters with the right hon. Gentleman. Let the right hon. Gentleman recollect that the only chance the Irish Members who represent five-sixths of the Irish nation have of impressing these matters upon the attention of the Irish Government is afforded us in the House of Commons. We think we are quite justified in taking up a few hours of the public time in discussing questions of this kind. I notice that a good many hon. Members object to what we are doing. Why did they vote against the Home Rule Bill last Session, under which all subjects of

this kind would be relegated to a Parliament in Dublin?

MR. HARRIS (Galway, E.): I should like to put a question to the right hon. Gentleman in regard to the selection of sites for labourers' dwellings. I have received a letter from one of my constituents—Patrick Ford—a man who holds only 11 acres of land. This man lives in a district where there are large grass farms, yet his holding has been selected as that from which land must be taken on which to erect labourers' cottages. I should like to know whether the powers of the Inspectors could not be extended so that the sites for labourers' cottages might be taken from extensive farms, and not from holdings upon which already a man has very great difficulty to live?

SIR MICHAEL HICKS - BEACH: My impression is that the selection of the sites rests with the Guardians, and not with the Local Government Board.

MR. FINUCANE (Limerick, E.): I stated in clear and unmistakable language that I did not wish to make a personal attack upon Mr. Posnett. I said my only objection was to the principle of appointing land agents arbitrators. I cannot regard the reply of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland as satisfactory. I maintain that a land agent living in Ulster is interested in keeping up high rents in Limerick. We know that the land agents of Ireland are not paid by fixed salaries, but by a percentage on the rents they collect. For this reason they are interested in keeping up the rents, and they will do this, notwithstanding the misery which is occasioned. Besides, there is a perfect freemasonry amongst the land agents, &c. of Ireland, which makes it imperative on them to aid each other.

MR. NOLAN (Louth, N.): I have no desire to make a speech on this occasion; but I wish to avail myself of the opportunity of directing the attention of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland to a matter that is looked upon as a grievance by a considerable number of people in Ireland. I propose to read two short communications I have received on the subject. One is as follows:—

"I have been requested to inform you of the delay of the Local Government Board for Ire-

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land in holding an inquiry into the scheme of the Dundalk Board of Guardians for the erection of labourers' houses in the Dundalk Union. The scheme for the erection of the houses was sent by the Guardians to the Local Government Board on 1st August last with a Petition praying for an Order for confirming it, and signed in the required manner by the Chairman and Clerk of the Board, and up to the present no steps have been taken by the Local Government Board in any direction."

The other is from the Ardee Union, and is as follows:—

"The people in nearly every parish of the Ardee Union are most anxious to erect under the Labourers' Act suitable residences for labourers, and I may add they are sadly needed. After a great deal of trouble and preparation and delay, the Board of Guardians prepared a number of schemes for a large number of new houses. Portions of those schemes they lodged with the Local Government Board as far back as the 17th of May last, and the remaining ones on the 17th of June. Guardians and farmers and labourers are ever since anxiously looking out for the usual notice fixing the time and place for the local inquiry, which by Act of Parliament must be held by an Inspector of the Local Government Board into everything connected with the proposed schemes. The patience of all is worn out. It would seem as if they are obstructing the working of the Act."

I think I have only to bring these communications to the notice of the Chief Secretary for Ireland to insure them the attention they deserve.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.): This discussion has lasted so much longer than we were led to suppose last night, that I do not propose to make any reference to the point I desired to bring under the notice of the Chief Secretary for Ireland. I will defer my remarks until the stage of Report; but perhaps, in the meantime, the right hon. Gentleman will ascertain if it would be in the power of his Department to institute some system of inspection of the drugs in the dispensaries throughout Ireland.

MR. MURPHY (Dublin, St. Patrick's): I wish to refer to a matter in connection with the Local Government Board of Ireland, which I do not think has been spoken to as yet in this debate; and that is the sanitary inspections in Ireland. I see the sum of £15,500 in this Estimate for "one-half of the salaries of Superintendent and Consulting Sanitary Officers;" and I merely propose on the present occasion to ask the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland to be good enough to take a note of one or two matters.

One is the total absence of any inspection at all in the small towns forming the centres of the rural districts of Ireland where the Guardians are the Sanitary Authority. The fact is that the Inspectors receive their salaries, but do not perform their duties. It is absolutely necessary, in order to secure that the public health shall be looked after and the people shall get some value for their money, that some Inspector—a Medical Inspector, or someone in equally responsible position in the Local Government Board—should, on the occasion of his visits to the different districts, see that the sanitary inspections are carried out. Another point I feel bound to urge on the right hon. Baronet and on the Local Government Board is the inspection, in the interest of humanity, of the workhouses themselves. I happen to be an *ex officio* Guardian of a Union in the South of Ireland, and on a recent occasion I went through the wards of the Union Workhouse. A person acquainted with the working of institutions of this kind in this country, or in large centres of population, would hardly think it possible that such a disgraceful state of affairs could exist. The bedding was crawling with vermin, and the whole place a picture of filth and misery. The workhouse I refer to is in the Bantry Union, where the local landlord party are in the ascendant, and have full control over its management. I hope the Chief Secretary for Ireland will call upon the Local Government Board to see that the workhouse wards are properly inspected. There is another point worthy of notice, and that is the inclusion of stimulants under the head of medicines, half the cost of which should be paid from the Consolidated Fund. The Local Government Board refuse to allow alcohol to be treated as a medicine in the accounts, although it is never given unless prescribed by a doctor. I hope the right hon. Gentleman will take a note of this fact. With regard to the question raised by the hon. Member for Limerick (Mr. Finucane), I wish to say I quite agree with my hon. Friend as to the undesirability of land agents, or people closely interested in the keeping up of rents, being appointed arbitrators. At the same time, I must say I am convinced, having personal acquaintance with his arbitrations in railway matters, that a

fairer arbitrator than Mr. Posnett could not be found in Ireland.

MR. BYRNE (Wicklow, W.): I do not propose to detain the Committee many seconds. I simply want to protest against the action of the Local Government Board, and of one officer of the Board in particular. The conduct of this gentleman has been complained of over and over again. He makes many mistakes; he makes mistakes at every election. On one occasion it took him three days to count the votes—indeed, politically, he is dishonest; and, physically and mentally, he is stupid. I think that the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary should make inquiries concerning this official, and that if he finds my statement is correct he should put another gentleman in the place of the officer of whom I complain.

Question put, and *negatived*.

Original Question put, and *agreed to*.

(2.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £18,559, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1887, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Office of Public Works in Ireland."

COLONEL NOLAN (Galway, N.): Mr. Courtney, there are one or two questions upon this Vote I would like to put to the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland, though I do not know whether he will be able to give me an answer now. The right hon. Gentleman is, no doubt, aware that many fishery piers are built in Ireland by the Board of Works, and that a large part of this Vote refers to work connected with such piers. He will see that the estimates of the Board of Works are very considerably over the contracts let. I admit it is prudent in the Board of Works to over-estimate than to under-estimate; but I should like the Chief Secretary for Ireland to look into the matter to see when the money over-estimated will be released. There are several places crying out for piers and harbours. For a long time they have been hoping for these accommodations; but owing to the over-estimates of the Board the money is now locked up. The expenses of the Fishery Piers and Harbours Commission were nearly exclusively those

for engineering and surveying, and I do not suppose the other expenses amounted to more than £1,500. The Commissioners estimated that £10,000 would be enough for their expenses; but the Treasury insisted upon allowing £20,000, again a prudent thing to do. But now that the proceedings of the Commission are nearly wound up I think the Government should ascertain what expenses have been incurred. If only £10,000 has been expended, a large sum of money would be released for the purpose of erecting piers. There are one or two questions which I think arise upon this Vote, and to which I will just allude. As long as the Commission has been sitting the Treasury has been saving £8,000 a-year. A certain sum of the Irish Church money was set aside for Public Works; but when the Commission was appointed the Treasury stopped £8,000 a-year for the expenses of the Commission. I think it is high time we should know whether the Government intend to confiscate that amount. If the Chief Secretary for Ireland wished to extend the pier and harbour accommodation in Ireland he could easily do so. The Commissioners were of opinion that another £150,000 or £200,000 could be expended safely enough in erecting small and moderate sized harbours. I am afraid the Chief Secretary for Ireland or the Secretary to the Treasury will not be able to move without fresh legislation; but I should like the matter to be taken into consideration with a view to legislation next Session.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH) (Bristol, W.): I recognize fully the value of the remarks of the hon. and gallant Gentleman, and I can assure him he had in me a very sympathetic listener; but all I can promise him is that I will look, so far as the time at my command will allow, into the various points to which he has called the attention of the Committee, to see whether it is in my power to meet his wishes. I have noticed, as he has noticed, the large difference between the estimates of the Board of Works for the different harbours and the price at which the contracts were taken; but I think that is easily explained. In some cases, it is feared, the contractors may not be able to carry out the work at the contract price. It is, therefore, necessary to proceed very

Mr. Murphy

cautiously. I confess I, to some extent, doubt the usefulness of these small harbours. They are useful to a small class of fishermen who live in their neighbourhood; but I do not think they are calculated to be of as much service to the general population as larger harbours. The desirability of re-lending the money which has been repaid upon loans has been suggested. That, of course, would be but following up with regard to harbours the system already existing with regard to fishermen. Loans are not always repaid; but I will undertake to bring these matters under the notice of the Secretary to the Treasury.

MR. MAHONY (Meath, N.): The desirability of making further grants of money for piers on the West Coast of Ireland has been taken into consideration by the Piers and Roads Commission, of which I happen to be a Member. The class of piers and harbours we dealt with were of a very small nature, not at all so important as those dealt with by the larger Commission; they affected the localities where the people are extremely poor; and our experience was that with the very small sums of money placed at our disposal we have been able to do a great deal of work which is very useful to the poorer people. Our work has been almost entirely in the direction of improving the small harbours that already exist. I hope that the Chief Secretary for Ireland, when considering the desirability of making further grants, will consider the propriety of giving us a small additional sum to spend on these very small works. As a matter of fact we have been unable, through a want of funds, to do many works which would be decidedly useful.

MR. O'HEA (Donegal, W.): I think the suggestions of my hon. and gallant Friend (Colonel Nolan) ought to be seriously taken into account by Her Majesty's Government. The speech of the right hon. Baronet (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) is not altogether an unsatisfactory one, though it cannot be forgotten that frequently assurances have been given that matters in which we are deeply interested will be attended to. I do not quite agree with the right hon. Gentleman as to the inutility—he did not say they were altogether useless—of small harbours. I believe these small harbours are really a very great benefit to the fishing classes. A pier

was erected by the Board of Works in the harbour of Portloo, a place situated in West Donegal, the constituency I have the honour to represent. Its construction was so faulty that, owing to the action of the waves and weather, it soon fell away. It has crumbled to pieces, and is only a mass of rubbish in the natural harbour, constituting both a nuisance and a danger. When the pier could be used it was a very great boon to the people. The harbour abounds in fish. Some of the finest lobsters caught in the Three Kingdoms are caught in that neighbourhood; but since the pier fell away the people have not been able to pursue their fishing industry to any great advantage. As a matter of fact they have been subjected to very great inconvenience and suffering. If the pier had stood as it was originally built, the coasting steamers could call at Portloo with the various articles the people of the district require—flour, Indian meal, and agricultural implements—while the people, on the other hand, would be able to send away by steamer the fish they would be in a good position to catch. Some attention should be paid to this locality, where the pier was at one time of such advantage. A Coastguard station was established there three years ago at a cost of £3,000; but I am informed that it would be of as much use if it were in the middle of the ocean. The Coastguards are not able to launch their lifeboat when the wind is blowing from the North or North East. There is a small Island about three miles distant from Portloo. Some time ago several fishermen landed on this Island, and they were unable to get back. They were kept there three days, for the Coastguards, though anxious to go to their assistance, were unable to launch the lifeboat. The pier is now an impediment in the harbour, and had the lifeboat been launched there is every probability it would have been dashed to pieces upon the remains of the pier. I trust the Treasury will be able to see its way to restore the pier of which I speak.

MR. CLANCY (Dublin Co., N.): I do not know how much longer the discussion upon this Vote will last—I do not intend to say much—but I will say that if it continued the whole day it would not be too long, considering the mistakes, blunders, and iniquities of the

Board of Works in Ireland. The Board of Works is one of those Boards which have been referred to by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham (Mr. Chamberlain) as not having a shadow or a shade of representative authority, and yet it manages a very considerable portion of very important business in Ireland, and manages it in such a way as to cause astonishment and indignation in almost every part of the country in which it puts its finger. I do not think there is an Irish Member who cannot point to an instance of gross mismanagement on the part of the Board of Works. I have already called attention to a piece of mismanagement in my own constituency. The little harbour of Howth is almost useless in consequence of mud and sand blocking up its entrance. Instead of doing anything to clean out the harbour, and making it fit for fishing or other vessels to be in, the Board of Works is now engaged in taking steps to secure that the harbour shall be worse than it has ever been before. They are moving away the big boulder stones which formed a sort of rough breakwater on the eastern pier, and substituting for them a concrete pavement or fashionable promenade. The result is that stones and sand are washed right over into the harbour, making it utterly useless for its original purpose. At this moment the Board are extending this concrete pavement almost up to the verge of the town; and I am informed the result this winter will be the destruction of all the houses in the vicinity. Possibly it may interest the noble Lord the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the matter if I mention that one of the houses so threatened with destruction is the house of his friend, Judge Boyd. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary complains that we have spent three-and-a-half hours in discussing the Vote for the Local Government Board. I do not think nine times that amount of time would have been too much to occupy in discussing the Vote. It is perfectly preposterous to tell us we are not to discuss this business here, and to tell us, in the same breath, that we are not to be allowed to manage it in Ireland. Every Irish Member has his own local grievances to ventilate; and if you will not allow him to ventilate them in an Irish Parliament, he has no other course but to do

so here. It is simply on account of the observations of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland, in reference to the last Vote, that I have risen to make these observations. I counsel all my hon. Friends to follow my example, and not to miss this opportunity of calling attention to any grievance that may exist in their respective localities. There is no local grievance in Ireland that does not deserve the attention of the Government; but there is not one that receives it. Under these circumstances, no apology is due from us for intervening in these discussions.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL) (Paddington, S.): Perhaps the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Clancy) will allow me to notice some observations which fell from him, not with the view of prolonging the discussion, but with the view of possibly contracting its limits. The hon. Member has just said that every Irish Member has brought forward local grievances, and that the Government has paid not the slightest attention to them. I think on reflection the hon. Member will see that that accusation is hardly well founded. My right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary and his Irish Colleagues listened with the utmost attention and patience to everything that has been brought forward by hon. Gentlemen opposite; and I am perfectly certain that it is their desire and the desire of the Government that all reasonable grievances which it is within their power to remedy shall be received with the closest attention, and, if possible, the most rapid remedy. The hon. Gentleman is doing the Government a sheer injustice in supposing that what they urge on behalf of their constituents and their country does not receive the most serious and anxious attention of the Government. In regard to what has fallen from the hon. Member (Mr. Clancy) generally, as to the Board of Works and the Local Government Board, the functions of these Boards are matters which the Government consider call for, from them, the most practical consideration, with a view, if possible, of the development of the functions of these Boards in a manner in accordance, as far as may be, with the views of Irish Representatives. The hon. Gentleman and his Colleagues know quite well that it is the firm and decided intention of the Government to make a

proposal to Parliament as early as may be, and we hope with a view of placing the control of all these questions of local government and public works more within the hands of the Irish people. The hon. Gentleman knows perfectly the limits which have been marked out for us by the last Election—limits which we have no desire and which we have no power to overstep. But within those limits the hon. Gentleman and his Friends may be certain that the Government are desirous to act honestly and to act practically; and I do appeal to the hon. Member, with that sense of fairness which I do not think is ever altogether absent even from the most violent opponent of the Government among the Irish Party, to allow the Government to have time to consider these questions, these large and complicated questions. Then, if the Government, in the estimation of the Irish Members, fall short of their duty by proposals which are inadequate and bad, undoubtedly we shall not be able to urge strong objections against their taking up the line they are now taking. But I must point out that the course they are taking of bringing up in immense detail, and with such incessant repetition, every imaginable grievance which every Member for an Irish constituency can have to complain of is in reality crippling the power of the Government, crippling their physical and mental energies to devote to the consideration of Irish questions that time and that care and patience which it is their highest duty and their highest idea to devote to them. I make this appeal to hon. Gentlemen, and ask them to consider my remarks in a practical spirit, and to believe that they are dictated by no other desire than within the limits of our power, and within the limits of the mandate we have received from the electors, to attempt as rapid a development of the prosperity of Ireland as is possible.

MR. CLANCY (Dublin Co., N.): I desire to say one or two words in reply to the remarks of the noble Lord the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Lord Randolph Churchill). I did not ask him, and no one on these Benches has asked him, to complete in haste, or at all, the proposals for local government to which he has just alluded. What I referred to, and what has made me indignant, and what has made many Members on this side of the House indignant, is that

the expenditure of three and a-half hours of the time of the Committee in discussing the Vote for the Local Government Board, should be denounced by the Chief Secretary for Ireland as a preposterous waste of time. The Local Government Board manages, or rather mismanages, a large portion of the most important business in Ireland; and, therefore, it is not at all unreasonable that three and a-half hours of the time of the Imperial Parliament, which insists on keeping these matters within its control, should be occupied in discussing the Vote submitted in respect of it. In past years this expenditure of time upon the Vote has been largely exceeded. The noble Lord (Lord Randolph Churchill) must bear in mind that if arguments and facts have been repeated in this House the reason is very obvious. It is very well known—every Member of Parliament, whether Tory, Whig, or Nationalist, will bear me out in this—that Members of Parliament have grievances of a local character pressed on their attention constantly. It is expected by their constituents that attention will be paid to these local grievances. When the House is in Committee is just the time for the discussion of local grievances; and I have not the least doubt that the constituents of hon. Members on both sides of the House would blame their Representatives severely if they let such an opportunity pass unused. That is the reason why hon. Members sitting on these Benches sometimes repeat the same argument. I think the noble Lord will be very fortunate if he ever succeeds in securing less repetition in debate; and certainly, if he does not cease to make charges against the Irish Members, who are simply endeavouring to discharge their duty to the best of their ability, he will find he has been very fortunate in the present Session, as compared with all future Sessions of this Parliament, in respect of the time consumed by Irish Members in the discussion of Irish Business.

MR. MOLLOY (King's Co., Birr): The speech just made by the noble Lord the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Lord Randolph Churchill) is, no doubt, very interesting in itself. It is difficult to test the exact value of the words which he used. He spoke of the intentions of the Government with regard to placing, in the future, all these matters in the

hands of the Irish Members, and he told us it was the intention of the Government to introduce a measure having that object in view at the earliest period—probably next Session. Now, that statement may mean very little, or it may mean a great deal; but he added words which induce us to believe it means very little. He said that, of course, the Government must act within the limits of the mandate of the electors. Hon. Members are curious to know what those limits are. I have been unable to ascertain those limits. The noble Lord has asked us not to bring forward any grievances that we may have to raise upon the Votes for the Board of Works and Local Government Board and other Votes, because it is the intention of the Government to introduce this measure.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: I did not say that. I said that certain measures were about to be brought forward, and suggested that hon. Members should exercise some discretion in bringing forward these grievances.

MR. MOLLOY: I am quite prepared to take it in that way—discretion should be exercised in bringing forward these grievances. Probably there are no two Members in this House whose discretion would be of the same quality and character. The real point is this. We are asked to curtail what we have to say upon these Estimates, because it is the intention of Her Majesty's Government to introduce next Session some measure under which these great spending Departments in Ireland will be under the control of Irish Members. The noble Lord has been in the House longer than I have, and yet I have been in the House long enough to know what value is to be attached to the speech which he has made. He assumes that the measure which he is going to bring in, and on account of which we are to shorten our discussion, is one we are going to accept. I do not think that is very probable from what the noble Lord has said; but I will not go into that point. The appeal made is this—"We intend to do something; we will not tell you anything about it; but we appeal to you not to bring forward your grievances, at least at the rate which you are doing now;" and then the noble Lord tells us that the Government are always most willing to do anything which the Irish Members may require. I will give him

Mr. Molloy

an instance of the willingness of the English Government to do what we require. For three years I have been asking for a little work to be done; little as regards cost, because I do not suppose it would entail the expenditure of more than between £10 and £20. You have cut a canal to improve the drainage in one part of the constituency I represent. Formerly there was a foot-bridge over the canal, but that you have taken down; and now the people have, in getting across the water, to make a circuit of from five to seven miles. For three years I have asked that this bridge should be replaced. The first statement was that it was impossible to get the money. I pointed out then that wood enough for 50 small bridges lies rotting on the side of the stream. For three years I have asked that this work should be done; and for three years I have been told, as the Chancellor of the Exchequer has told us to-night, that the Government are willing to do everything which the Irish Members require. We are told we must have patience; but this is the only opportunity we have in the whole course of the year of bringing forward these grievances, and calling attention to the mismanagement of local affairs in Ireland. You place retired colonels and others at the head of the Public Departments in Ireland, who know no more about the work to be done than they know about ballooning; and when we get this chance, once a-year, of discussing matters which are of vital importance to the Irish people we are asked not to discuss them, and are charged with obstruction if we do. To me it appears that if we do not pound away, year after year, at the mismanagement of Irish affairs we can never hope to obtain an improvement. If the measure the noble Lord is going to introduce is to remedy matters, and to satisfy the national aspirations of the people, we will give him our hearty support; and he and the House of Commons will have the satisfaction and gratification of never hearing again of the mismanagement of the Board of Works.

THE CHAIRMAN: I must point out that it is irregular to continue this general discussion on the special Vote now before the Committee, which is the Vote for the Public Works Office in Ireland.

MR. GILHOOLY (Cork, W.): I desire to direct the attention of the hon.

Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson) to the absolute necessity of some small fishery piers on the shores of Bantry Bay. Some time ago a Memorial was sent to the Treasury upon the subject; but, so far, no steps have been taken in the direction indicated. Within my recollection many fishermen have been drowned owing to the want of proper landing accommodation; indeed, in their endeavours to secure a safe landing, 21 lives have been lost in Bantry Bay. To show the absolute necessity for the erection of a pier at this particular spot, I may say that in 1880, when a sum of money was to be expended in relief on the Southern shore of Bantry Bay, the priest of the parish, in conjunction with the rector of the locality, thought it was most advantageous to appropriate the money in providing the means of hauling the boats on shore, in order to save the fishermen going long distances at great danger to their lives. This is only one—

THE CHAIRMAN: I must point out that the question of erecting new work does not properly belong to this Vote.

MR. GILHOOLY: I will pass from that subject, and direct the attention of the Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson) to the mode of advancing loans to small farmers in West Cork. These men are greatly hampered by the red tapeism of the Board of Works. Before these men can get advances of money with which to drain land or reclaim land, it is necessary that they should produce receipts from their landlords, showing that they have paid their rents up to the customary period of the estate. Now on some estates the custom of hanging gale prevails, and on others it does not prevail; and I may point out that where a farmer has incurred the displeasure of the landlord or agent, possibly for voting against the nominee of the landlord or agent at a Poor Law election, it invariably turns out that the landlord and agent refuse to sign the certificate for the tenant that the rent has been paid up to the customary period of the estate. I consider that a great hardship, and I appeal to the Government to put a stop to it, and, if possible, to make a regulation that where the tenant has paid the rent up to the year previous and is solvent, the Treas-

ury will take into consideration his position, and grant him a loan without requiring a receipt either from the landlord or his agent. There are other questions I should like to refer to, but I will postpone reference to them.

MR. PINKERTON (Galway): I will trespass but a short time upon the attention of the Committee. I recognize the very evident desire shown by the Government to act fairly towards Ireland in certain respects. I do not know whether to attribute that desire to a wish on the part of the Government to apply a sort of soothing syrup to the Irish people. The question of public works is one which affects men who have foolishly returned supporters of the Government; and I think that if there are any parts of Ireland which have a strong claim on the Government they are the portions of Antrim and Derry affected by the Bann drainage. The drainage works were destined to discharge a supply of water amounting to 400,000 cubic feet per minute. Since that time the arterial drainage of the district—

THE CHAIRMAN: The works to which the hon. Member refers were executed many years ago, and have passed out of the power of the Works Commissioners, who have no control over them at present.

MR. PINKERTON: I suppose I am quite within Order. I see there is a certain amount annually granted for the preservation of ancient monuments, and I suppose these works are monuments of the incapacity of the Board of Works.

THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member is, of course, aware that that is an inappropriate allusion.

MR. PINKERTON: These works were executed at great cost, and the superintendence of them rests with the Inspectors of the Board of Works. I intend to move the reduction of this Vote by the sum of £500, for I maintain it is simply disgraceful that the Government should ask for time to consider this question.

THE CHAIRMAN: The question the hon. Member desires to raise is a question of the total alteration of this very drainage system, which is beyond the power and control of the Board of Works. The question is not pertinent to the Vote at all.

MR. PINKERTON: Mr. Courtney, I have taken counsel on this matter, and am advised it would be better to bring it up on this specific Vote. I do not ask the Government to spend a single *id.*, at the sametime they should remove the obstruction which exists—

THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member must be aware that at present these works are not within the power of the Board of Works at all.

MR. PINKERTON: Mr. Courtney, the noble Lord the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Lord Randolph Churchill) said the Government desire to get as much information as possible with regard to the benefit that would accrue from the inquiry they intend to hold; and I wish modestly to suggest to the Government that they have within their power the means of conferring a material boon upon this district. I beg to draw the attention of the Government to this particular circumstance—

THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order!

MR. MURPHY (Dublin, St. Patrick's): I would have liked to give some reasons why the remarks of the Chancellor of the Exchequer do not influence me, as they do not influence other Members sitting on these Benches, as to the length at which they should discuss these Irish Estimates; but, bowing to your ruling that that question must not be gone into, I will not dwell further upon it. There are, however, several matters connected with the administration of the Board of Works to which I wish to refer. For instance, I desire to direct the attention of the Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson) to the erection of married Constabulary quarters in the Phoenix Park. Two acres of land in one of the most ornamental parts of the Park has been taken on which to erect these buildings. The Phoenix Park is one of the most attractive and interesting places in the neighbourhood of Dublin; the people take great pride in it and use it very largely. Four hundred acres of the Park have already been taken for one purpose or another. The appropriation of the two acres for the erection of Constabulary quarters was the subject of a discussion in the last Parliament raised by Mr. Healy, who was then the Member for South Derry. In answer to Mr. Healy the right hon. Gentleman the then Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. H. H. Fowler) said nothing further would

be done in connection with the erection of these buildings until additional inquiries had been made on the subject, and I understood him to say that he would communicate further to this House when those inquiries were completed. It was also stated by the right hon. Gentleman that the reason why this particular piece of ground was selected for the married Constabulary quarters was that no other ground was available. I have recently examined the locality, and I have no hesitation in stating that there would be no difficulty in obtaining suitable ground in the immediate vicinity of this site. The only difference between the two sites was that one would have to be paid for and the other would be taken from the public without any payment whatever. As the Representative of one of the Divisions of Dublin, I protest in the strongest possible manner against the filching away of a single yard of the public property in the Phoenix Park. The site on which these quarters are being built is quite close to one of the entrances to the Park; it is one of the most charming parts of the whole Park, which will be greatly disfigured if these buildings are put up. I trust the Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson) will turn his attention to this question immediately. The erection of the buildings has reached only a few feet over the ground, and I think it would not be yet too late to put a stop to the project and save the public rights over these two acres. I also desire to direct the hon. Gentleman's attention to the system of contracts adopted by the Board of Works. This question was also raised in the last Parliament, and I do not think that the answers which were put in the mouth of the Secretary to the Treasury were either ingenuous or honest. The practice was for the furniture clerk to make the purchases upon his own responsibility, upon any terms he pleased, for all the Public Offices—for the Vice Regal Lodge, for the Castle, and for every building under the control of the Board of Works. Six or seven years ago contracts were entered into for some items of furniture, but the contracts were not renewed, and they became quite obsolete, and furniture was bought by the furniture clerk, wherever and on whatever terms he wished, without any apparent check. I ask the Secretary to the Treasury to see

if these contracts have been renewed since the question was raised in the last Parliament. The administration of Acts entrusted to the Board by Parliament—Acts of the greatest importance to the people of Ireland—have been made the subject of the gravest complaint, and with very good cause. I have had some experience of the mode of dealing with Acts by the Board of Works, and I can say that those Acts were never administered in the spirit in which they were passed by the Legislature. The Board never gave people information as to how those Acts could be availed of; no facilities, or even advice, would the Board offer; but they raised crotchets and obstructions in every way they could in the way of the working of Acts, the administration of which was entrusted to their care. That is the experience of everyone who has had much to do with the Irish Board of Works. Of the works that have been carried out under the Board I do not propose to speak. A great many of them have been conspicuous failures; but, on the other hand, they have sometimes executed good work, and they do not deserve the sweeping condemnation they have received for everything they have done. They were liable to err, as all other engineers are, from want of judgment in forming a plan, want of genius or superior skill on the part of the engineer or architect; but what I specially call attention to is the legal action of the Board—their setting themselves deliberately to obstruct and delay the operation of Acts entrusted to them to administer. One instance I will give of a gross character. The Land Act of 1881, as everybody knows, empowers Sub-Commissioners to order the tenants to build labourers' cottages on farms where judicial rents are fixed; and in order to enable the building of those labourers' cottages there were provisions in that or some subsequent Act authorizing the Board of Works to advance money to tenants for the purpose. Now, if a tenant obtained a farm upon a statutory lease, which is practically a lease for ever, he had a substantial security, and obtained advances for drainage and other purposes, with such restrictions, unreasonable enough in themselves, as those mentioned by an hon. Member a short time since, and on condition that he could

show receipt for the payment of his last half-year's rent; but when a tenant applied to the Board of Works seeking assistance to build the labourer's cottage and to carry out the orders of the Sub-Commissioners, the Board refused that assistance unless the landlord consented and entered with the tenant into a joint bond as security for the loan. That was Board of Works law, for, as far as I can ascertain, there was no warrant for it in Act of Parliament. One case came under my notice in which a man was unable to build the houses ordered by the Commissioners, and he applied to the Board of Works; but the Board refused the advance unless the landlord joined in the security, and this, as I have said, not being forthcoming, the tenant, in the result, was rendered liable to a heavy penalty, at the suit of the Board of Guardians, that might have been enforced against him, and finally he had to borrow the money at a heavier rate of interest elsewhere to build the house, and was saved from the penalties, amounting to £100, only by the forbearance of the Board of Guardians. In another case in the West of Ireland there was another illustration of the difficulties raised by the Board of Works. A Catholic priest was unable to obtain on the estate of Lord Leconfield a site for the erection of a school-room for the children of his district, except upon conditions with regard to the control and management of the schools, which the priest very properly refused—the conditions I will not go into, for they have nothing to do with the particular point I am illustrating. An opportunity offered for the purchase of a tenant's interest in a holding for which a judicial rent had been fixed; and, having acquired this, the priest thought that on the security of his holding he could obtain from the Board of Works an advance for the building of his school. But the Board of Works, without giving any reason beyond saying they were advised they could not advance the money, refused the application, and the consequence was that the priest could not provide a school much required in the village. What warrant the Board of Works had for their decision I do not know. But I repeat that the Board and their Law Advisers construed every Act of Parliament in the narrowest possible spirit;

and as a result of their policy many useful Acts became dead letters, and many others fell far short of the benefit they were intended to confer when they were passed. I would impress upon the Secretary to the Treasury the necessity of looking into matters of this kind, and of having the legal decisions of the Board of Works in several matters reviewed, and I would also beg to caution him against accepting every statement he received from the Department as gospel, when he had occasion to make answers to Questions in this House.

MR. P. McDONALD (Sligo, N.): I wish to call attention to one of these pieces of work carried out by the Board of Works, and which have been rightly described by an hon. Member as ancient monuments of the incapacity of the Board. I refer to the harbour of Enniscrone. In 1883 the Report of the Board described the works as in a flourishing condition, as those Reports always did. 65 piers and harbours, the Report said, were in course of construction, and 32 were under contract. Again, in the Report of this year, Enniscrone Pier was referred to as progressing. But how is it progressing? The hon. Member for West Belfast (Mr. Sexton), a few days since, asked a Question on the subject, and he was told by the Secretary to the Treasury that the works had ceased—temporarily ceased—in consequence of bad weather, and also in consequence of want of labour.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (MR. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.): I have no recollection of having said that. I think the hon. Member has a wrong impression.

MR. P. McDONALD: I am speaking from memory; but, unquestionably, the weather is a constant excuse in Ireland, and I think the Board of Works have made use of it in common with many other people. What the Report for next year may be I cannot say; but probably it will be that the work is progressing favourably, though the work should have been completed last October. I would ask the right hon. Gentleman to stimulate the Board of Works, and get their officer to give the necessary attention to the subject, so that before the coming winter the necessary work may be completed, and the fishermen of the district may be afforded the means of

carrying on their difficult labour. I also desire to supplement the remarks of my hon. Friend in reference to the furniture contract of the Board. I have drawn attention to the subject in the House, and I have elicited the fact that the practice of the Board of Works is to send round to a limited few—some half-dozen specially favoured contractors in Dublin, and these have the special privilege alone of applying, as they alone have the means offered of tendering for the work. I was pleased to have from the late Government a promise that this practice shall no longer continue, and I hope that the present Government will equally carry out the desirable object that this work shall be thrown open for general contract, all traders in Dublin having equal right to tender. I can say of the Board of Works that they mar and mismanage everything they touch. The Irish are, perhaps, the most Board-governed people in the world; but the worst of all the Boards that govern them is the Board of Works. The hon. Member for Dublin said very truly, awhile ago, that when the Commissioners were entrusted with the carrying out of an Act of Parliament, instead of interpreting that Act according to the wishes of those who passed it in the fullest and most liberal sense, they rather sought to narrow it down to the smallest limits, throwing every obstacle possible in the operation of the Act. It is their endeavour how not to do it, rather than to discharge the duty intrusted to them—rather to prevent than assist the carrying of an Act into effect. I hope the attention which has been drawn to the matter will have some effect on the work on Enniscrone Pier.

COLONEL NOLAN (Galway, N.): I have to call attention to a small matter which arises in connection with the Vote. The Board of Works have taken possession of the revenues of Galway Harbour. That harbour consists of a wet dock; but loaded vessels have to lighten in the roads and reduce their draught of 14 or 15 feet before they can enter. Now the Board of Works, since they have assumed authority, have allowed a sand bank to accumulate outside the dock, to the great inconvenience, as I am informed, of those bringing vessels into port. The cost of removing the sand bank will not be more than from £50 to £100, an expenditure to which I anticipate there

will be no sort of objection; and having called attention to the subject, I hope the Board of Works, as the Harbour Authority, will provide the desired remedy.

MR. HAYDEN (Leitrim, S.): I have to complain of the action of the Board of Works in relation to the Town Commissioners of Roscommon, who applied for a loan from the Reproductive Loan Fund, for the purpose of obtaining a site for the building of a Town Hall, and for other purposes. After allowing eight or nine months to elapse, the Board of Works would only sanction the loan on conditions that took away all the advantages conferred by the Act, requiring repayment of the principal within 25 years instead of 35, and charging the maximum rate of interest, $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Under the terms imposed, the yearly payments would be nearly double what they would be if the Board of Works acted in accordance with the spirit of the Act passed at the instance of the Member for North Roscommon (Mr. O'Kelly). When the Act was passing there was a proposal made that the rate of interest should be 1 per cent; but this was resisted on the understanding that only as a maximum rate would the Board charge $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. I hope this matter will be enquired into, and that the rules will be relaxed to allow of the operation of the Act in the spirit in which it was framed.

MR. JORDAN (Clare, W.): I feel it my duty to call the attention of the right hon. Gentleman and the Committee to the circumstances of the Ballinamore Canal. This canal, some years ago, was constructed by the Board of Works; they were their own contractors, and when they thought the work was finished they passed the works, sending down an engineer of their own, who gave a certificate from the Board to the Board as contractors. But it turns out that from that time until the present it has been a canal without water in some portions, and the bridges have been built so low that when the canal is full there is not room for the traffic to pass under; and so it remains a memorial of genius and ability, not to say the integrity and honesty, of the Board of Works from that day to now! I notice in the Estimate an item of £200 for Special Allowances. I do not know if

that is a similar sum to that given to the Board of Works for the certificate erroneously declaring this canal finished; but I hope the Secretary to the Treasury will see to this, and take care that in any schemes for the development of the resources of Ireland in the future this canal so imperfectly constructed by the Board of Works, and passed by the Board of Works, shall be perfected and put into working order. If, under a different state of affairs, any improvement in the future of Ireland's trade and commerce should take place—and I expect it—I should not like to see the water ways neglected and dismantled. I know that in regard to this canal I differ from my hon. Friend the Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar), yet I maintain that if Ireland is properly governed there will be no road or water way that will not ultimately have sufficient trade and traffic. The Ballinamore Canal should not be dismantled until it is proved to be utterly worthless and useless. But it has never been put into proper working order, and therefore cannot be said to have failed. Another point to which I wish to call attention is in relation to the light railway from Beturbet to Ballinamore. During the last Administration I asked several Questions in relation to the railway bridges across this canal, and I received an assurance, which I hope the present Administration will renew, that these bridges should be of such a height that the water traffic would not be impeded.

MR. DONAL SULLIVAN (Westmeath, S.): Mr. Courtney, it is well known that in Ireland there is not a more unpopular Body than the Board of Works—no Board more inefficient, or that gives more intense dissatisfaction in all parts of the Island. No individual ever has transactions with the Board who does not complain bitterly of its delay, obstruction, and inefficiency. By way of calling attention to this in an effectual manner I will move that the Vote for Salaries of Chairman and Commissioners be reduced by £1,000.

Motion made, and Question put,

"That a sum, not exceeding £17,559, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1887, for the Salaries

and Expenses of the Office of Public Works in Ireland."—(*Mr. Donal Sullivan.*)

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 72; Noes 155: Majority 83.—(*Div. List, No. 35.*)

Original Question again proposed.

MR. W. J. CORBET (Wicklow, E.): I am sorry again to have to refer to the Arklow Harbour works; but I shall be glad to have from the Secretary to the Treasury an assurance that the people of the district shall not be mulcted in further expenses in consequence of the blunders of the Board of Works in connection with these works. I will not detain the Committee at length; but the facts are as follows:—The Treasury gave a grant of £15,000 and a loan of £20,000 for making this harbour, and the works were carried out on the plan of the Board of Works in spite of the very strongly expressed objections to that plan from the people of Arklow. All this has been explained in Parliament. The result is that the pier went to pieces under the first stress of bad weather. The Treasury sent down special engineers, Messrs. Stevenson and Stoney, and from their Report on the matter it appears that a further expenditure of £10,000 will be required. Now, I want to get an assurance from the hon. Gentleman that this extra sum will not be added to the £20,000 which the ratepayers of the district have undertaken to pay. I think it would be exceedingly unfair that when the people of the district have pointed out the mistaken plan upon which the Board of Works are proceeding, and when in the event it turns out that the people are right and the Board of Works are wrong, it would be unreasonable to call upon the people to make up this extra sum. I am glad the noble Lord (Lord Randolph Churchill) is present to hear the appeal; and I trust that such an act of injustice will not be perpetrated under such circumstances.

MR. CLANCOY (Dublin Co., N.): I once heard a Government official in Ireland say the Board of Works were inspired and directed by a diabolical ingenuity to do wrong. There has been no lack, in the course of this debate, of illustrations of the perversity, incapacity, and I may say the malignity, of that Board. Yet Irish Members have only succeeded in evoking from the Treasury

Bench charges of Obstruction. We are charged with wasting the time of the House because we have devoted the greater part of a Wednesday Sitting to discussing the action of two Boards which have the management of the greater part of Irish affairs. As the most practical protest in my power against this system of meeting the just and well-founded complaints of Irish Members, I beg to move the total rejection of this Vote.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Vote be omitted."—(*Mr. Clancy.*)

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND (Fermanagh, N.): I desire to add my voice to that of my hon. Friend in the expression of a hope that injustice will not be done to the people of Arklow by laying upon them the burden of a large sum of money not contemplated in the first estimate of the works, simply because the Board of Works have blundered and acted in defiance of the advice and experience of the people of the district. It was decided that a pier was to be erected, and plans were discussed as to the best method to adopt. The people of the district, fishermen for whom the harbour was to be built, were strongly of opinion that the plan of the engineer of the Board of Works was not the proper plan. They protested again and again against the work being proceeded with on that plan, and yet, in spite of the protests of the people thoroughly acquainted with all the local circumstances, the Board of Works went doggedly on. Then the pier was wrecked, and it was proved beyond doubt that the disaster occurred in consequence of the advice and wishes of the people of Arklow being disregarded. The expenditure of a further sum was necessary; but the outlay should not fall upon the people, who have contributed a large amount which the engineer has wasted. The Board of Works should provide the further sum required. At all events, I hope something will be said from the Treasury Bench by way of assurance that the Arklow people shall not suffer the loss. In reference to the charge of waste of time, I will say that there is not a single Irish Member who has spoken this day who was not actuated simply by the desire to ventilate what the Irish people consider grievances;

and to be told by the First Official in Ireland that they, the Representatives of the people, are wasting the time of the House, is insulting language the Irish people will know how to appreciate.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.): I am sure hon. Members who have argued generally and specifically to show that the Board of Works is wanting in efficiency will hardly expect me to follow them in detail. I hope hon. Members will accept my assurance that although upon many points raised I have not answered them, yet I have noted all the instances, and I will, so far as I can, personally inquire into them. At Arklow Harbour work is proceeding. I do not quite understand the present position, and will make inquiries. I can hardly be expected at a moment's notice to state whether the additional expenditure to which reference has been made shall be made a charge upon Arklow or not. But, generally, I may say the Government took the best means at their disposal to ascertain what were the wishes of the people of the district; and, so far as I know, it was in accordance with these that the works for one pier were by my Predecessor ordered to proceed. I have made a note of all the objections urged, and will see that every case is fairly met.

MR. BARRY (Wexford, S.): I should like to call the attention of the Secretary to the Treasury to a promise made by his Predecessor in reference to the harbour works at Wexford. There was a strong feeling of dissatisfaction with the plan of the engineers to the Board of Works, and after the experience of Arklow there was justifiable apprehension that the works at Kilmore would not be durable. The late Chief Secretary said a Government engineer should be sent to make an inspection; and I should like to get from the hon. Gentleman a renewal of the promise that a really competent engineer should be sent to inspect the works during their progress.

MR. CLANCY (Dublin Co., N.): I do not suppose that I shall get credit for any such motive, but, as I have no wish to occupy time unnecessarily, I will not push my objection to the Vote to a division at this hour of the day.

DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid.): I would direct the hon. Gentleman's at-

tention to the harbour of Newcastle, County Down, which is grossly mismanaged by the Board of Works. By the works undertaken a bank has been created at the mouth of the harbour which prevents the harbour being turned to the purpose for which it was constructed. According to the original designs a thorough system of dredging was to have been carried out; but the neglect of this has rendered the harbour almost useless.

MR. JACKSON: This shall have a place among points upon which inquiry shall be made.

MR. BARRY: I would remind the hon. Gentleman that he has not made the promise for which he has been asked in reference to the Wexford works.

MR. JACKSON: Without knowing what the promise is, it would be rash for me to undertake to carry it out. But I will undertake to ascertain what my Predecessor did promise, and then I can say whether I can see that promise fulfilled.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*.

Original Question put, and *agreed to*.

Resolutions to be reported.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £5,126, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1887, for the Salaries and Expenses in the Department of the Registrar General of Births, &c., and the Expenses of the Collection of Agricultural and other Statistics in Ireland."

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.): I am rather sorry to have to draw attention to the Vote at this particular time, for I am afraid I can hardly meet the justice of the case within the few minutes left for Business. I should not have felt it my duty to do so were it not for the fact that, during the last Parliament, I endeavoured to obtain the consent of the Treasury and of the Chief Secretary for Ireland to the deferring of any definitive decision as to the reorganization of this particular Office until the House had an opportunity of considering the matter. Therefore I feel bound, knowing the interest taken in it in Ireland, to bring the matter forward. It will be seen that for this service the sum taken last year is £16,126, and the Vote in the present

year is of precisely the same amount. It will, therefore, appear to anyone casually looking at it, that there has been no alteration in the staff of the Department; but, as a matter of fact, the whole Department has been thoroughly altered and what is called reorganized—reorganized in such a manner that, with the same total sum, yet the manner of its distribution is altogether different, differently distributed, to an extent as to amount to a most flagrant and disgraceful job, a distribution altogether in the interests of a very small number of senior and superior officials, and to the detriment of the great body of the clerks in the Office. The staff of the Office consisted, until last December, or until April of the present year rather, of the Registrar General, the Secretary, who is also Assistant Registrar General, nine Superintendents, and the clerical staff. This clerical staff, consists of two first-class, nine second-class, and eight third-class clerks. That there was need of reorganization is unquestionable. The whole of the third-class are men of long service, ranging from 18 to 23 years, and they have been at the maximum of their pay, which is only £200 a-year, for a great number of years. It is perfectly plain, then, that there was need of reorganization. These junior clerks made representations at different times of the grievances under which they suffered, and Commission after Commission held inquiry and made recommendations all in the direction of improving the condition of the juniors. But, when the work of reorganization was actually taken in hand, the interests of these men were most scandalously disregarded, and the only persons benefited at all were the Secretary and two or three of the superior officials. I desire to draw the attention of the Committee to the fact that the Secretary, who used to have a maximum salary of £600, has been raised to a maximum of £800 in the present year, but to that figure a note is appended to the effect that this salary of £600 as a minimum to £800 as a maximum includes remuneration for Census duty. Now, the Secretary obtained in connection with the Census of 1881 a bonus of £1,000; and, two years ago, in reply to a Question, the then Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. Trevelyan) said it was not intended

to increase the pay of the Secretary. Now the pay of the Secretary has been increased, and the explanation is that the addition includes remuneration for Census duty. But there will not be another Census till 1891, and it does appear a most extraordinary arrangement that a man who possibly may be retired, possibly may have died before 1891 comes round, should begin now to receive a salary in connection with the Census duty of that date. But it is not in connection with Census duty at all—that is a mere blind, a mere excuse, to enable the Department to escape from the promise of two years ago given by a responsible Minister of the Crown. The reorganization that took place is of a very peculiar character. The first-class clerks and the Superintendents are to be called in future Superintendents. The second-class clerks who are allowed to remain in the Office are to be made Deputy Superintendents; and the third-class clerks are placed in nothing like so favourable a position as that which up to last year they enjoyed. They have been thrown in, listed alphabetically, with a number of men called Lower Division clerks, 14 in number, who have not a *status* so good as the third-class clerks possess, but who are now to be admitted with them to such vacancies as may arise from time to time on the staff. But in the reorganization scheme it was arranged that the Registrar General should be allowed to fill up staff appointments, not from members of the clerical staff of his Department, but from outsiders whenever he thought fit to do so. Now, such an arrangement as that I will take upon myself to say, and I appeal to anyone conversant with the terms of service in the Civil Service, is altogether anomalous in connection with any Department in the country. It vested in an officer of no very great *status* a power of nomination and patronage which is not to be found in any other similar Department. It not only gives him exceptional power and patronage, but it altogether and very materially injures the vested interests of all the clerical staff. The objections I take to the reorganization scheme are these. The Registrar General and the Secretary are quite adequately paid under the old system; there is no sufficient reason for increasing the pay of the Secretary at all; the colourable pretence that the in-

crease of pay is on account of Census duty that will not begin for five years, is clearly nothing but a pretext. Now, all the juniors are underpaid. This has been recognized by Commission after Commission which has inquired into this Department, and not only are they underpaid, but for years they have been at their maximum. Now, while it is proposed to increase the power and patronage of the Head of the Office and increase the salary of the Secretary, the position of the juniors is materially injured. They get no increase of pay whatever, the maximum to which they are entitled to go is not raised, and their prospects of promotion are reduced by the reduction in the number of places to which they might look forward. Such small number of staff appointments as are left are not freely open to them, for they may be filled up, not by promotion in due course from the clerical staff, but by outside nominees of the Registrar General. And not only so, but these third-class clerks, who for so many years have been at their maximum, are not to be exclusively eligible for such posts as are given in the Department; and whereas these posts open to the clerks used to be eight, these eight are reduced to five, and the number of aspirants are raised from eight to 23. These men, who have served for 18 or 23 years—

It being a quarter of an hour before Six of the clock, the Chairman left the Chair to report Progress.

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow*.

Committee also report Progress; to sit again *To-morrow*.

House adjourned at ten minutes before Six o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Thursday, 16th September, 1886.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*First Reading*—Submarine Telegraph Act (1885) Amendment * (20); Disturbances at Belfast Inquiry * (21); Expiring Laws Continuance * (22).

Committee—*Report*—Secret Service (Repeal) * (15).

PROVISIONAL ORDER BILLS—*Second Reading*—Gas (No. 2) * (16); Public Health (Scotland)

(Urray Water) * (17); Tramways (No. 2) * (18); Tramways (No. 3) * (19).
Committee—*Report*—*Third Reading*—Electric Lighting * (13), and *passed*.

Their Lordships met;—and having gone through the Business on the Paper without debate,

House adjourned at Four o'clock, to Monday next, a quarter past Four o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Thursday, 16th September, 1886.

MINUTES.]—SUPPLY—*considered in Committee*—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES; CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS, Vote 41; CLASS III.—LAW AND JUSTICE, Votes 21, 22, 25 to 29 & 31; CLASS IV.—EDUCATION, SCIENCE, AND ART, Votes 1 to 3, 6 to 9

Resolutions [September 15] reported.
PUBLIC BILL—*Withdrawn*—Shop Hours Regulation * [40].

QUESTIONS.

FISHERY PIERS AND HARBOURS (IRELAND)—RED BAY PIER, CO. ANTRIM.

Mr. BIGGAR (Cavan, W.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Was the Red Bay Pier, county Antrim, constructed with Government money for the purpose of a fishery pier, or did the Government loan the money for its construction to any individual or Company; if the latter was the case, to whom was the loan granted, and has the loan been repaid in full; who has been authorised to collect dues at the said pier; what amount has been collected and expended on the keep up of the pier during the last ten years; and, would a fishing fleet in the present day be accommodated within its shelter clear of dues?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH) (Bristol, W.), in reply, said, this pier was constructed between 1848 and 1851, and the cost was defrayed by a grant from the Government of £3,500, and by a loan of £1,500, the whole of which has been repaid by the county. It was the duty of the Grand Jury of the County Antrim

to collect the tolls which, in the last 10 years, amounted to £700. The cost of maintaining the pier during the same period was £1,052. The rates for all vessels was 2d. per registered ton, and there was no exception for fishing boats. The harbour was very small.

JAPAN—CLAIMS OF BRITISH MERCHANTS ON THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT.

MR. GENT-DAVIS (Lambeth, Kensington) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether before signing the new Treaty between this Country and Japan, Her Majesty's Government will press the Japanese Government for payment of the claims of Mr. J. Hartley, and other British merchants, who, contrary to the provisions of the existing Treaties between the two Countries, were prevented by the unlawful action of Japanese officials from selling in Japan goods upon which all Duty imports had been paid?

THE UNDER SECRETARY (Sir JAMES FERGUSSON) (Manchester, N.E.): Successive Secretaries of State have come to the conclusion that Mr. Hartley's case was not such as would justify diplomatic interference.

POST OFFICE (IRELAND) — POSTAL ARRANGEMENTS IN CO. CAVAN.

MR. BIGGAR (Cavan, W.) asked the Postmaster General, Whether he can devise some means by which the mid-day Mail between Butlersbridge and Cavan shall be continued as heretofore; and, whether he can reform the general internal postal arrangements of county Cavan?

THE POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. RAIKES) (Cambridge University): As regards the local communication between Cavan and adjacent towns in the same county, I regret that it is not practicable to effect any improvement, the correspondence affected being too small in amount to admit of direct mails being established. The mid-day mail to and from Butlersbridge was maintained by means of the car which, until last month, ran between Cavan and Belturbet; but the contract for that service expired last month and it was then found practicable to afford Belturbet a better day mail by railway. The car has therefore been discontinued; but, under all the circumstances, I have

sanctioned an arrangement for restoring the day mail to and from Butlersbridge by other means.

DEPRESSION OF TRADE AND INDUSTRY—REPORT OF THE ROYAL COMMISSION.

MR. OCTAVIUS MORGAN (Battersea) asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, When the Report of the Royal Commission appointed to inquire into the Depression of Trade and Industry is likely to be issued?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL) (Paddington, S.): I have made inquiry and I understand the Commissioners are now considering their Report. But it is difficult to say accurately the exact period at which the Report will be issued. There may, moreover, be some technical difficulty as to the publication of the Report when Parliament is not sitting. It may have to be laid in dummy, or it may be issued by the Stationery Office, if it is to be brought before the public. But both these proceedings are rather irregular, and I am at present considering how the difficulties attending them may be overcome.

PALACE OF WESTMINSTER—CONSTABLES ON DUTY.

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, The number of constables now on duty in and about the precincts of this House, and the cost thereby incurred?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): There are on duty, during the Session, inside and outside the House of Commons, including the crossings at Parliament Street and Bridge Street, three Inspectors, eight sergeants, 172 constables. These men, owing to the nature of their duties, receive an increased rate of pay, amounting in all to £2,674 11s. extra cost. There is, of course, besides that, the ordinary pay of that number of men. The total cost is nearly at the rate of £17,000 a-year while the House is sitting. During the Recess the expenditure is at the rate of £9,406 a-year. Various circumstances have occurred, as the hon. Member knows, which make it necessary to give special protection to the Houses of Parliament.

Sir Michael Hicks-Beach

MR. BRADLAUGH: Will the right hon. and learned Gentleman say what is the increased cost owing to the special circumstances—that is, the additional number of the force owing to these circumstances?

MR. MATTHEWS: I am not able to inform the hon. Member of that.

ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—THE POLICE AT GLIN, CO. LIMERICK.

MR. W. ABRAHAM (Limerick, W.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether Constables Banahan and O'Sullivan were charged by Sergeant O'Brien, at Petty Sessions held in Glin, county Limerick, on the 24th of June, with being in a licensed public-house during prohibited hours; whether, after hearing evidence, the magistrates (four in number) were unanimous in dismissing the case, expressing their opinion that Sergeant O'Brien had made a "great mistake," and that the constables left the Court without the slightest imputation resting on them; whether these men were transferred to obscure country stations on the 18th of August; whether the police station in Glin is under the charge of Sergeant O'Brien, and was inspected in May by District Inspector Harrison and reported all right, although at the time of the said inspection Sergeant O'Brien was violating certain police regulations, which, being subsequently reported to County Inspector Cameron, the sergeant has been compelled to discontinue; and, whether Sergeant O'Brien will be permitted to remain in charge of the police station in Glin?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. HOLMES) (Dublin University) (who replied) said: The constables Banahan and O'Sullivan were charged in the manner stated in the Question of the hon. Member, and the charge was dismissed, one of the magistrates expressing the opinion that the constables left the Court without the slightest stain on their character. They have since been transferred in the course of the Public Service, at the public expense, to fill vacancies in other stations, which are considered to be good average stations. There was a violation of certain police regulations on the part of Sergeant O'Brien at the time of the inspection of his station by District In-

spector Harrison, who did not then become acquainted with them; but on their being since reported, Sergeant O'Brien has, in consequence thereof, been put under orders of removal from the station at his own expense, and has been permanently deprived of a valuable privilege which he had previously enjoyed.

LUNATIC ASYLUMS (IRELAND)—RICHMOND LUNATIC ASYLUM.

MR. W. J. CORBET (Wicklow, E.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, What is the number of patients in the Richmond Lunatic Asylum; how many of them are Catholics; how many medical officers are attached to the staff of the Asylum, and how many of them are Catholics; and, whether he will take steps to provide for the appointment of at least one Catholic medical officer in the Institution?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH) (Bristol, W.): There are in the Richmond Lunatic Asylum 1,094 patients, of whom 907 are Catholics. There are five medical officers, one of whom is a Catholic. The only appointment for which the Government is directly responsible is that of the Resident Medical Superintendent. The gentleman recently selected for that post by the late Government is, I believe, a Protestant; but I have not heard of any objections to the appointment on that or any other ground.

MR. W. J. CORBET asked if the right hon. Gentleman was aware that the Roman Catholic chaplain experienced great difficulty in not having a medical officer to consult in reference to the administration of the Sacraments? He wished to point out that there was no Catholic medical officer. The only Catholic there was a surgeon, and not a medical officer.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH, in reply, said, he was not aware of the facts stated by the hon. Member.

CENTRAL ASIA—MEDALS FOR THE ZHOB VALLEY EXPEDITION, 1884.

MR. DONAL SULLIVAN (Westmeath, S.) asked the Secretary of State for War, Why the officers and men who took part in the Zhob Valley Expedition of 1884 under Sir O. V. Tanner received neither medal, batta, nor recog-

CIVIL SERVICE ESTABLISHMENTS— SALARIES.

MR. PICKERSGILL (Bethnal Green, S.W.) asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether, pending the Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry into the Civil Service Establishments, he will refuse to sanction an increase of any official salary of £400 per annum and upwards (the usual annual increments excepted)?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL) (Paddington, S.): I cannot give the hon. Member any absolute, definite, or binding pledge on the subject. But he may be certain that if any application for an increase of salary of the amount mentioned in the Question is laid before me, I should be largely influenced in its consideration by the fact that a State inquiry into this Department was going on.

CIVIL SERVICE WRITERS.

MR. PICKERSGILL (Bethnal Green, S.W.) asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether, having regard to the fact that the case of the Civil Service Writers has been under the consideration of the Treasury for thirteen months past, and that frequently during that period hopes have been encouraged that a final settlement would be immediately announced, he will make provisional arrangements whereby the Writers will not suffer by the further delay that must necessarily take place before the new Royal Commission on the Civil Service can make its Report; and, whether, in such arrangements, special regard will be had to the insecure position of men of long service, and the total absence, in their case, of any system of graduated payment?

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.) (who replied) said: Yes, Sir, as soon as the Report of the Departmental Committee on the case of the Civil Service writers is received we shall forthwith take it into consideration; and we propose to give effect to our decision, so far as we can do so, without prejudice to general questions of principle, which must be reserved for the consideration of the Royal Commission.

COAL MINES—THE LEIGH COLLIERY EXPLOSION.

MR. BURT (Morpeth) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Depart-

ment, If he has received a communication from the Lancashire Miners' Federation, expressing dissatisfaction that no legal gentleman has been appointed to attend the adjourned inquest connected with the explosion at Leigh Colliery; and, whether, considering the great importance of that inquiry, he will follow the custom which has been usual of late years in serious colliery explosions, and send such a representative to watch the proceedings?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): Yes, Sir, I have received such a communication; but I have also received a subsequent letter, in which the Federation express full confidence in the ability of the gentlemen who are conducting the inquiry, a confidence which I fully share. If the inquest should not satisfactorily dispose of all the questions upon which information is important, I will avail myself of the power given by the Act of last Session, and direct an independent inquiry attended by a legal representative.

PRISONS ACT (ENGLAND AND WALES) —SITE OF COLDBATH FIELDS PRISON.

MR. J. ROWLANDS (Finsbury, E.) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether the Metropolitan Board of Works have stated to the Government their reasons for declining to purchase the site of the Coldbath Fields Prison; whether the price for which he offered the site of Coldbath Fields Prison to the Middlesex Justices of the Peace, and the Metropolitan Board of Works, was £186,960; and, whether the offer at that price was declined; and, if so, is he now prepared to sell the site to the local authorities for a smaller sum, provided that they are prepared to erect artisans dwellings upon it?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): The reason stated by the Metropolitan Board of Works for declining to buy the site of Coldbath Fields Prison was that they had already set apart several pieces of ground within a very short distance of the prison as sites for improved dwellings for working people. The site was offered to the Middlesex Justices at the price named by the hon. Member—namely, £186,960. The Metropolitan Board of Works were merely asked if

they were disposed to enter into negotiations with the Secretary of State. The Local Authority has now been informed that the Home Office will entertain any offer that they have to make with a view to the purchase of the site.

INLAND REVENUE DEPARTMENT— OUTDOOR BRANCH.

MR. HAYDEN (Leitrim, S.) asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether he is aware that, in the outdoor branch of the Inland Revenue Department, widespread discontent prevails owing to the officials' insufficient salaries and bad prospects of promotion; and, whether he will take steps to remedy this state of affairs, so detrimental to the interests of the taxpayers of the United Kingdom?

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (MR. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.) (who replied) said: In reply to this Question I can only say that I am not aware that—

"Widespread discontent prevails in the Inland Revenue Department owing to the officials' insufficient salaries and bad prospects of promotion,"

nor do I think that that is a fair description of the position of affairs. I have nothing to add to the reply which I gave on the 13th instant to a Question put by the hon. Member for Preston (Mr. Tomlinson).

INDIA (MADRAS)—THE GARSTIN DACOITY CASE.

MR. PATRICK O'BRIEN (Monaghan, N.) asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether the Chief Justice of Madras in summing up the evidence in the Garstin-Dacoity case, animadverted in open court on the behaviour of the second and third members of the Madras Board of Revenue in taking down and publishing, extra officially, a statement made by a native lad to the effect that the principal collector and chief magistrate of the Madura district, a member of their own service, the Madras Covenanted Civil Service, was in the habit of taking bribes and had incited certain parties to commit a robbery and murderous assault on the Queen's highway; and, whether these two gentlemen have been called on to explain their conduct?

THE UNDER SECRETARY (Sir JOHN GORST) (Chatham): The Secre-

tary of State has no official information on the subject, but he will cause inquiry to be made.

POST OFFICE—MAJOR AND MINOR DEPARTMENTS.

MR. WOOTTON ISAACSON (Tower Hamlets, Stepney) asked the Postmaster General, Whether he is aware that great disappointment exists in the minor departments of the Post Office at the present system of dividing the Post Office into major and minor departments, by which all promotion is stopped from the latter or working staff to the former or executive staff; and, whether, in the interests of the Public Service, he will recommend an alteration of this system, and introduce some more satisfactory method of promotion in the minor departments?

THE POSTMASTER GENERAL (MR. RAIKES) (Cambridge University): The hon. Member has placed on the Paper to-day and to-morrow Notice of no less than six Questions, affecting not only the principles on which the Post Office is administered, but even in some cases the operation of the Orders in Council which regulate the Civil Service of the Crown. It would be impossible, within the limits of answers to Questions, to make the House thoroughly conversant with these matters of principle, or to do justice to the issues which are raised. I think, therefore, the better course would be if the hon. Member would call at the Post Office, when I shall be glad to depute an officer of the Department to explain to him the principles to which I have referred and give him the information which he requires. There is one observation, however, which I should like to make—namely, that it is not the custom of the Department to place money about to test the honesty of the officials.

MR. WOOTTON ISAACSON: Will the right hon. Gentleman permit me to ask him, whether he is disposed to remove the barrier which now exists between the minor and major Departments of the Post Office?

MR. RAIKES: The Question of the hon. Member is a very delicate besides being a large one, and I have not fully considered it. It would be entirely out of my power to move in such a matter, without the sanction of the Government, and probably getting the assent of Parliament.

CIVIL SERVICE ESTABLISHMENTS— SALARIES.

MR. PICKERSGILL (Bethnal Green, S.W.) asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether, pending the Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry into the Civil Service Establishments, he will refuse to sanction an increase of any official salary of £400 per annum and upwards (the usual annual increments excepted)?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL) (Paddington, S.): I cannot give the hon. Member any absolute, definite, or binding pledge on the subject. But he may be certain that if any application for an increase of salary of the amount mentioned in the Question is laid before me, I should be largely influenced in its consideration by the fact that a State inquiry into this Department was going on.

CIVIL SERVICE WRITERS.

MR. PICKERSGILL (Bethnal Green, S.W.) asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether, having regard to the fact that the case of the Civil Service Writers has been under the consideration of the Treasury for thirteen months past, and that frequently during that period hopes have been encouraged that a final settlement would be immediately announced, he will make provisional arrangements whereby the Writers will not suffer by the further delay that must necessarily take place before the new Royal Commission on the Civil Service can make its Report; and, whether, in such arrangements, special regard will be had to the insecure position of men of long service, and the total absence, in their case, of any system of graduated payment?

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.) (who replied) said: Yes, Sir, as soon as the Report of the Departmental Committee on the case of the Civil Service writers is received we shall forthwith take it into consideration; and we propose to give effect to our decision, so far as we can do so, without prejudice to general questions of principle, which must be reserved for the consideration of the Royal Commission.

COAL MINES—THE LEIGH COLLIERY EXPLOSION.

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ment, If he has received a communication from the Lancashire Miners' Federation, expressing dissatisfaction that no legal gentleman has been appointed to attend the adjourned inquest connected with the explosion at Leigh Colliery; and, whether, considering the great importance of that inquiry, he will follow the custom which has been usual of late years in serious colliery explosions, and send such a representative to watch the proceedings?

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The Question should rather be addressed to the Leader of the House.

MERCANTILE MARINE—COASTING
LIGHT DUES IN THE CHANNEL—
BUNKER COAL.

Mr. GOURLEY (Sunderland) asked the Secretary to the Board of Trade, If he is aware that, in consequence of the re-imposition of the charge for coasting light dues on vessels putting into the English Channel and other ports for a supply of coal, several shipowners instructed their captains to call at Cherbourg, where coal can be had as cheap as in British Channel ports, and free of all port dues; and, whether, seeing that the French Government are acting thus liberally, Her Majesty's Government will instruct the Trinity House authorities to remit the existing tax for light dues on all vessels calling at British ports for bunker coal?

Mr. DONKIN (Tynemouth) asked the Secretary to the Board of Trade, Whether the Government will reconsider the decision to impose Light Dues on ships calling at Home Ports for the purpose of taking in bunker coals, in view of the fact that such regulation imposes a very severe tax on British shipping?

THE SECRETARY (Baron HENRY DE WORMS) (Liverpool, East Toxteth): The Board of Trade have no knowledge of any instructions issued by shipowners such as are alluded to by the hon. Member (Mr. Gourley); but any instructions which may have been issued cannot be rightly described as being in consequence of the "re-imposition" of the charge for light dues on vessels putting into British ports for the purpose of coaling, because, as a matter of fact, there has been no such "re-imposition." Under the existing law, vessels which enter a port of the United Kingdom in distress, or which, owing to stress of weather, require, as a condition of their safe arrival at their destination, any necessary outfit, including coal, are not liable to pay light dues. No attempt has been made, or is proposed, to interfere with this privilege, nor has any liability for light dues been imposed upon any vessels hitherto exempt. It has, however, come to the knowledge of the Board of Trade that vessels leaving one foreign port bound to another foreign port have started with a short supply of coal, knowing that they would

pass a port of the United Kingdom, where they could obtain coal more economically, by which proceeding they would, in many cases, avoid payment of light dues. Others, again, have come some distance out of their direct course for the purpose of filling up their bunkers with coal at a British port, and there is, therefore, good reason to fear that the exemption meant to apply only to vessels in distress, is being claimed for vessels not so situated. As an instance of the latter, I may mention a vessel which, on her way from Bilbao to the United States, actually put into Cardiff—being about 400 miles out of her course—for the purpose of coaling. It is obvious that such vessels obtain a benefit from the lights equal to that obtained by vessels bound to or from British ports, and are not, under the existing law, entitled to exemption from light dues, and the payment of these dues must, therefore, necessarily be enforced. The Board of Trade have no power to exempt vessels calling at British ports for bunker coal from the payment of any light dues for which they are legally liable. Any such exemption, if made at all, must be made by an Order of Her Majesty in Council. No such exemption seems to have been contemplated by "The Merchant Shipping Act, 1854," under the powers of which light dues are collected, nor does there appear to be any sufficient reason for granting to shipping bound to or from foreign ports, and calling for their own convenience or economical reasons, the gratuitous use and benefit of the British lights, which would, in that case, have to be maintained for them by the rest of the British trade by means of increased light dues. The Board of Trade do not, under these circumstances, see their way to advise the exemption from the light dues of all vessels calling for bunker coal not being in distress; but in the case of vessels putting into a British port *bona fide* in distress, the mere taking in of bunker coal sufficient to enable them to complete their original voyage would not in itself render them liable for dues.

In reply to a further Question,

BARON HENRY DE WORMS said, that the President of the Board of Trade had consented to receive a deputation with whom he would confer on the

subject to which the Questions of the hon. Members had reference.

**LABOURERS (IRELAND) ACT—INQUIRY
AT KILMALLOCK UNDER
THE ACT.**

MR. W. ABRAHAM (Limerick, W.) (for **MR. FINUCANE**) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether **MR. POSNETT**, Local Government Board Arbitrator under the Labourers' Act, held an inquiry in Kilmallock on the 3rd of August last; if so, has he sent his draft award yet to the said Union; and, if not, for what reason; and, will he be directed to do so immediately, so as to enable the Guardians to proceed at once with the erection of the labourers' cottages?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Sir **MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH**) (Bristol, W.), in reply, said, the hon. Member had placed the Question on the Paper the other day, but was absent, and then it was asked by some other hon. Member, and he (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) answered it.

**EDUCATION (IRELAND)—LIMERICK
MODEL SCHOOL.**

MR. H. J. GILL (Limerick) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, What has been the average attendance at the Limerick Model School for the last three months; what proportion of those are Catholics; what is the cost of the Model School in Limerick; and, whether the Government intend to make any change in its constitution, with a view to making it available for the great body of the population?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Sir **MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH**) (Bristol, W.): The average attendance at the Limerick Model School for the past three months has been 157.4. Of the 224 children on the rolls last month 34 were Catholics. The cost of the school in the year to March 31 last was £1,093 14s. 8d. This included the support of seven resident pupil teachers. The constitution of this school can, of course, only be considered as a part of the whole system of model schools, which is a very large question.

**BOWLING GREEN MILLS, CO. GALWAY
—REPORT OF COLONEL SMITH, R.E.**

MR. PINKERTON (Galway) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, If he can state the reason why Colonel Smith, R.E.,

did not include the Bowling Green Mills, Galway, in his Report to the Treasury in 1879; whether Colonel Smith was precluded by his instructions from inquiring into the case of those mills; and, whether the Treasury is prepared to lay Colonel Smith's Report upon the Table of the House?

THE SECRETARY (Mr. **JACKSON**) (Leeds, N.), in reply, said, he had looked into the voluminous Papers relating to the case, and he found that the mills alluded to were dealt with by Colonel Smith in 1879, his instructions having comprised them with other cases. His Report, so far as it was of a public character, was communicated in 1880 to those locally interested, and he (Mr. Jackson) saw no reason for now presenting it to Parliament. He might add that the particular point about which complaint was made had been repeatedly investigated by his Predecessors in Office, and their conclusion had always been that nothing more could be done in the matter than had been already done.

MR. PINKERTON asked if the hon. Member was aware that the building mentioned had been excluded from Colonel Smith's Report, and that no remuneration had been given?

[No reply.]

**RIVER POLLUTION—POLLUTION OF
THE THAMES—HOUSE-BOATS.**

MR. H. S. WRIGHT (Nottingham, S.) asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether his attention has been directed to the pollution of the river Thames by the increasing practice of persons living in "house-boats," moored in the river at various places along its whole navigable course above Teddington Lock, during the Summer months?

THE PRESIDENT (Mr. **RITCHIE**) (Tower Hamlets, St. George's): The Conservators of the River Thames, under the Thames Preservation Act of last year, are empowered to make regulations for the prevention of the pollution of the river by the sewage of any house-boat or steam launch. They have prepared a bye-law which will render liable to a penalty any person who pollutes the river by casting into it any offensive matter. This bye-law, with others, is now awaiting the approval of Her Majesty in Council.

HOUSE-BOATS—EXEMPTION FROM IMPERIAL AND LOCAL TAXATION.

MR. H. S. WRIGHT (Nottingham, S.) asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether the occupiers of "house-boats" on the river Thames, or on other rivers in the United Kingdom, are exempt from both local and Imperial taxation in respect of such "house-boats;" and, whether he will consider the expediency of imposing Licence Duties on such boats according to their tonnage?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL) (Paddington, S.): The occupants of house-boats on the River Thames are not liable to Imperial taxation in respect of them, and there is not, I think, any occasion to impose taxation, because the amount that would be collected would be insignificant. I understand that under the bye-laws of the Thames Conservancy, and under Section II. of the Thames Preservation Act, 1885, it is intended to charge registration fees with respect to these house-boats.

MR. DIXON-HARTLAND (Middlesex, Uxbridge) asked the President of the Local Government Board how many the house-boats on the Thames numbered? Were there more than 60 or 70 all told?

THE PRESIDENT (Mr. RITCHIE), in reply, said, that he did not know the number.

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—

FINTONA COURTHOUSE—

MR. SPROULE, J.P.

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been directed to the proceedings at Fintona Courthouse on Monday last; whether it is true that two police constables swore that Mr. Sproule, J.P. was staggering drunk on the previous night; and, whether the statements sworn to in Court by Mr. Sproule were contradicted on oath by several respectable witnesses; and, if so, whether he will direct the attention of the Lord Chancellor to Mr. Sproule's conduct, or what other course it is intended to take in the matter?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. HOLMES) (Dublin University) (who replied) said, he had been inquiring into the matter, but he had not yet received sufficient information to

enable him to answer the Question. If the hon. Member put it down for Monday, he would endeavour to answer it.

ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—DISTRICT INSPECTOR DAVIS OF LOUGHREA, CO. GALWAY—ALLEGED REFLECTION ON CATHOLIC CLERGYMEN.

MR. SHEEHY (Galway, S.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether District Inspector Davis of Loughrea said on Monday 13th instant to a number of men, whom he had under arrest, that the Parish Priest of Woodford and his curate are blackguards; and, if so, whether Davis will be reprimanded and made to apologise to the Rev. gentlemen?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH) (Bristol, W.): District Inspector Davis states that he never made use of the language imputed to him in this Question; and the Inspector General informs me that, from his own knowledge of that officer, he believes he would be one of the last men who would be guilty of using such offensive language.

MR. SHEEHY asked if the question had been asked of the man himself? Had he been asked?

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: District Inspector Davis has been asked whether he made use of the language, and he denied it.

CHANNEL FISHERIES—FISHERIES REGULATION, 1843—DETENTION OF ENGLISH FISHING VESSELS AT HAVRE.

MR. ROUND (Essex, N.E., Harwich) asked the under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If he can give any further information to the House as to the cause of the recent detention of Essex fishing vessels at Havre; and, whether there is any ground for the complaint by the French authorities of alleged illegal fishing?

THE UNDER SECRETARY (Sir JAMES FERGUSSON) (Manchester, N.E.): The Minister of Marine has directed the charge against the smacks to be withdrawn, and has ordered the boats to be released. There does not appear to have been any ground for the statement as to illegal fishing. No further information as to the cause of detention has

been received. It would be well to bear in mind that the boats acted contrary to the Convention of 1843 in entering Havre, though the proceedings of the Local Authorities were harsh, considering that the Regulation thus infringed had been allowed to fall, practically, into abeyance.

MR. ROUND asked whether it could not be arranged between the two countries that respectable English fishermen should run no risk of imprisonment when they were compelled to enter French ports for the purpose of obtaining necessary supplies?

SIR JAMES FERGUSSON, in reply, said, that the attention of the Secretary of State was being given to this matter.

MERCANTILE MARINE—UNCLAIMED WAGES OF SEAMEN.

COLONEL HILL (Bristol, S.) asked the Secretary to the Board of Trade, If he will state the total sum that has been paid into the Consolidated Fund on account of unclaimed wages of seamen, and also on account of deceased seamen's effects?

THE SECRETARY (Baron HENRY DE WORMS) (Liverpool, East Toxteth): The receipts from unclaimed wages of living seamen have amounted to £3,591 9s. 10d., and were paid to the Exchequer as an extra receipt on the Vote for Relief of Distressed Seamen. The sums paid over for wages and effects of deceased seamen have amounted to £250,900 19s. 4d. This latter sum was formerly payable to the Exchequer under the Merchant Seamen's Winding Up Act, 1851; but since April, 1883, they have been payable to the Mercantile Marine Fund, under the Merchant Shipping (Expenses) Act, 1882. I may add that the net cost of winding up the Merchant Seamen's Fund up to December, 1884, reached £1,007,266, which sum was provided by Votes of Parliament.

WAR DEPARTMENT—ARMY QUARTERMASTERS.

COLONEL DUNCAN (Finsbury, Holborn) asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether he is now in a position to say anything about the future position of Army Quartermasters?

THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY, WAR OFFICE (Mr. BRODRICK) (Surrey, Guildford) (who replied) said: The Treasury have now approved the

proposals submitted to them for further improving the position and emoluments of the quartermasters and riding masters of the Army—namely, (1) In future quartermasters and riding masters who are specially recommended may be granted the rate of pay laid down in the Royal Warrant for 20 years' commissioned service, after only 15 years' commissioned service, provided the officer has a total service of 30 years; (2) in certain posts of exceptional responsibility held by quartermasters and riding masters the honorary and relative rank of major may be granted. This will give the officers concerned slightly higher allowances, and the relative rank of major will carry with it the right to major's rates of widow's pension and compassionate allowances; (3) under the present regulations a quartermaster or riding master compelled to retire on account of ill-health before completing 10 years' commissioned service can only receive as retired pay the rates laid down for half-pay in Article 952 of the Royal Warrant of June 10, 1884, varying from 4s. to 7s. 6d. per day. In future an officer so retiring after 30 years' total service, but with less than 10 years' commissioned service, will be granted retired pay at rates varying from 8s. to 10s. per day.

INDIA—THE COMMISSION ON THE CIVIL SERVICES—THE UNCOVERED CIVIL SERVICE.

SIR ROPER LETHBRIDGE (Kensington, N.) asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether the Uncovered Civil Services of India will be represented, and to what extent, on the Commission that is about to inquire into the Civil Services of India?

THE UNDER SECRETARY (Sir JOHN GORST) (Chatham): I am not yet able to state the composition of the Commission; but I have no doubt the Viceroy will take care that all interests are properly represented upon it.

POST OFFICE—INSURANCE OF REGISTERED LETTERS.

MR. WATT (Glasgow, Camlachie) asked the Postmaster General, If he is aware of the high per centage obtainable at present by private underwriters for the insurance of registered letters containing scrip or other valuable enclosures; and, if he will institute in-

quiries so as to enable him to consider as to the advisability of the Government undertaking what, at the nominal rate of one penny per cent, ought to prove a lucrative source of revenue?

THE POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. RAIKES) (Cambridge University): The subject to which the hon. Member refers is one of considerable interest and deserves very careful consideration. I find that it received the attention of one of my Predecessors some time ago, but that he came to the conclusion that the Department ought not to undertake insurance of letters and parcels for sums exceeding £10; and the scheme for insuring to that amount was introduced on the 1st of May last. I shall, however, be happy to consider it further.

POST OFFICE—POSTAGE RATES TO THE AUSTRALIAN COLONIES.

LORD HENRY BRUCE (Wilts, Chippenham) asked the Postmaster General, Whether it is a fact that the German and French Governments, with such small interests, so manage for their subjects that letters from those Countries to our Australian Colonies only cost 2½d. postage, whilst from England the charge is 6d.; and, whether it is also the case that the Germans and French can send a postcard out for 1d., whereas none at any price are issued in England for despatch to Australia?

THE POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. RAIKES) (Cambridge University): I find that according to the latest information received at the Post Office the German and French rates to Australia are not such as described by the noble Lord; but I have telegraphed to Paris and Berlin, to inquire if any recent changes have been made. I have not had time to receive the answers. Perhaps the noble Lord will repeat his Question to-morrow.

ROYAL COMMISSION ON THE CIVIL SERVICES—THE DIPLOMATIC AND CONSULAR SERVICES.

Mr. PICKERSGILL (Bethnal Green, S.W.) asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether he will so amend the terms of reference to the new Royal Commission as to include the Diplomatic and Consular Services within the purview of its inquiry?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL)

(Paddington, S.): If it had not been for the Question of the hon. Member, I should never have supposed that the Foreign Office, with all its appurtenances, was not included within the scope of the inquiries of the proposed Royal Commission; but, as the hon. Member has doubts on the subject, and as similar doubts have been expressed in the newspapers concerning it, I propose to amend the Reference to the Royal Commission by inserting the words, "at home and abroad." That, I think, will meet the objection of the hon. Member.

PUBLIC BUSINESS—ORDER OF SUPPLY—THE VOTE FOR THE ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY.

Mr. SEXTON (Belfast, W., and Sligo, S.) asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether, if the Constabulary Vote is reached, it is the intention of the Government to take it that night?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL) (Paddington, S.), in reply, said, he thought it would be more convenient to go on with their Votes in their order, but to take out the Constabulary Vote from that order, and take it first to-morrow.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

SUPPLY—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES.

SUPPLY—considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS.

(1.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £5,126, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1887, for the Salaries and Expenses in the Department of the Registrar General of Births, &c., and the Expenses of the Collection of Agricultural and other Statistics in Ireland."

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.): I regret, Sir, that I was not quite able to complete the observations which I wished to make on this Vote at a previous Sitting, the Rules of the House making me under the necessity to ask the Committee to allow me to detain it a little longer while I state my case. Well, Sir, this Vote for the Registrar General's Office is a Vote for

says—"This salary includes remuneration for Census duties." Now, it does not include that remuneration in connection with the Census of 1881—that was paid for, and very liberally paid for, Mr. Mathison receiving an allowance of £1,000, which I am sorry to say he did not share with the men who did the work. But it was found by the Treasury, after the £1,000 was paid, that the work in connection with the Census was so quickly got rid of—all that remained which was supposed to be so very heavy was so quickly despatched—that the Treasury would not be very much inclined to devote £1,000 for the same purpose again. But what is now done is this: Mr. Mathison's salary is to be raised by an annual increment up to a maximum of £800 a-year on the strength of Census duties. Now, there will be no Census again until the year 1891; they are, therefore, proposing, at the instigation of Mr. Mathison, to give him pay for duties which possibly he may never live to discharge. It is perfectly absurd to begin in 1886 to give a man pay for duties which he will not undertake until 1891. That item, therefore, appears to be perfectly indefensible; and, though I should like to be able to move a reduction of the Vote which would signalize the sense of the Committee on the whole scheme of re-organization which has been adopted in the Department, I must, as I am unable to do that, content myself by moving this reduction of £20 on the salary of Mr. Mathison.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £5,106, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1887, for the Salaries and Expenses in the Department of the Registrar General of Births, &c., and the Expenses of the Collection of Agricultural and other Statistics in Ireland."—(*Mr. Arthur O'Connor.*)

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.): The hon. Member who has moved this reduction (Mr. A. O'Connor) has pointed out that there is a certain coincidence in the amount asked for this year and the amount asked for last year—that the two amounts are precisely the same. But I think he did not point out that that circumstance is not due to the fact that the salaries are exactly the same, be-

cause there is a reduction in the amount of the salaries of £105; and therefore the sum is made up in other ways, which do not affect the question that he has brought forward. Sir, I am in a position to say that this re-organization scheme was most carefully gone into by independent officers. As I understand the hon. Member, he desires to have an inquiry into this re-organization made by somebody independently of the Office in Dublin. Now, Sir, if that is the object which the hon. Member has in view, that object has already been attained; because, when the re-organization was effected, it was inquired into not only by Mr. Holmes, but also by an officer sent over from the Treasury who had no connection whatever with the Irish Office, and who is an officer in whom the Treasury have great confidence. He was sent for the special purpose of examining into the question of re-organization, and it was most carefully considered at the time; and the decision arrived at is one which I believe received the approval, not only of the right hon. Gentleman the late Chief Secretary (Mr. John Morley), but also of my immediate Predecessor (Mr. Henry H. Fowler). Sir, the financial results will be, I believe, as follows:—The salaries, which in 1885-6 were £7,535, will, in 1886-7, be £7,419, showing a decrease of £116; but the future amount of these salaries will be £6,803, showing a saving of £732. The hon. Member has referred to the Secretary, and to the increase which has been made to his salary; and he has mentioned also the fact that he received a gratuity of £1,000 on the occasion of the last Census. I believe the facts are that this salary, as it existed before, was under an arrangement by which the Secretary was entitled to £1,000 every 10 years. That arrangement was not thought to be a useful one; and, as the hon. Member says, it has been arranged that the £1,000 shall be spread over the period, and, therefore, as regards the work for which the Secretary got £1,000 at the end of every 10 years, he will, in future, do it without the payment of the gratuity which he has hitherto received for it, and of course for the payment which his salary is now to be made to cover. Sir, I do not think that I can usefully occupy the time of the Committee by going further into this question. I am assured by those

have been injured in their *status*, because they have been now associated, for all practical purposes, with the Lower Division clerks, who before were recognized as having a lower official *status*. They are to be left with them, and the Lower Division clerks, who had no prospect before of passing over the heads of the third-class clerks, are now to be made equal with them, and eligible for such promotion as may be going in the Office. Well, Sir, the general result of this reorganization, when looked at from a financial point of view, is rather remarkable, and comes out in this way. Whereas the nine men in the upper part of the Office divide between them £4,257 a-year, 26 men in the lower part of the Office divide between them only the sum of £2,912. A more inequitable distribution of a money Vote, or of the administration of an Office, cannot be conceived. I regret to say that those who had this matter in hand are able to appeal to the sanction given to the arrangement by Sir Robert Hamilton, who is a very able, a very courageous, and a very fair-minded public servant. I have not a word to say against him, and I regret that he has been led into sanctioning this scheme, which he would never have originated himself. If he had had the work to do the result would have been very different from what it has been. He would have remembered the very great difficulty which the clerical staff of his own old Office, the Admiralty, had at the hands of the Government when reorganized seven or eight years ago. On that occasion nobody's interests were injured. Those who were affected at all were affected beneficially. They had their *status* as well as their pay improved, and those clerks who retired, retired on exceptionally favourable terms, in striking contrast with the stingy, unjust, and sorry terms on which some men, at any rate, in this Office have been treated. Well, Sir, I do not attach very much importance to the fact that Sir Robert Hamilton sanctioned this scheme, because it is a matter of notoriety that he has had his hands very full of a multiplicity of affairs for the last 12 months. Very few men in the Public Service had such difficult, responsible, and sustained work to do as he, and it is impossible to believe that he could have given that careful attention and scrutiny to the routine and internal de-

tails of this Office which would be absolutely necessary in order to do justice to the parties concerned. I, therefore, do not complain of him. Neither do I complain of the last Administration or of the present Administration. I should not be prepared to hold either Government responsible for this. But I do hold responsible the Secretary of the Office, who, I believe, has entirely mystified both the present and the last Administrations. That Secretary is Mr. Mathison. The history of that gentleman is very remarkable. I have a good deal of information on the subject, but I shall not bring it forward now because it would not be fair to him—and I desire to treat him fairly, as everybody else—unless he personally had an opportunity of replying to the complaints which might be made. I, therefore, abstain from going into any details with regard to Mr. Mathison's rise. His father used to be Clerk of the Council in the Castle at Dublin. There is a very strong feeling that there ought to be a very careful and independent inquiry into the scheme of reorganization by some persons who would not be at all afraid of high placed officials either at Dublin Castle or at Whitehall—who would examine everything on its merits, and entirely without any dread lest they should incur the displeasure of the Departments in Dublin, or of the Treasury. So far with regard to the reorganization. Now with regard to the particular reduction which I propose to move, it is a very small reduction of only £20, and it is on the salary of the Secretary to the Office. There is no earthly reason why that Secretary should have his pay increased. Mr. Trevelyan, when Chief Secretary, on the 7th of March, 1884, in reply to Mr. Dawson, then Member for Carlow, stated that it was not intended to increase the pay of Mr. Mathison at all, and there was no reason for doing so. Well, now, his pay is increased. He gets £20 more out of identically the same total Vote, and out of a Vote for salaries which is £105 less than it used to be. He gets it at somebody's expense. I have shown how the thing has been brought about. This evidently requires some justification, and the attempted justification is explained in a note. There is an asterisk against the total of £800, the proposed maximum of the Office, and the note

says—"This salary includes remuneration for Census duties." Now, it does not include that remuneration in connection with the Census of 1881—that was paid for, and very liberally paid for, Mr. Mathison receiving an allowance of £1,000, which I am sorry to say he did not share with the men who did the work. But it was found by the Treasury, after the £1,000 was paid, that the work in connection with the Census was so quickly got rid of—all that remained which was supposed to be so very heavy was so quickly despatched—that the Treasury would not be very much inclined to devote £1,000 for the same purpose again. But what is now done is this: Mr. Mathison's salary is to be raised by an annual increment up to a maximum of £800 a-year on the strength of Census duties. Now, there will be no Census again until the year 1891; they are, therefore, proposing, at the instigation of Mr. Mathison, to give him pay for duties which possibly he may never live to discharge. It is perfectly absurd to begin in 1886 to give a man pay for duties which he will not undertake until 1891. That item, therefore, appears to be perfectly indefensible; and, though I should like to be able to move a reduction of the Vote which would signalize the sense of the Committee on the whole scheme of re-organization which has been adopted in the Department, I must, as I am unable to do that, content myself by moving this reduction of £20 on the salary of Mr. Mathison.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £5,106, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1887, for the Salaries and Expenses in the Department of the Registrar General of Births, &c., and the Expenses of the Collection of Agricultural and other Statistics in Ireland."—(Mr. Arthur O'Connor.)

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.): The hon. Member who has moved this reduction (Mr. A. O'Connor) has pointed out that there is a certain coincidence in the amount asked for this year and the amount asked for last year—that the two amounts are precisely the same. But I think he did not point out that that circumstance is not due to the fact that the salaries are exactly the same, be-

cause there is a reduction in the amount of the salaries of £105; and therefore the sum is made up in other ways, which do not affect the question that he has brought forward. Sir, I am in a position to say that this re-organization scheme was most carefully gone into by independent officers. As I understand the hon. Member, he desires to have an inquiry into this re-organization made by somebody independently of the Office in Dublin. Now, Sir, if that is the object which the hon. Member has in view, that object has already been attained; because, when the re-organization was effected, it was inquired into not only by Mr. Holmes, but also by an officer sent over from the Treasury who had no connection whatever with the Irish Office, and who is an officer in whom the Treasury have great confidence. He was sent for the special purpose of examining into the question of re-organization, and it was most carefully considered at the time; and the decision arrived at is one which I believe received the approval, not only of the right hon. Gentleman the late Chief Secretary (Mr. John Morley), but also of my immediate Predecessor (Mr. Henry H. Fowler). Sir, the financial results will be, I believe, as follows:—The salaries, which in 1885-6 were £7,535, will, in 1886-7, be £7,419, showing a decrease of £116; but the future amount of these salaries will be £6,803, showing a saving of £732. The hon. Member has referred to the Secretary, and to the increase which has been made to his salary; and he has mentioned also the fact that he received a gratuity of £1,000 on the occasion of the last Census. I believe the facts are that this salary, as it existed before, was under an arrangement by which the Secretary was entitled to £1,000 every 10 years. That arrangement was not thought to be a useful one; and, as the hon. Member says, it has been arranged that the £1,000 shall be spread over the period, and, therefore, as regards the work for which the Secretary got £1,000 at the end of every 10 years, he will, in future, do it without the payment of the gratuity which he has hitherto received for it, and of course for the payment which his salary is now to be made to cover. Sir, I do not think that I can usefully occupy the time of the Committee by going further into this question. I am assured by those

who have the best means of judging that the work of the Office is exceedingly well done. I believe the hon. Member himself made no complaints whatever as to the way in which the work is performed. I am told the work is well done; and, with regard to the question of the second and third-class clerks, the hon. Gentleman has said it is not intended to replace the second-class clerks by the existing third-class clerks, or men called by that name; but those positions will be opened to the Lower Division clerks, and, therefore, it is an injury to the third-class clerks, as it will sooner or later benefit, not them, but those who fill the Lower Divisions. But, according to the result of the examination made into it, the work done by these clerks is work done by what is known as the Lower Division clerks. I do not think that I can add anything more. I can only assure the hon. Gentleman that the question was most carefully considered, and that the re-organization was approved, not only by the Lord Lieutenant, and also by Sir Robert Hamilton, of whom the hon. Member has most fairly spoken as being a man in whom we must have confidence, but by Mr. Holmes, our officer in Dublin, as well, and also by the special officer who was sent over by the Treasury; and, therefore, the Treasury could hardly have taken more complete means to secure that the re-organization should be carried out in the best possible manner at their disposal.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.): Notwithstanding the explanation which has just been given by the Secretary to the Treasury, I hope the hon. Member who has raised this question will press his Motion to a division. Before I at all thought of becoming a Member of this House I paid attention to this very question, and I have come to the conclusion that it is a matter that ought seriously to be inquired into by this House, and that this Vote ought to be resisted. Now, I do not wish to take up the time of the Committee unnecessarily. Hon. Members opposite will bear me out in saying that I have not wasted much time as yet, and I have no desire to do so. But I want to point out that the re-organization of this office was not initiated by the Executive, and there were no complaints of inefficiency, or that the Office did not work properly. The re-

organization was the work of the Secretary, and of no other person. Now, no inquiry was held. It is the rule to re-organize offices after an inquiry has been held into their working; but no inquiry was held into the working of this Office. I repeat that this re-organization scheme is the work of the Secretary of the Office, and of no other person. The result of it, no matter what may be said, is simply this—that Mr. Mathison has succeeded in promoting some special favourites of his own to higher positions and higher salaries; and he has succeeded in throwing on the world, with much smaller pensions than they would otherwise have had, several men who were not so popular with him as they might have been. The Secretary to the Treasury says that this gratuity of £1,000 is to be discontinued, and that in lieu of it Mr. Mathison is to get £20 of salary added each year. But he has got his £1,000 for the last Census. Why, then, should you give him the increase before the next Census is taken? If the hon. Member goes to a division on this Motion I shall support him; and I would ask the Secretary to the Treasury to seriously look into this question, get to the root of the matter, and have it out with Mr. Mathison.

MR. MURPHY (Dublin, St. Patrick's): I also would support this Motion, Sir. I am well acquainted with the circumstances of the re-organization of this Office, and I have no hesitation in saying that it is a thing which has caused a great deal of dissatisfaction among the officials in the Registrar General's Department, and a general belief, which I have no doubt is well founded, that the whole scheme proceeded from one mind, which appears to be that of the only person who has received any benefit; whereas, on the other hand, some men who are most deserving have been thrown upon the world after 20 years of labour with very trifling salaries. I hope the Secretary to the Treasury will really look into this case again, and have it reconsidered, with the view of admitting in some practical sense the injustice that has, no doubt, been done. I will support the hon. Member in a division on this subject.

SIR JOSEPH M'KENNA (Monaghan, S.): I also will vote with the hon. Member who has moved this reduction to mark my sense of the injustice that has

been done. I do not believe that anyone in this House or out of it believes that the Secretary to the Treasury contemplates doing any injustice; but the figures show that injustice is being done somewhere. Any reform or economy generally presses upon someone or other, and there is generally a more lavish expenditure in some direction or other. The people of the Department feel that an injustice has been done, not by public inquiry or pressure from without, but by pressure from within; and I hope the hon. Gentleman will go to a division, as the only way of marking our sense of the injustice that has been done.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.): I should like the Secretary to the Treasury to tell us the details of this extraordinary arrangement by which one man is recognized as having obtained a sum of £1,000 every 10 years. That is what I think he told us—that there was a special arrangement for the allowance of the Secretary to the Registrar General's Office whereby he was to get £1,000 every 10 years.

MR. JACKSON: I do not know the details of the arrangement. I merely stated what is the fact—that in addition to his salary he had attached to it a gratuity amounting to £1,000 for each 10 years, and that £1,000 was paid practically when the work was done. As the hon. Member knows, the work of the Census extends over a period of years—I will not say over 10 years, but over two or three or four years—and it was thought better to make the arrangement now made. No doubt, a great deal of increased work is thrown upon the Secretary by the Census, and he will not get increased pay in a lump sum, but extended over the whole period by an increased salary, and he will not be entitled to £1,000 in a lump sum again. That is done away with, and whatever extra work may be thrown upon him will be included in his ordinary salary.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: Surely the hon. Gentleman must see the significance of this. This officer is entitled to £1,000 every 10 years for work done. [Mr. JACKSON: Was entitled.] Well, was entitled. There has been no work done for this increase of salary yet, and there cannot be any done for the next three or four years at any rate. Why not delay the payment until the work is

done, and not begin to pay it at once? There is another point that the Committee should take special notice of—that when the maximum of £800 a-year is reached, this gentleman will be drawing £200 a-year more than he draws now, and that in 10 years will make £2,000 instead of £1,000; and whereas before it was a gratuity, now it is turned into salary; and when a Civil servant retires his pension would be calculated, not upon the salary of £600, but upon the salary of £800, £200 of which ought to be gratuity, on which, according to the Rules of the Service, no pension should be granted at all.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.): Suppose anything were to happen to him before the next Census is taken—he would have been drawing this money absolutely for nothing. This is a very small matter; but it should be carefully considered.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 76; Noes 136: Majority 60.—(Div. List, No. 36.)

Original Question put, and *agreed to*.

CLASS III.—LAW AND JUSTICE.

(2.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

“That a sum, not exceeding £29,011, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1887, of Criminal Prosecutions and other Law Charges in Ireland, including certain Allowances under the Act 15 and 16 Vic. c. 83.”

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.): I would ask the Secretary to the Treasury, or any other official, whether he would explain one or two variations in this Vote? Now, under Sub-head B, for the Crown and Treasury Solicitor, the sum has gone up from £2,000 last year to £2,600 this year; under Sub-head C there is a fresh item for Sessional Crown Solicitor of £325 a-year, which does not appear in last year's Vote at all; and under Sub-head G the charge for printing briefs with the sanction of the Attorney General has gone up from £50 to £200.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. HOLMES) (Dublin University): With regard to the first item, the increase in the salary of the Crown and Treasury Solicitor from £2,000 to

£2,600, that is to be explained in this way:—The former salary was £1,200 a-year and £800 for allowance, which made it up to £2,000; but in addition to that he received a large amount of fees which he did not account for to the Treasury, in accordance with the terms of his appointment. A Committee to investigate that and other matters was held about 1884, and one of the recommendations was that he should be paid a salary and account for all the fees he received, and we have carried out that recommendation, and having regard to the amount of fees paid hitherto the salary was fixed at £1,800. If the hon. Member will look at the Vote he will find an estimated extra receipt of £500, so that in reality this is a change to a permanent salary instead of being paid, as previously, partly by fees. The other point to which attention has been called is the sum of £325 for Sessional Crown Solicitor—Mr. Thomas Boyd, the Crown Solicitor for Tipperary. Formerly there were two Crown Solicitors for that county, which was divided into two parts or ridings; and Mr. Boyd, who has had increased duties, has frequently made application for an increase of salary, and in regard to the extent of his duties and the largeness of the county the increase has been fixed at £325. I may mention that Mr. Boyd has now ceased to be Sessional Crown Solicitor, and the salary will now be fixed on a different scale in accordance with recommendations which have been made. The extra payment for briefs is due to the fact that a representation has been made that the sum hitherto provided has not been sufficient, and it is very convenient that a change should now be made. An additional sum is asked for this year because there are cases in which it is necessary, and the sum asked for will not be more than is required to pay for the extra service.

Mr. SHEEHY (Galway, S.): I wish to draw attention to the state of affairs which prevails in the county of Galway at the present time, where there is a clergyman at present in gaol; and I want, in doing so, particularly to allude to the conduct of the Crown Solicitor, Mr. Blake. I think it is generally known that it is owing to that man's conduct that this clergyman is imprisoned, and it is because of his attitude that better counsels did not prevail on the occasion of the hearing of the case. Father Fahy was summoned

on Friday last to the Petty Sessions to answer to a charge of intimidation made against him by Mr. Lewis, and the case was heard, and after the hearing one of the Resident Magistrates said from the Bench that he quite concurred in the view of the case put forward by Father Fahy's solicitor—that the Rev. Mr. Fahy had gone as a peacemaker, solely with the intention of guaranteeing protection and promoting the peace, and that he sincerely desired to act as a mediator between Mr. Lewis and his enemies. Well, I believe that Colonel Waring, this magistrate, suggested at the trial to Mr. Lewis's solicitor, who represented the Crown, that it would be advisable that there should be an amicable settlement, and that the result might be that Mr. Lewis and Father Fahy might be better friends. But Mr. Blake, the Crown Solicitor, persevered in insisting that Father Fahy should be bound over to keep the peace, in consequence of which Father Fahy was sent to Galway Gaol. It can easily be conceived why a clergyman would refuse to stamp himself as a malefactor by giving bail for his good conduct. He declared that he had no intention of intimidating—that it was far from his purpose—that his purpose was, by mediation, to contribute to restore peace and order in the district. But owing to the conduct of this Mr. Blake he is placed in gaol for a good while, because he desired to be a mediator and to bring peace and harmony into the district. I wish to point out to the Committee what connection Mr. Blake has with these evictions in another form. Mr. Blake is the solicitor for this Mr. Lewis, and therefore stands in a dual capacity as solicitor for Mr. Lewis and as normal legal adviser to the Government. He was instrumental in instigating more than one piece of harsh treatment against the tenantry. The condition of the affairs of the tenantry of Mr. Lewis, or Mrs. Lewis—I do not know which—is most extraordinary, and also of the tenantry of Lord Clanricarde. They illustrate how difficult it is to keep peace and order where a few unscrupulous persecuting landlords proceed to extremities. About six months ago three landlords in the district of Woodford took proceedings against their tenantry. The three were Sir Henry Burke, Mrs. Lewis, and Lord Clanricarde. Of the three landlords the only one who did not

repeatedly within this generation make advances to raise rents on the tenants was Sir Henry Burke. He, of the three within this generation, did not raise the rents of his tenantry. At the same time, the tenantry found they could not pay the entire rent, and they asked a reduction, which reduction he refused. So did all three. The reduction was 15 per cent—3s. in the pound—but I wish to illustrate the conduct of Mr. Blake in this matter, and how it is that by official legerdemain he manages to keep this district in hot water. Sir Henry Burke found that it was impossible for him, after obtaining decrees, to get the rents he had proceeded for, so he settled with his tenantry, giving them what they demanded, and not merely that, but paying himself the costs of the proceedings. Now, concerning the other two—Mrs. Lewis and Lord Clanricarde—the history of their property is most extraordinary. Lord Clanricarde never laid out 6d. on his property. The property is a mountain property.

THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order! The hon. Member must connect his observations with the Vote. He cannot enter into a general discussion of this nature.

MR. SHEEHY: This Mr. Blake is a Crown Solicitor, and I want to point out how this gentleman, instead of being, as he ought to be, a machine for promoting order in the district, is an inciter of disorder. And, in giving a history of these properties, I only want to point out how it is that this gentleman and other gentlemen in connection with these estates have been, for their own selfish ends, driving the tenants into a state of despair, and preventing anything like a right or good feeling between the tenantry and their landlords.

THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member must direct attention to the action of this gentleman as Crown Solicitor.

MR. SHEEHY: Very well, Sir; I bow to your ruling. If I cannot be allowed to illustrate the course of proceedings—if I cannot point out how it is that this gentleman is guilty, to a great extent, of much of the disturbance and much of the disorder in Galway—if I cannot go into the history of this so as to show completely to the Committee why it is that I would ask the authorities to interpose over his head to settle the breach, I may, at least, point out

that a number of people were arrested in consequence of the evictions which took place, and their arrest has, to a certain extent, contributed to the excitement of the district. I would not for a moment infringe on your ruling, Mr. Chairman, and if I cannot touch that which I thought I might touch I must pass from it; but what I would ask the authorities to do in this matter is this—that they would accept bail, and instruct this Mr. Blake, who, as the representative of the Crown, refused to accept bail for these poor men, that he must do so. Now, what are these men in for but resistance to eviction? There is in the breast of an Irishman, as in the breast of an Englishman, the idea that a man's house is his castle, and these men resisted their eviction as long as they could. I must say, further, that some of them ceased that resistance, after three or four hours, on the promise made by one of the Resident Magistrates that no proceedings would be taken against them. But proceedings have been taken against them since, and they, like the rest, will be placed on the roll and returned for trial, bail being refused. Now, it has been contended that these poor people committed some awful crime, for which it would be impossible that the Crown could sanction their bail. I have given a small idea of what the nature of their crime was. It is said that they poured hot lime on the officers sent against them. Well, if they did, is that a greater crime than throwing vitriol in a man's face? We had the Wicklow case a few years ago, where a lady threw vitriol in a man's face. I would point to the fact that that is at least as bad as hot lime, yet she was admitted to bail before the trial came on, and she got married to her sweetheart. The contention set up by the Crown is that these men committed a heinous crime in throwing hot lime, and that it would be bad for the peace of the district to let them out on bail. But that would really be the best assistance to the people, and would help most particularly to restore that order and that peace for which the district is looking; and I would ask that these men should be admitted to bail. It is in the power of the Attorney General to do it. He should order these men to be admitted to bail, and then Father Fahy would give bail on his own account, and that would do more to restore the

peace of the district than the harsh measures of this sort of vengeance which Mr. Blake is pursuing in Galway. It is because of the resistance—because of the desperate resistance—which the people made to their eviction that Mr. Blake is pursuing them now with his vengeance. He wants to establish a reign of terror in the district, so that it should be easy for him by-and-bye to carry out a further score of evictions which he has prepared for the people of the district. I would ask that the Government should interfere with this man in his high-handed proceedings, and that they will see that milder measures shall prevail in order to restore peace in Galway. Now, Father Fahy is a respectable gentleman—a clergyman, whose only purpose was that he might bring peace and concord into his parish, and that the tyrants who would strike some of his parishioners should pause awhile, that the people should not be driven from their homes, and he went to this Mr. Lewis with the desire that he might use his influence to bring about a settlement. That was his purpose in going there. He denied that he had any other purpose. Mr. Lewis himself declined, and when Mr. Lewis refused compliance their mutual passions rose, and they had an angry altercation, the result being that Father Fahy, in a moment of excitement, might have used language which could be construed into words of intimidation; but he disavows having used them. He disavows having any intention of intimidation, and his only purpose was peace; and Mr. Blake, in having pressed him with the rigour of the law, and in insisting that he should be bound over to keep the peace—Mr. Blake overstepped his office on that occasion. Father Fahy's arrest has led not to peace, not to order, not to tranquillity—it has led to excitement, and it is more likely to lead to disorder. How long will this continue? What will be the results by-and-bye? I do not think a people in a state of excitement are to the same extent accountable for their actions as they would be under ordinary circumstances. Father Fahy is looked upon, and I think justly, as a martyr to his desire to bring peace and tranquillity to the district. They say—I am sure they say, and I re-echo the sentiment—"Blessed are they that suffer persecution for justice's sake."

Mr. Sheehy

He has been trying to get justice for his poor people, and for so doing his reward is to be lodged in Galway Gaol. I hope I am not appealing in vain to the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General to look into this matter, and let the better part of his nature prevail in order that there may be a settlement of this case. Father Fahy, I am sure, in order to restore tranquillity, would also give bail, and put aside the conscientious objection that he has to doing so. I would, indeed, have wished that I could have placed before the Committee the extraordinary condition of affairs in this district. There is a one-sided view given here of all that has taken place; but as I cannot tell the whole story I will rest my case here.

MR. HOLMES: I can assure the hon. Member that if there is any case brought before me I will most fully and fairly investigate it; and if the hon. Member has any grounds of complaint against the action of Mr. Blake or any other Crown Solicitor it shall be examined into. But in this particular matter I do not gather that Mr. Blake, the Crown Solicitor, has gone in any way outside his ordinary duties. The cases occurred at different times. As regards the case against the rev. Father Fahy, the complaint was made in the ordinary way for intimidation. The Crown Solicitor conducted the proceedings as he would have conducted the proceedings in any other case, and the order that was made was an order of the Court. As I understand it, the hon. Member does not find fault with the action of the Court. It was not necessary for either the Attorney General or the Crown Solicitor to give any consent to enable Father Fahy to be at once released from prison. The matter is entirely in the hands of the rev. gentleman himself. The Court made an order, in a way that the Government could not control, to the effect that Father Fahy should find sureties for his keeping the peace.

MR. SHEEHY: Colonel Waring, the Stipendiary Magistrate, appealed to the parties to have the matter settled amicably.

MR. HOLMES: In a case affecting public law, where a complaint has been made that the law has been broken, the Crown cannot make any arrangement to settle the matter. In the case in question the Crown were obliged to ask the

Court to give a decision; and, as I say, I do not understand the hon. Member to find fault with the Court. For myself, I can assure the Committee that no one would be more pleased than I to see the order of the Court obeyed by Father Fahy. He has only to find sureties—to comply with the order of the Court is a mere matter of form—and the reverend gentleman would be at once released. But, so far as I am concerned, and so far as the Government are concerned, we have, officially, no power in the matter. The hon. Gentleman will, I am sure, admit that no distinction ought to be made between persons who have received an order of the Court, and that whether they be peasants or landlords, or magistrates or priests, or whatever their position, it is essential that the decision of the Courts of Law should be impartially carried out. When, therefore, Father Fahy refused to obey the order of the Court, the alternative had to be carried out. With regard to the other cases which have been mentioned—that is to say, the Woodford cases generally—the hon. Gentleman is under a misapprehension as to the power of the Crown Solicitor to make an order. It is for the Court to consider, as a judicial act, whether or not a man is to be admitted to bail. It would be a very strange thing for any Court, with such facts as those in the Woodford cases brought before it, to make an order that the prisoners should be admitted to bail. Such a thing would not be done in England, nor in any other part of Ireland. Of course, we cannot make any distinction between Woodford and any other place. But I would point out that the matter can be brought any day before the Vacation Judge, when affidavits can be made by the persons interested. If such application were made the matter would be discussed in Court, and if a case should be made out for admitting the prisoners to bail, they will, of course, be so admitted; but if it were decided, on principles which govern Courts of Law in these cases, that bail should not be allowed, of course it will not be allowed. As far as I myself am concerned, I will read over the depositions and make myself more fully acquainted with the facts of the cases, and it will then be in my power to instruct counsel to oppose or assent to any application that may be made; but, of course, at

present I cannot say what my decision will be, not knowing what action the Court will take.

MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W., and Sligo, S.): I think the whole action of the Court in this matter has been extremely unfortunate. How extremely unfortunate it has been may be judged from the fact that the town of Galway was the scene of a serious riot and disturbance last night, owing to further arrests in connection with these Woodford evictions; that the police charged the people with the bayonet; that many were injured, and that one poor woman, I believe, was killed. This is certainly a very gloomy look-out for the winter—it is a very gloomy way of entering upon this trying period which is before us, when we see men and women thus maltreated in disturbances arising out of disputes between landlords and tenants. I am sure the noble Lord opposite (Lord Randolph Churchill), and all hon. Members, will admit that the prospect is anything but re-assuring. The Crown distinctly broke faith with the tenants, because when the evictions took place on account of rents which could not be paid and the tenants resisted and threw boiling water upon the officers of the law, the officer in charge of the police stated that if all resistance of this kind were relinquished no further action would be taken against the tenants.

MR. HOLMES: I wish to appeal to you, Mr. Courtney, as to whether it is in Order for the hon. Member to discuss what the Constabulary at Woodford did on this occasion? We are now dealing with the question of the Law Charges of the Crown, and I am responsible for the Vote before the Committee. The hon. Member, however, is now referring to matters which are not connected with the Vote, and upon which I may not speak.

MR. SEXTON: The rule as to rising to a point of Order would become extremely inconvenient, Mr. Courtney, if right hon. Gentlemen make a practice of rising in their places in order to cut up the sentences of a speaker into halves. I say that the Representatives of the Crown in Galway made a promise to the tenantry who were being evicted which they did not keep, and that puts a complexion upon these cases which otherwise they would not bear. The men who were brought up charged with

this offence were refused bail. They offered to give very solvent bail, but it was refused; and I ask why bail was refused to these tenants in Galway who, under pressure of eviction, in their desperate extremity resorted to violent and foolish measures, no doubt in defence of their homes—I ask why bail was refused to them when it was so freely allowed to the murderers of James Curran in Belfast? There ought to be one rule and one measure of justice for these affairs in Ireland; but I find, unfortunately, that the one rule and measure of justice is this—that where the giving of bail would promote public peace and order bail is refused, and that the sanction of the Crown to the giving of bail is allowed where such bail does not tend to promote public peace and order. What harm would have been done by allowing bail to these tenants? The evictions had been carried out, and the district was no longer disturbed. Bail to the extent of £1,000 was offered, 20 times the amount which was considered sufficient in the case of the murderers of James Curran; but it was refused. In taking this course the Crown Solicitor did not act upon his own responsibility; but upon this matter two stories have been told, one here and one in the Court at Galway. These stories are not only different, but absolutely contradictory, because the Crown Solicitor in Galway said that he acted under instructions—and if he did so act there was no one to instruct him but the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland opposite. That was one version; but now we have another from the right hon. and learned Gentleman, who says that he did not give instructions to the Crown Solicitor.

MR. HOLMES: I gave the Crown Solicitor instructions to conduct the case in the ordinary way. Nothing beyond that.

MR. SEXTON: Exactly; and the Crown Solicitor stated before the magistrates in Galway that he had instructions to refuse bail. That is the point I am putting here.

MR. HOLMES: I thought at first the hon. Member was referring to the case of Father Fahy. It is true that I instructed the Crown Solicitor of Galway, when the facts of the Woodford evictions were brought before me, that if an application were made for bail, he,

on behalf of the Crown, must oppose it.

MR. SEXTON: That was what I was driving at; and if it is not satisfactory, at any rate it puts the debate on a frank footing when we understand that the responsibility lies with the right hon. and learned Gentleman. Well, I would ask the right hon. and learned Gentleman to explain how it is that bail was accepted by the legal subordinate of the Crown in one county of Ireland for the eight men who had been charged and found guilty, so far as a Grand Jury bill could find them guilty, of the murder of James Curran in Belfast—a circumstance which caused a great sensation in the town for months—I ask why bail was allowed to these people and refused to 24 poor tenants who threw hot water on some bailiffs when they came to serve notices of eviction, but who abandoned that course as soon they were warned that such conduct was wrong and would lead to serious consequences? Bail is said to have been refused to these men because one of them pushed a policeman and struck him with a mallet. This individual referred to may have been guilty of such violence; but the Committee should know that he had been rendered desperate by the condition of his wife. The police insisted upon expelling the poor woman from her house, and in the moment she was expelled from the place in which her husband had been endeavouring to keep a roof over her head she was prematurely delivered of a child. [*A laugh.*] An hon. and gallant Member opposite finds this very ridiculous, no doubt, for he is laughing; but such are the incidents which accompany the administration of the law in Ireland, and I think the right hon. and learned Gentleman might have given favourable consideration to the case of this man, who must have been driven to a state of desperation by reason of the condition of his wife. I think the right hon. and learned Gentleman might have released him on bail; but, so far from that being the case, bail was refused and the man was detained in custody. The next incident in the unfortunate sequence of these cases was that regarding Father Fahy. Father Fahy is known to be a clergyman of high character and an advocate of the administration of fair justice as between man and man. He

was deeply concerned in the extremity of these poor tenants. He went to see the landlord in order to intercede for them, and the landlord declares that Father Fahy used language of a threatening character to him. The rev. gentleman was ordered to find bail. The right hon. and learned Gentleman says that the order, as to Father Fahy, was one in the discretion of the Court, and that, having required him to find bail, there was no alternative but to commit him if he refused to give it. But we know perfectly well that in the case of a Court in Ireland the magistrates take the word of command from the representative of the Crown; and all the right hon. and learned Gentleman had to do was to instruct the Crown Solicitor not to press for bail, and his instructions would have been followed. I say that the order of the Court in the case of Father Fahy will have to be cancelled. I found that claim on the language of the presiding magistrate himself. What did he say? Why, he said that Father Fahy had gone to see the landlord solely with the intention of promoting peace and harmony between himself and his tenants. I want to know what is meant by treating a rev. gentleman, whom the presiding magistrate believes to have been solely actuated by a desire to promote peace and harmony between a landlord and his tenants—what is the meaning of convicting the rev. gentleman under a Statute applicable to rogues and vagabonds? What is the meaning of binding this rev. gentleman over to be of good behaviour for six months? It would be an affront to any ordinary person of good behaviour; but, in the case of a clergyman, it amounts to an indignity and an insult. Father Fahy assured the magistrates that he had gone to see Mr. Lewis merely for the purpose of promoting peace, and that he had sincerely desired to act as mediator between Mr. Lewis and his tenants, as he had previously done in the case of William and Colonel Daly and their tenants. Here, then, we have the case of a clergyman who had repeatedly acted as mediator between landlords and their tenants, and yet he is sent to gaol for six months because the landlord whom he interviews chooses to declare that violent language has been used by him. The presiding magistrate was of opinion that neither party

could remember everything exactly as it occurred, and he was sure that neither of them could repeat verbatim the conversation which had taken place. He (the presiding magistrate) declared that he himself had had altercations with people, and that he knew by experience that it was impossible to remember every word that was spoken at such times. Indeed, he said he would go further, and say that even if such an altercation had occurred between himself and Father Fahy, or any other gentleman, he would never have thought of bringing the matter into Court, and that probably after the whole affair was over they might have been better friends than ever. I submit to the right hon. and learned Gentleman whether, after that strong expression of opinion of the presiding magistrate who sat on the Bench when Father Fahy was ordered to find bail, it was expedient, or reconcilable with common sense, that a course of persecution should be pursued towards this rev. gentleman? Father Fahy has to maintain his character with his flock; he has to maintain his reputation for moderation of conduct and veracity; and after he has publicly declared in Court that he never used such language towards Mr. Lewis as that imputed to him, how is it possible that he can give bail for his good behaviour? If Father Fahy consented to give bail, I ask you, Mr. Courtney—I ask the Committee—whether it would not be admitting that the charge against him was well founded, and that his own denial of it was false? I do not know how the rev. gentleman could resume his clerical functions amongst his congregation if he made such an admission as that. Does not every Member of this Committee feel that what Colonel Waring, the presiding magistrate, said from the Bench was the language of good feeling and good sense? The rev. gentleman may have used indiscreet language, being carried away by his interest in the miserable and suffering tenantry; but even if that had been the case, Mr. Lewis would have followed a much more discreet and manly course if he had refrained from invoking the terrors of the law in consequence of observations made to him. I earnestly appeal to the Government now, at the beginning of the winter, to take in reference to this case some action which will tend to allay

public feeling. The noble Lord opposite (Lord Randolph Churchill) is well acquainted with Ireland. During his father's Viceroyalty he had some years' experience of that country, and he must be aware of the position the priesthood occupies in the affections of the Irish people. He must know, from what he has seen of Ireland, that the arrest and imprisonment of a priest, particularly when that arrest and imprisonment are unjust, are calculated more than almost anything else to excite public feeling. After the declaration from the Bench as to the conduct of Father Fahy, I earnestly appeal to the noble Lord to take such steps as may be within the control of the Government to obtain the withdrawal of the rule of bail against the rev. gentleman. As to the other prisoners, now that the eviction campaign has ceased, I appeal to the noble Lord that the most lenient attitude may be taken up in regard to them, and that they may be admitted to bail, as persons accused of murder have been admitted in Belfast and elsewhere. I would appeal to him and to the Government not to pursue a course which, if persisted in, will deprive us of the last shred of hope that during the coming winter we shall avoid an experience of riot, turbulence, and bloodshed.

MR. HOLMES: I deny that, so far as I am concerned, any different action has been taken in the case of the Belfast prisoners to that adopted in the case of the Woodford prisoners. I think he will find, if he investigates the case of James Curran, that I am not responsible for what was done. In every instance which has come under my notice where I have been appealed to to allow application to be made to the magistrates to admit prisoners connected with the Belfast riots to bail, I have refused to consent to bail, with the single exception of the case of policemen committed for trial. I have, in such cases, directed that application to admit to bail should be opposed. My action has been the same on all occasions—I have treated Woodford exactly the same as I should have treated any other part of Ireland. As to Father Fahy's case, whatever the presiding magistrate may have said I know that the Bench of Magistrates, including Colonel Waring, made the order under which the reverend gentleman was arrested. When an order of

that kind is made it must be obeyed. The Crown has no dispensing power, neither has the Attorney General; we cannot say that we will enforce the law on one person one day, and that we will not enforce it on another person on another day. Whatever may have been the view taken by certain of the magistrates as to the altercation which took place between Father Fahy and Mr. Lewis, it is evident that in the opinion of the Bench the language of Father Fahy was sufficient to warrant his being put under a rule of bail.

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.): The right hon. and learned Gentleman speaks as though he were entirely unaware of the course of proceeding in these magisterial cases in Ireland; he speaks as though he did not know that the magistrates are largely guided in their decisions by the action and the tone of the Representative of the Castle Authorities. Such, however, is the state of things in Ireland. Now, what are the facts of this case? The hon. Gentleman the Member for West Belfast (Mr. Sexton) has put them forcibly before the Committee; he has not added to them. The reverend gentleman is accused, so far as I know on the testimony of one man, of using certain language in the course of an altercation, in which it is not denied that hot words were used on both sides. Everyone seems to admit that the reverend gentleman sought this interview with the intention of making peace, and of bringing a dispute between a landlord and his tenants to a termination. We have in evidence before us the kind of reception Father Fahy met with when he arrived at Mr. Lewis's house. It is quite possible, under the circumstances, that he may have lost his temper; but is there anyone here who will say that because a man who goes out with the good intention of making peace between a landlord and his tenants may have used strong language—though, be it observed, Father Fahy strenuously denies having used the language imputed to him—on the testimony of the one man with whom he was quarrelling without corroboration from anyone else he is to be put under an insulting rule of bail, and, in default of finding sureties, is to be sent to gaol for six months? I can quite understand that no one would be more pleased than the right hon. and learned Gentleman

Mr. Sexton

the Attorney General for Ireland if Father Fahy would give bail; but if I were in Father Fahy's position they might keep me in Galway Gaol for the whole six months, and I would not do it. The Act under which Father Fahy is imprisoned is an obsolete Act, which is specially directed against vagrants, vagabonds, and disturbers of the peace; and, I ask, is all this to be done on the word of one man with whom there has been an altercation? This is so glaring a case that the right hon. and learned Gentleman is bound to tell the Committee on what grounds the magistrates made this order, and whether they had corroborative evidence, or whether they had any ground at all for believing that the reverend gentleman used strong language. Mr. Bowler, who was acting on behalf of Father Fahy, stated in open Court that nothing was farther from Father Fahy's intention than to use any language which could in any way cause terror or intimidate Mr. Lewis, and that if any unguarded expressions had escaped from his lips he very much regretted them. Surely any honourable man would have accepted such a statement as that made in open Court; but the Sessional Crown Solicitor, Mr. Blake, who represented Mr. Lewis, interfering, said, with a sneer—"I think this a queer time to make such an apology." As a matter of fact, it was not an apology, but an explanation. Mr. Bowler replied to this by reminding Mr. Blake that Father Fahy had no reason to suppose, until he received the summons, that Mr. Lewis was under any fear whatever, as he (Father Fahy) had never intended to use, or knowingly had used, language to place him under any fear. Colonel Waring again suggested an amicable settlement, evidently desiring to have the case disposed of there and then; but Colonel Waring was not the only magistrate in Court. It is a most outrageous thing that this Sessional Crown Solicitor—who is an agent, and was mixed up in these very evictions—should interfere when a settlement might have been come to. If he had had any sense of decency he would have desired to make peace and to bring this unpleasant incident to an amicable termination. But what does he do? Why, when an arrangement is proposed that would have been satisfactory to Mr. Lewis he interferes and remarks that it

is a queer time to apologize. The Attorney General seems to think that there is no way of getting out of the difficulty as to Father Fahy. I do not know what the reverend gentleman will do. He may be anxious to return to his clerical duties, and out of consideration for his clerical character he may wish to separate himself from the other prisoners in the gaol; but I must say, as I have already declared, that if I were in his place I would remain in prison until the end of the committal rather than give the security demanded. If he does adopt that course I must say that the Government will be very sick of Father Fahy before they have done with him. A more stupid and ill-considered act on the part of the Irish Government than this imprisonment of Father Fahy could not be conceived. Even if the statement of Mr. Lewis as to the language used by Father Fahy had been fully corroborated I doubt whether it would have been a wise course, knowing the feeling of the people of Ireland, to have put this priest in prison; but, in any case, they should not have taken that course until they were forced into it. We cannot form any other conclusion from what took place in Court than that pressure was brought to bear upon it by the Representatives of the Government. We all know how that pressure can be brought to bear upon a Court in Ireland; and it is obvious that it was in consequence of this pressure that Father Fahy was sent to Galway Gaol. Now, I contend, in the first place, taking this case altogether apart from the position of the reverend gentleman as a priest, a gross act of injustice has been done. If Father Fahy were the poorest peasant in Galway I should say that it would be most unjust to take the man and commit him to gaol under a rule of bail on the sole evidence of another man with whom he has had an altercation without any corroboration whatever. I say if he were the poorest and lowest man in the country he should have justice done to him. But what are we to say, when it is not the poorest to whom justice is refused, but a man whose sacred calling and whose position in the county all lead to the strong *prima facie* presumption that he never did use the language imputed to him, and when that gentleman comes forward, and by the only means open to him—that is to

say, through his legal representative—makes what I feel assured every Member of the Committee, when he reads it, will acknowledge is the amplest statement that could possibly be made under the circumstances? I ask hon. Members to consider for a moment the effect of consigning a man in the position of Father Fahy to gaol. I daresay Members of this House have had altercations with other people at various periods of their lives. Well, I ask them to try to realize what their feelings would be if they were brought up in Court by a man who chose to make himself their enemy, and were accused by him with having used language that they never had been guilty of; if they found themselves, men of stainless character, called upon to give bail on uncorroborated evidence, under a long disused Act, under threat of being sent off to prison, and after a public explanation had been offered, what would their feelings be? And the Committee must remember that the position of an Irish priest in his own circle was every bit as high as theirs, and that the insult of calling upon him to find bail under these circumstances was every bit as great to him as it would be to them. I will leave it to hon. Members to judge what the feelings of Father Fahy must be, seeing that he embarked in this matter with the very best intention. There is ample evidence that Father Fahy embarked in the matter with the intention of doing good, and that his advances were not received in the same spirit by the gentleman to whom he addressed himself. No doubt there are strong reasons why Father Fahy should reconsider his position, and should decide upon giving bail. He will have a strong desire to return to his sacred duties; but, on the other hand, it will be most humiliating to a man of his character to follow a course which will practically be a confession of the justice of his sentence. The right hon. and learned Gentlemen the Attorney General for Ireland seems to think that the Government have no powers of remedy. Does he mean to tell us that the Executive are now tied hand and foot, and that Father Fahy will be kept in Galway Gaol for six months for not giving bail? Are we to be told that on the pure statements of Mr. Lewis, uncorroborated by anyone else, this priest is to lie in gaol for six months? A

more absurd statement could not be put forward. Everyone knows that the Executive could release Father Fahy to-night if they chose. If they have any common sense in them they will wire immediately to Dublin and order the Castle Authorities to liberate this man at once. [*Laughter.*] I hear some hon. Gentlemen distinguishing themselves—hon. Gentlemen who always notify their presence during these debates in the same way—by laughing. I tell them, Sir, they will presently find this no laughing matter. It will presently land the Government in serious difficulties; and in the embarrassed and complicated position in which they find themselves at present, and which is likely to be aggravated in the future, I tell them that they will discover that the worst stroke they have done for a long time has been to declare war against the priests. If you want peace and good order in Ireland during the coming winter, which we all know is likely to prove so critical, you should endeavour to get the priests on your side. If all appeals for common justice for the priests of that country are to be met with jeering laughter, I can assure you that you will find yourselves far from securing the sympathies of this powerful class. Gentlemen opposite are far away from the scene; but the Irish landlords are in the midst of it, and to these I would address myself, and these I will assure that unless at this time they make a strong attempt to get the priests on their side they are likely to find in the future that they have made a very great mistake. If you allow it to go forth to the priests that any attempt they may make at bringing about a better state of feeling between the landlords and the peasantry will be rewarded with six months' imprisonment, my advice to them will be to stand aside and let the tenants settle the matter with the landlords; and when that course is followed by the priests the landlords are not likely to enjoy the results. I appeal to the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland. I have not touched upon the other question—namely, the admission of the Woodford prisoners to bail, because it has been fully dealt with already. I feel, however, that a gross act of injustice has been done. In the case of Father Fahy I

appeal to the right hon. and learned Gentleman whether he is going to allow this priest to remain in gaol for six months? If he is not, the sooner he lets him out of gaol the better. Perhaps he will tell us whether he is going to take steps to release Father Fahy? If he proposes to leave Father Fahy in gaol, I think he is doing a very foolish thing; but the sooner we know definitely what he is going to do the better. So far as I am concerned, I do not know what the rev. gentleman's decision as to giving bail will be; but if I were to offer him advice it would be not to give bail to the extent of a single *1d.* under any circumstances.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.): I want to know what hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway really mean? They seem to imagine that no clergyman has ever been sent to gaol in any other country than Ireland. I see the Lord Advocate for Scotland sitting opposite, and he will bear me out when I say that not long ago a Scottish Presbyterian minister of high character, and much respected by his flock, came into collision with a Court of Justice, was committed to prison, and the Government declined to interfere, and allowed the decision of the Court of Session to stand until one of the parties withdrew the difficulty. Then the rev. gentleman was liberated. But when this gentleman was imprisoned all Scotland did not rise in rebellion; Scottish Members did not come down to this House and declare that a terrible Scottish grievance had arisen, and that if this clergyman was not liberated the landlords of Scotland would have a bad time of it. I desire to know whether hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway mean that we are to have in Ireland one law for the priests and another for the peasants? I think it will clear the air if we have an answer to that, and—

MR. DILLON: I distinctly said nothing of the kind. I said exactly the reverse—that if it were the poorest peasant instead of a priest whose liberty was in question the Government would be bound to take steps to bring about his release.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL: I ask whether we are to have one law for the priest and another for the peasant? The Act under which Father Fahy has been sent to gaol is said to be an obso-

lete Act. As a matter of fact, it is an Act used every day in Ireland. [MR. DILLON: In Ireland?] Yes; and in England, also, men are sent to gaol in default of finding bail. I happen to know Mr. Lewis, and that is my only reason for intervening this evening. It would be as well that the Committee should know something about the facts of this case. As a matter of fact, a notice was issued by the Lords' Justices previous to these evictions at Woodford, warning the people against assembling thereat. Well, in the church where the rev. Mr. Fahy ministers, the people, on the Sunday preceding the day of the evictions, were advised to set the Proclamation at defiance and attend these evictions. I want the Committee to put themselves in the position of Mr. Lewis in this matter. He is a man who has been—

THE CHAIRMAN: It is very necessary that this discussion should be confined, as I have already pointed out, to matter affecting the discretion of the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland and the Crown Solicitor in regard to bail.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL: I bow to your ruling, Sir, of course. All that I wish to say, since I cannot enter into the merits of the case, is that Mr. Lewis had a great deal to put up with, and a great deal to be afraid of; at least, he thought he had. If the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland has any power to intervene, no one would be more glad than I should be to see the rev. gentleman released; but, at the same time, I desire to say this—that I should not like this Committee or this House to sanction the idea that one law is to be meted out to priests, and another to peasants.

COLONEL NOLAN (Galway, N.): The hon. Member for South Tyrone has stated that he does not wish to see one law for the priest and another for the peasant. I thoroughly agree with him; I think he has laid down very sound doctrine; but I should like to give a case, one-half of which I am thoroughly acquainted with, drawn from the county of Galway, and the other half of which I do not know so much about, drawn from the town of Belfast. With regard to the Belfast portion of my comparison, I shall speak from statements which were made in this House, which were

not contradicted, and which are acknowledged to be facts. I will mention these things to show that there is one law for the clergymen in the North of Ireland, and another for the priests in the South. I know of a case in which a priest was asked to give bail, a case resembling as closely as possible that of Father Fahy. This priest pursued precisely the same course as that adopted by Father Fahy. He consulted with a number of other clergymen as to what he should do, and they arrived at a totally different conclusion to the rev. gentlemen who advised with Father Fahy. They recommended him to give bail. The charge against him was that he had spoken against the Constabulary, and the strongest point alleged against him was that he had called the Constabulary ruffians. ["Order!"] If the noble Lord opposite (Lord Randolph Churchill) has any remarks to make in reference to my speech, I hope he will get up in his place and make them.

COLONEL SAUNDERSON (Armagh, N.): I ask your ruling, Mr. Courtney, as to whether the hon. and gallant Member is in Order in bringing these matters before the Committee?

THE CHAIRMAN: I am waiting to hear the particulars from the hon. and gallant Gentleman. Perhaps he will say when the events to which he is alluding occurred? If his observations do not relate to something which happened in the course of the current year they are clearly out of Order.

COLONEL NOLAN: The case I refer to is one in which a rev. gentleman, like Father Fahy, was asked to give bail.

COLONEL SAUNDERSON: When was it? Give the date.

COLONEL NOLAN: The case is, I think, about three years' old; but the other case to which I wish to refer is nothing like three years' old, but is quite recent.

THE CHAIRMAN: Then I think the illustration would not be relevant.

COLONEL NOLAN: Then I will go to the other case which occurred this year, that of the rev. Dr. Kane, who called the police murderers, and was not bound over to keep the peace. This I make the other part of my illustration. I had desired to quote a case with which I am perfectly familiar, because I was present during the whole of the proceedings; but I am precluded from going

into that by your ruling, Sir. I was not present when this other incident occurred, therefore I cannot give it on my own authority. It is reported that at a time when Belfast was in a state of great excitement the rev. Dr. Kane spoke of the police as "Morley's murderers," and was not asked to give bail to be of good conduct in the future. I believe that statement is perfectly correct. It was made in this House, and the hon. and gallant Gentleman opposite (Colonel Saunderson) did not contradict it.

COLONEL SAUNDERSON: Would the hon. and gallant Member be kind enough to give the date when those words were used?

COLONEL NOLAN: I expressly stated that I could not give the incident on my own authority; but I say it was mentioned in this House without being contradicted. It has been repeatedly mentioned. Unlike the hon. and gallant Gentleman opposite, I do not quote from anonymous pamphlets. ["Order!"] I will not refer to that matter further. What is this case of Father Fahy? It is notorious that in 1872 the rents were raised in Woodford, for political purposes. The Marquess of Clanricarde, on my Election Petition, himself admitted, on sworn testimony, that rents were raised for that purpose.

THE CHAIRMAN: I have more than once ruled that the question must be restricted to the discretion of the Crown Officer in the matter of bail. Any of these historical recollections must be beyond that question.

COLONEL NOLAN: Then I shall have to confine myself to rather a narrow argument, and one which I am not very capable of dealing with, because it is one which goes back into very old historic law. I believe the authority under which the Crown Solicitor claims to be able to bind over this clergyman or anyone else to keep the peace is contained in an Act of Parliament passed in the time of Edward III.—a fossilized law only brought to light some four years ago, dug up, I believe, in my neighbourhood by a Resident Magistrate who was thanked by the Government of the day, who thought a great deal of the discovery. I do not, as I say, feel myself capable of arguing this legal question; but if it be true that the prosecution in the case of Father Fahy

had to go back to an Act passed in the time of Edward III., though I do not say that it is beyond the function of the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland, I still maintain that the course is one which it was not advisable to pursue in the present state of Ireland. I do not know, Mr. Courtney, whether you would consider it within your ruling to allude at all to the circumstances under which this clergyman was bound over to keep the peace, and the details of the offence he is alleged to have committed. I would remind you that the hon. Member for South Tyrone (Mr. T. W. Russell) spoke for a considerable time on the matter of the Scotch clergyman, and I think that I should be allowed—

THE CHAIRMAN: I expressly called the hon. Member for South Tyrone to Order for entering into the antecedents of Mr. Lewis and Father Fahy.

COLONEL NOLAN: He certainly dealt with them for a considerable time—

THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order!

COLONEL NOLAN: Well, for some time.

An hon. MEMBER: For five minutes.

COLONEL NOLAN: Well, that is a considerable time, I should think. But I quite accept your ruling, Mr. Courtney. As it is declared to be out of Order to allude to the offence of Father Fahy, I would only point out to the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland that unless he is very sure of his law, and unless he can show a better precedent than an Act of Edward III., or even Edward VI., he ought to hesitate very seriously before he decides to allow a clergyman to remain in prison for six months for not giving bail. As this clergyman denied the use of the language in respect of which he was ordered to find bail to keep the peace, I do not see how it could have been possible for him consistently to have agreed to be bound over to keep the peace. Father Fahy has, I think, under the circumstances, taken a proper course by going to prison; but that course throws great responsibility upon the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland. I hope he will be able to show that the ordinary law bears him out for his attitude in the case of Father Fahy, without going to the old Statute of Edward III. It does not matter whether he goes back

to Edward VI. or Edward III., so far as I am concerned, as a layman. I certainly think that in so serious a matter as this no action ought to be taken unless it can be based upon some modern law. It may be said that I am out of Order in referring to this point; but, according to *The Times* account, Father Fahy seems to have been entrapped into the use of strong exclamations. He has denied using the words alleged against him, and I do not say that he did use those words; but, according to *The Times* account of the matter, Mr. Lewis asked him into his house, and whilst there he made use of some expressions in respect of which Mr. Lewis considered that he should be bound over to keep the peace. That is the account given in the *English Times*; and it is most extraordinary to find that after a man has asked another into his house to have a conversation with him he should go to the magistrates and say—"In having some conversation with this clergyman hot words were used, and I therefore wish to have the clergyman bound over to keep the peace." Whatever objectionable expressions were used, they were admittedly only used after Mr. Lewis had invited Father Fahy into his house. Why, then, did not Mr. Lewis content himself with asking Father Fahy to leave the house? That is the course I should have taken—that any reasonable man would have adopted. I hope, then, that all these facts will be looked into, and that, if possible, these proceedings, which have resulted in the imprisonment of Father Fahy, will be quashed. I can well believe that a good deal of excitement has been created in the West of Ireland by this legally injudicious proceeding. I say legally, because there has been a revival of a Statute, though an old and obsolete one. But on every other ground—considering the peculiar circumstances of the district, and the peculiar circumstances under which the altercation occurred—that is to say, Mr. Lewis having invited this rev. gentleman to his house—the proceeding is absolutely indefensible. I am very sorry, indeed, that I have been unable to go into the other case to which I alluded, where something similar occurred, because I believe I should have been able to show the Committee the injudicious manner in which the law has been already put in force, and the difference

between the application of the law in the North and the West of Ireland. I am also sorry that I have been unable to point out to the Committee some facts which would have shown the circumstances of Woodford to be, at the present moment, different from those of any other part of Ireland, and which would have connected it much more closely than other parts of the country with the agrarian difficulty.

SIR JOSEPH M'KENNA (Monaghan, S.): The right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland has not said that it is beyond the competency of the Crown in Ireland to retrace the steps of the Law Officers in this matter. Will he state whether it is not competent for the Government of Ireland, in some form or other, to quash the order of the magistrates against Father Fahy? There ought to be some form by which it could be done. I think we should be quite satisfied if the right hon. and learned Gentleman would assure us that the subject should be reconsidered in the Council Chamber. The matter is one very deeply affecting the peace of Ireland; and if the Government wish to enlist the sympathies of the vast majority of the Members on this side of the House, they will at once set about undoing what has been done to Father Fahy. To the presiding magistrate of the Bench before whom this case was heard it was admitted that the evidence amounted to this—that Father Fahy went to Mr. Lewis with the best intention as a peacemaker. It is well known that there are peacemakers and peacemakers in Ireland; and if I stood in need of one, it certainly would not be to the hon. Member for South Tyrone (Mr. T. W. Russell) that I should appeal to discharge the function. But it is beyond question that Father Fahy's motive was purely that of peacemaking. The hon. Member for South Tyrone will not deny that Mr. Lewis, though a respectable gentleman, is also rather peppy. Well, he invited Father Fahy into his house, and it is very likely that hot words were used, and that the rev. gentleman may have been tempted into saying something which he would not have said in cooler moments. On the unsupported testimony of Mr. Lewis Father Fahy was called on to give bail for six months; he declined, holding that if he did so it would be an admis-

sion of the truth of Mr. Lewis's charge, and as a result was committed to prison. I believe the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland, on reflection, will see that the term of imprisonment which this rev. gentleman has before him is far beyond the period of sentence, or amount of punishment, which would be awarded even if one could imagine that the alleged offence had been committed, and leaving out of sight the important circumstance that Father Fahy went to Mr. Lewis with the intention of becoming a peacemaker.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND (Fermanagh, N.): I do not think anyone was very much surprised to hear the hon. Gentleman the Member for South Tyrone (Mr. T. W. Russell) imputing to Members on these Benches a desire to have one law for the Catholic priest in Ireland and another for the ordinary subjects of the Queen. Sir, such an imputation as that is only to be accounted for by the fact that the hon. Member owes his return to this House largely to the vote of the Orange Society, who are in the habit of insulting the Catholic people and their Representatives. It is precisely because we believe that the treatment received by Father Fahy was treatment such as should not have been given to the humblest person in the country that we protest against it here to-day. We protest not merely because Father Fahy is a priest, but simply because he was treated in a grossly unfair manner; and in appealing to the Government to alter the unfortunate decision which they arrived at in the imprisonment of Father Fahy, we appeal to them not merely on the ground of his being a priest, but simply because the treatment he received was such as would have been unjust to anyone. But, Sir, we appeal more particularly to Her Majesty's Government because Father Fahy is a priest; not because we regard him as anything more on that account, but we appeal to the Government in their own interest because he is a priest. And why? It is a notorious fact that such distressing circumstances as have occurred at Woodford would have been in the past multiplied in number and intensity were it not for the interference of the Catholic priests of the country. I have myself been present at places where evictions have taken

place under what the people have considered unjust circumstances, and where large masses of the people have assembled on the scene of eviction. I have seen dozens of cases myself where the people would inevitably have come in contact with the forces of the Crown engaged in the eviction were it not for the interference of the priests, who came to the scene strictly for the purpose of trying to calm the people and prevent riot and bloodshed. And now, Sir, Father Fahy went to the scene of these evictions in Woodford for the purpose of restraining the indignation of the people, and for the purpose of preventing bloodshed, strife, and, perhaps, loss of life; he entered into conversation with the landlord, at whose instigation these evictions were being carried out; and the landlord used very strong language to Father Fahy, who, perhaps, lost his temper, no doubt because his efforts to keep peace were met in a hostile manner by the landlord. The result of this was that the landlord, Mr. Lewis, made an accusation against Father Fahy, and Father Fahy was put into prison. Now, if there had been some good evidence to prove that the Father's language was unjustifiable, and witnesses were forthcoming, there might have been some cause to justify the Crown in keeping him in prison. But there is no proof whatever against Father Fahy, except the solitary evidence given by the landlord himself, who was engaged at the time in conversation, when Father Fahy was alleged to have used this language. The people of the district now find that the word of the landlord has been sufficient with the magistrates to cause the arrest and incarceration of Father Fahy. It is useless for the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland to attempt to allege in defence of the Crown that the Bench of Magistrates unanimously made out the warrant for the imprisonment of Father Fahy. It is a notorious fact that the Benches of Magistrates in Ireland are landlord partizans to a very great extent—at least, that is the opinion of the people. Well, there is no exception to that rule in the present case, for we find that the landlord went to the magistrates, and upon the word of the landlord the magistrates made out a warrant for the imprisonment of Father Fahy, with the result that he is lying in

prison to-day, not because he has committed any crime, for nothing of that sort is alleged against him, nor because there was weighty evidence brought forward. The people where Father Fahy lived, and who respect him, have got the bitter feeling and knowledge in their hearts that the word of a landlord was sufficient to take their priest from their midst and bring him into prison. Now, we say that the action of the Attorney General for Ireland is, to say the least of it, highly injudicious at the present time, when you cannot take up a newspaper in Ireland without reading the word "eviction"—when you cannot take up a newspaper without seeing the record of evictions which have taken place, or an account of evictions to come. It is generally feared upon all sides that during the winter there will be a great number of evictions in Ireland, and the only thing we have to uphold our belief that those evictions will not be altogether so disastrous as we fear they may be is the one hope in the interference of the priests between the exasperated people and the forces of the Crown. I tell this Committee that if it is to go forth that a priest going to the scene of an eviction for the purpose of making peace between the parties and preventing strife—that if it goes forth that a priest on this mission, like Father Fahy, is upon the word of a landlord to be summarily imprisoned, it will not tend in any degree to lessen the danger which is likely to surround evictions in Ireland during the coming winter. It is because of this fact, that the priests have always done their best to keep peace, and have always been determined to exert themselves to that end, that we appeal to the Government to release Father Fahy, so as not to discourage priests in other parts of Ireland from going forth on like missions of peace. Father Fahy was imprisoned merely upon the word of a landlord who was interested in the evictions that were taking place in Woodford. Now, Sir, what is the feeling which is likely to go abroad in Ireland?

THE CHAIRMAN: I must invite the hon. Member to be less discursive. I have repeatedly indicated what is the point of discussion.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: I am addressing the Committee on the imprisonment of Father Fahy, and I am

appealing to the Government to reconsider their position in his case. I was going to show what is the feeling in Ireland as an argument why the Government should reconsider their decision. Sir, the feeling with regard to the imprisonment of Father Fahy and the circumstances connected with these Woodford evictions is this—that the people will get it into their heads that some persons in high places want to have outrage and crime in Ireland. The people have always known that priests like Father Fahy have, like good angels in these matters, been preventing crime and outrage; and when they see him now cut down in the midst of his attempts to calm the people and prevent crime, there naturally comes into their minds the feeling that the landlords have their friends in high places, and that the Government really want to exasperate the people, and to drive the people into acts which would give some cover for the introduction of repressive measures for Ireland during the coming winter. It is certainly because Father Fahy and priests like him have interfered to keep the peace on these occasions that I appeal to the Government; and I would appeal to them to remember, in the interests of their landlord friends, that the landlords in Ireland would have fared worse had it not been for the interference and intercession of the priests of the country. I know of cases where the people had determined to stand out to the last, and where they would probably have been evicted, and the landlord get no rent, if the priest had not brought about a compromise; and I tell the landlords that it will not be to their interest if they put in prison without reason the priests who have assisted them in collecting their rents. [*Laughter.*] I notice that a good many hon. Members opposite indulge in laughter at my remarks; but I say this is no laughing matter, and that it is very unbecoming of a Member of this House to treat in this way a matter which I believe the Government themselves will admit to be of the highest importance and seriousness. Now, with regard to the Woodford prisoners, they were not admitted to bail, because the landlord used his influence with the magistrates to prevent it. But in Belfast, where a young man was done to death, and a true bill was brought against nine men for the murder, those

men were all admitted to bail in the sum of £50 a-piece. Why do you not in Ireland apply to the West and South what you apply to Belfast? You allowed out on bail of £50 each those men who were concerned in a murder of an inoffensive man, who gave no provocation. But here you allow no bail to men who are led into extreme action, because they were driven from their homes, because their roofs were taken from their houses, and their wives and children were driven out. If the Government continue the course they are upon at present, I can tell them that they have commenced what will be a very bad time for them, and a very bad time for everybody in Ireland. They have in the case of the Woodford evictions acted in the interests of the landlord in refusing bail, simply because the landlord did not want it to be taken, and they have put a priest in prison, because the landlord raised his single voice to bring about that end. If you go on in this way you will exasperate the people. If you do so you will have disorder in Ireland, and that disorder the people of this country, as well as the people of Ireland, will see, from the protests we are now making, does not come from any action of the Nationalist Party, but from the action of the Government, who are always determined to stand by the landlords, and from the action of those hon. Members of this House who ask nothing better than the imprisonment of priests.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT (Derby) I think the Attorney General for Ireland might shorten this discussion, which has certainly diverged somewhat from the point of debate, by removing what I cannot help thinking is a misapprehension with regard to the facts of this case. I think there must be some mistake, and that the facts cannot have been accurately stated to the House. As regards the question of Father Fahy being a priest, I think that ought not to enter into the matter at all. I think he should be dealt with as any other subject of the Crown. As far as my experience goes of putting priests in prison—and I have had some experience—it is that there is a very great difficulty in getting them out again; and that is one great objection to their being imprisoned. But we all agree that the same rule ought to be applied to everybody in similar circumstances. Now the facts of this case, which has

Mr. William Redmond

only come to my knowledge this afternoon, have been stated by the hon. Member for Mayo (Mr. Dillon). I understand the hon. Member to say that a person desiring to remove difficulties which have arisen in these evictions went to the house of another person who was a landlord; apparently they did not agree; there was no one present, as I understand, and they had an altercation. Well, one party to the altercation goes before a magistrate and states what the other has done; there is no corroboration whatever, and on that statement proceedings are taken, and the other party to the altercation is shut up. Now, if this can be so, it clearly lies with the first person who gets to the magistrate in cases of this kind to have the other party shut up. It seems to me that the magistrate took a sensible view of the case. He said that when two people quarrel it is very likely that neither of them recollect what has taken place very accurately—at all events, neither of them is likely to give the most favourable view of the case of the other person, or the most accurate account of their own. Now, the extraordinary part of this story is that the magistrate recommended the case to be made up, but that the Crown Solicitor, who I understand—but I cannot help thinking there is some mistake about this—was himself concerned in these evictions, prevented the course being taken which the magistrate recommended. I do not know, but I think there must be some mistake here. Well, he did that under the direct instructions of the Attorney General for Ireland. Here is a Crown Agent and agent for the landlord preventing the magistrate making up the case; whereupon the magistrate gives his decision as to finding bail, and a man is sent to prison. That is the case as stated by the hon. Member for East Mayo. Since the hon. Gentleman spoke I believe the Attorney General for Ireland has said nothing; and therefore, if he would make a statement which would remove the misapprehension which I believe exists, I think it would probably terminate this discussion. I think the case is one in which explanation is required.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. HOLMES) (Dublin University): When this case was first noticed I did not think it desirable to

enter into a discussion of the facts, for the reason that any statement I might make in reference to the facts of the case must necessarily be an *ex parte* statement. I received certain information from Mr. Lewis, and I gave directions upon the basis of that information to the Crown Solicitor. As to whether the information received be accurate or inaccurate I can say nothing. It was, of course, for the Court to hear the case and decide, and the judgment of the Court was based upon their conclusion as to whether the information brought forward was accurate or not. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby (Sir William Harcourt) has asked what were the facts of the case. As far as I am acquainted with them, I shall at once tell the Committee what these circumstances are. If I am rightly informed, there was no altercation between Mr. Lewis and the Rev. Father Fahy. Mr. Lewis is a gentleman of whom I know nothing beyond what any other Member of the House may know, except one fact which is in the cognizance of the right hon. Gentleman opposite—namely, that in the month of February last an attempt was made to blow up his house, either with dynamite or some other explosive material. It was partly successful; but if it had succeeded entirely his house and family would have been destroyed. It is perfectly true that some time ago Father Fahy came to Mr. Lewis's house—he was not invited to come—and asked Mr. Lewis what he intended to do in the case of one or two tenants. Mr. Lewis gave an explanation which I think would satisfy most reasonable men—namely, that as regarded the holding on which the man was living the rent was paid for it, and he did not wish to dispossess him; but that as regarded another holding, which was subject to a dispute between the father and son, no rent had been paid for it, and he intended to recover possession of it. Upon that Father Fahy got very indignant and excited, and told him that his house would be blown up with dynamite within six months; that he himself would probably be killed; and that he felt it his duty to denounce him from the altar. Upon these facts being brought to my knowledge I did what I think any Attorney General would have done in similar cir-

cumstances. I ask whether, under those circumstances, the Attorney General would have any alternative except to direct the Crown Solicitor to take charge of the case, and have Father Fahy brought up before the magistrates, and the matter fully investigated? Accordingly I gave the Crown Solicitor directions to take charge of the case, to put himself in communication with Mr. Lewis, who had given the information, to have a summons issued and heard in the ordinary way before the Court. He did so. I know nothing at all of what occurred between the magistrates and the Crown Solicitor. I gave no directions to the Crown Solicitor, either to withdraw the proceedings or to go on with them. I have no knowledge of what happened, but gave general directions to proceed. I understand that Mr. Lewis proved the facts as I have stated them to the Committee, and that he was not shaken in cross-examination. Under those circumstances the Court, consisting of more than one magistrate—I know not how many—unanimously made the order, and it was impossible for that Court to come to the conclusion of making such an order unless they believed the statement of Mr. Lewis. I ask, assuming that they believed that statement and granted the order, whether it would be proper or right for the Court to say that it was a matter for compromise and settlement? I do not know what the Crown Solicitor said; but if these facts were proved it was quite right for the Crown Solicitor to say—"I will not be a party to any such arrangement; I will leave the Court to judge." I believe that in this case the procedure has been right from first to last, as far as I know, and I need hardly say that it has been taken in the Constitutional way. The Attorney General has nothing whatever to do with the case, which is in the hands of the Court. The order made was merely that Father Fahy should give sureties for good behaviour. If he had given sureties to keep the peace the matter would have been at an end at once and for ever. But he refused to do what the Court ordered him to do. These are the circumstances of the case, and under them there was no option but to do what has been done, and I am of opinion that the course taken was the proper and legitimate course to be pursued.

Mr. Holmes

Mr. DILLON (Mayo, E.): I have listened with great interest to the statement of the Attorney General, and I observe some inconsistency in his account with what actually occurred in the Court. I know nothing of Father Fahy; I know nothing of the circumstances of the case, except what we read in the public Press. The Attorney General said that Father Fahy approached the landlord in an improper way, and said—"If you do not do so and so, your house will be blown up by dynamite."

Mr. HOLMES: I said that I was informed of that, and that I took proper means to deal with the case.

Mr. DILLON: That is an important answer; but the right hon. and learned Gentleman did not say who it was that informed him.

Mr. HOLMES: I distinctly said that this information was given me by Mr. Lewis.

Mr. DILLON: Upon the information he had, the right hon. and learned Gentleman says he instructed the Crown Solicitor to press the case; but it turns out that he proceeded on the mere *ipse dixit* of Mr. Lewis. When the Court had listened to the case Colonel Waring, the presiding magistrate, after having heard the evidence, expressed the opinion which had been read to the Committee—that was not denied by the right hon. and learned Gentleman—the opinion was that an altercation had occurred between two gentlemen, heated language had passed, neither party could recollect exactly what had passed, and it was doubtful whether the language complained of had been used, and it was a case that ought to be settled. Those were the words of the Resident Magistrate, and now we are told by the Attorney General that the Resident Magistrate had satisfied himself that it was a case to be pressed—he had satisfied himself, he said, that it was a case the Crown Solicitor should take up, and press for judgment, and the Crown Solicitor was instructed and intervened, using all his influence to obtain the infliction of a penalty.

Mr. HOLMES: I am sure the hon. Gentleman would not wish to misrepresent me; but he is attributing to me something very different to what I said. I expressly stated to the Committee that I gave no instructions to the Crown Solicitor, except to conduct the case in

the ordinary way. I expressly stated that I knew nothing of what happened in Court.

MR. DILLON: If that is so, then the Crown Solicitor exceeded his instructions, for he did not issue the summons and proceed in the ordinary way—he pressed for the judgment of the Court, and brought distinct pressure to bear on the proceedings of the Court. He interposed and said it was not a fair case for settlement, using that undue authority that attaches to the representative of the Crown in Irish Magisterial Courts. Further, I most distinctly claim to show—and I have the evidence to prove it—that the Crown Solicitor in this case was grossly biased, and displayed his bias. For what occurred? On the previous Thursday, when the prisoners were brought up who are now lying in Galway Prison, the Crown Solicitor refused the application for bail. Mr. Blake used language to which I will call attention, and ask was it language that should have been used considering the state of public feeling? The Chairman was addressed on behalf of the prisoners, and then Mr. Blake made the following speech:—

“He was glad to have the opportunity of making some reply to the very injudicious speech on behalf of some of the prisoners. They were told there was a dearth of teachers in the locality; but he was afraid there was no dearth of teachers to instruct the people to resist the fulfilment of their contracts.”

This, remember, was from the representative of the Crown, and how can the people believe he was the representative of justice?—

“He undertook to say yesterday, before he got his instructions, that he would be instructed to refuse bail, and he was glad to say he had received instructions from Dublin to refuse it.”

Is language such as that calculated to insure respect for the law? Here was an agent of the landlords saying—“He would undertake to say he would be instructed,” and that “he was glad to say he had been instructed to refuse bail.” In the name of goodness, what right had he to be glad? Did he not thereby show that he stood there as the representative of the Galway landlords, not as the representative of Her Majesty’s Government? This is one of the strongest reasons we have for pushing the investigation of this matter to the bottom. Mr. Blake was plainly the agent of his masters the

landlords of Galway. Acting, as he believed, with the encouragement of the Attorney General he strained his authority—always too great in Magisterial Courts, for they did all the Crown Solicitor asked—and demanded that the Court should refuse bail to these men, who ought to have been bailed, and would have been admitted to bail in any other country in the world under similar circumstances. He showed his *animus* on the subsequent Tuesday, when the Resident Magistrate declared his opinion that the case was one that ought to be settled, and the magistrate had a much better opportunity of judging the facts than the right hon. and learned Gentleman in Dublin. The magistrate repeated his opinion three times over; but the representative of the Crown stopped him, saying, in his opinion, the case ought not to be settled, and, making some sneering remarks, brought pressure to bear which has resulted in this most lamentable state of things. It is a most lamentable state of things, and the Government have to make the best of it. They may think it an easier matter to get a priest in than out of prison than the right hon. Gentleman the late Home Secretary found it; but if Father Fahy takes the advice I will offer he will not quit Galway Prison until he can leave it honourably. He will be thoroughly justified in telling the Government that if they are going to lock him in gaol until he dishonours himself by giving security not to act like a ruffian or a scamp, then he will continue to remain in prison.

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton): I will not go into the facts of a case of which I know nothing but what I have heard in Committee. I quite feel the exceeding difficulty of making the Committee any kind of a Court of Appeal on the subject of the decisions of magistrates or Judges, and it would be impossible in English jurisprudence that such a case could arise; but I will appeal to hon. Gentlemen opposite to make more allowance than I think they do make for hon. Members sitting around me. It is clear from the statement of the right hon. and learned Attorney General for Ireland—it is clear from the knowledge we have received from listening to hon. Members who have preceded me, that all proceedings of this character are looked upon, rightly or wrongly, as being

taken under the direct action of the Crown. If that be so, it cannot be wondered at that the Representatives of men who are thought to be unfairly tried should be inclined to defend them by attacking the representative of the Crown in the House of Commons—it is the only fashion in which they can do so. No suspicion rests upon English justice. I have come, during a rather troubled life, very often into collision with the authorities—[*Laughter*—] and perhaps hon. Members who laugh at that would not have come off so well; but I have never permitted myself, when a decision has been against me, to suggest that the decision has been tainted with unfairness, however much I may have disagreed with the reasons that governed it. I knew that the Attorney General or Solicitor General, of whatever political side—except so far as human nature is potent with all—did not allow their political feelings to influence them against me, and certainly there was nothing of the kind with the Judges. I have never heard—except on one occasion, when I admit it came from a personage of high authority in the House—I have never heard it suggested that English Judges could act unfairly. I did hear it once while sitting under the Gallery, the only seat I was then allowed to occupy. I heard the noble Lord the present Chancellor of the Exchequer (Lord Randolph Churchill) say a Government could procure any decision it pleased from English Judges. I confess I did not believe that—I say it with all respect—although I have often had decisions given against me. But it cannot be wondered at, when a noble Lord in a high position gave utterance to such a sentiment, that Members around should express a similar sentiment in respect to friends of theirs. It is clear that in this case—we have it from the Attorney General for Ireland—that the Crown Solicitor represented the Crown and the landlords at the same time—

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. HOLMES) (Dublin University): That is an entire mistake. The Crown Solicitor represented nobody but the Crown—no one has a right to say he represented anyone else. It has been stated that he was agent for Mr. Lewis; but that must have been stated under an entire misapprehension of the facts.

Mr. Bradlaugh

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.): I have stated that Mr. Blake was agent for certain Galway landlords.

MR. HOLMES: He was not agent for Mr. Lewis.

MR. BRADLAUGH: I am afraid I was rather obtuse in expressing myself. I will make my meaning more clear. Mr. Blake represented the Crown in substance, but he represented the landlords in spirit, when he said he was glad he had received instructions which authorized him to oppose the granting of bail.

MR. HOLMES: The hon. Member is wholly wrong; the allegation does not apply to that case at all, but to a wholly different case.

MR. BRADLAUGH: That shows the excessive inconvenience of having to discuss such cases in the Committee at all. [*Cheers.*] I am glad to have that recognized, for it is an inconvenience that must continually arise until the administration of justice in Ireland is placed on the same footing as it is in England.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL) (Paddington, S.): I understand that during my absence the hon. Member for Northampton, who has just addressed the Committee, stated that he, sitting under the Gallery, heard me say that, in my opinion, the Crown could get any decision it wished from English Judges.

MR. BRADLAUGH: That is so.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: I can assure the hon. Member he is under an entire mistake, and I give an unqualified denial to the statement.

MR. BRADLAUGH: Perhaps the Committee will allow me to explain. It was a case in which I took some interest, for I was the defendant. Unless my memory quite betrays me, I heard the noble Lord make the remark, and I think the noble Lord objected to the constitution of the Court, and a special meeting of the High Court was held, and the Judges changed in consequence of the complaints of the noble Lord and a Colleague.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: I can assure the hon. Member he is completely in error, and I am sure the hon. Member will not find any record of my having given utterance to such an opinion.

MR. BRADLAUGH: I shall be exceedingly glad if my memory has deceived one.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR (Liverpool, Scotland): The case is eminently one that calls for the intervention of the Chief Secretary for Ireland. The right hon. Gentleman has over and over again expressed the feeling that it was the duty of the Government rather to ameliorate than to exasperate the unfortunate state of things between landlord and tenant. When the right hon. Gentleman and his Colleagues had been charged with a desire to stimulate the harsh proceedings of landlords against tenants, he had over and over again, with every appearance of sincerity, disclaimed any such intention. He had now an opportunity of carrying out his promises. Here was a case where intervention on his part would do much to remove exasperation and restore a better state of feeling. Having heard the speech of the late Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir William Harcourt) and the speech of the Attorney General for Ireland, I think the Government will be most unwise if they do not act on the advice of the hon. Member for East Mayo (Mr. Dillon) and order the immediate release of Father Fahy. The Chief Secretary for Ireland must know that nothing can make his difficult task in Ireland more difficult than that the impression should get abroad that the law, the Executive, and the landlords are synonymous terms. It is the duty of his high office to stand impartially between one class and the other, and see that equal justice is being done. Can any fair-minded man infer from what he has heard in Committee that the Crown does stand impartially between the classes? In the first place, there is a man filling two positions incompatible in view of the present position in Ireland—a representative of the Crown and a representative of the landlord class. Let the case be considered calmly, as if it were a case between two classes in England, and not in Ireland. What do we constantly hear from Scotch Members? What more frequent complaint is there than that in the painful struggle between crofters and landlords the same man often fills the position of Procurator Fiscal and the private position of landlord's agent? Mr. Blake was the agent of Mr. Lewis. ["No! no!"] I use the word "agent"

not in the technical sense of the word; if hon. Members choose to trip me up at every word and interrupt me there will be no chance of a calm consideration of the subject. Mr. Blake was acting for the landlords in these cases against the tenants. Surely everybody knows what that means? Here was a man who acted as law agent for the landlords acting as law agent for the Crown. This position imposed upon Mr. Blake the necessity of more care in the performance of his duty than if he were simply Crown Solicitor, or simply law agent for the landlords. Did he impose upon himself the restrictions of his position? By no means. The short extracts from the account of the proceedings show that he brought into this case, as the representative of the Crown, all the *animus* and all the passion of a representative of the landlords. That was the best way to bring the law into disrepute, and divorce the sympathies of the people from those who administered the law. Bail has been asked for the prisoners, and can anyone deny that in England or Scotland bail would have been allowed as a matter of course, and without question? Here are tenants bound to the locality by the ties of home, of family, and of farm tenancy, and yet they are not allowed bail, because the Crown Solicitor, who is the representative of the landlords, opposed it; he opposed the granting of bail with a savage glee that was altogether indecorous in his position.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: He acted under instructions from the Government.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR: Surely the noble Lord has heard the language of the Crown Solicitor quoted.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: I have heard the statement of the Attorney General for Ireland.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR: I do not know whether the noble Lord has heard the speech of the hon. Member for East Mayo (Mr. Dillon), in which he quoted the language of the Crown Solicitor that he expected to receive instructions to refuse bail, and was glad he had received those instructions. I ask the noble Lord, who, with his Colleagues, share the responsibility of Government in Ireland, was it right for their representative to express this savage exultation? This conduct, so unworthy of his position,

became much more serious, much more unworthy, when, as the noble Lord says, he acted as the spokesman of the Government. The Attorney General for Ireland, who is a dexterous *Nisi Prius* advocate, produced a strong impression on the Committee by his statement of the case; but hon. Members should remember the fact that in the statement of the right hon. and learned Gentleman they had listened to the statement of one of the parties to the case, for in his reply to the hon. Member for East Mayo the right hon. and learned Gentleman had acknowledged that the statement upon which he acted, and which he repeated to the Committee, was the statement of Mr. Lewis, one of the parties in the case.

MR. HOLMES: I have explained that the reason I did not desire to enter into the discussion was that necessarily my information was *ex parte*.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR: The right hon. and learned Gentleman began with the statement that his information was *ex parte*; but he concluded by giving his statement as a triumphant vindication of the action of the Crown Solicitor. He produced an effect upon the Committee that was entirely wrong by saying that the clergyman came to the man, whose house had been previously attacked with dynamite, and threatened him with a repetition of that outrage. In that he attempted to prove too much. If that suggestion had been made in the Court where the case was heard, and if it had been proved, was it credible that the presiding magistrate would have thought it a case for the gentlemen to shake hands, go out of the Court, and forget all about it? Why, if Father Fahy had threatened the plaintiff in this case with being murdered with dynamite, would Colonel Waring, the Resident Magistrate, having heard the whole case, have advised Mr. Lewis and Father Fahy, the threatened and the threatener, to "kiss and be friends," like children after a quarrel? It was evident the magistrate considered the case to be one of the most trivial character. How could the right hon. and learned Gentleman reconcile this recommendation of Colonel Waring that the gentlemen should go out of Court, shake hands, and forget it, with credence to the grave statement of Mr. Lewis? No; Colonel Waring did not believe Mr. Lewis. He

said, very properly, the two gentlemen were very excited and angry, and shouting at the top of their voices, said many angry things, as angry men do. Colonel Waring attached no importance to the statement the Attorney General for Ireland was not ashamed to bring forward to induce the Committee to come to a wrong sense of the position. Though Colonel Waring expressed his opinion, there were landlords on the Bench beside him, and the representative of landlords in the Court appealed to the representatives of landlords on the Bench, and, using all his influence as the representative of the Crown, induced them to overrule the sensible, kindly advice of the Resident Magistrate, and so perpetrated this gross injustice. This is a case for the intervention of the Chief Secretary for Ireland between the magisterial landlords and the representatives of the people; and I am sure the Committee, and the country generally, will be disappointed if many days pass over without an order for the unconditional release of Father Fahy.

COLONEL NOLAN (Galway, N.): There is only one question I should like to ask the Attorney General for Ireland, which, as Law Officer, he can readily answer, and that is under what law was Father Fahy bound over to keep the peace? I have not myself the slightest pretence to legal knowledge; but on the Bench some elementary principles of law have occasionally to be studied or looked into. Up to 1882 there was the ordinary law, the operation of which was pretty much the same in England and Ireland. But in 1882 a great change was made, and then the principle of binding over to keep the peace was extended under an old Statute of Edward III., or, at any rate, a very old Statute. I believe that these very old Statutes were sometimes considered the same as the Common Law. I am not an authority on that point; but I want the Attorney General for Ireland to go over this ground carefully, and explain this matter to the Committee, not simply to parry my question, putting me aside with superior legal knowledge, but carefully to explain under what law Father Fahy was bound over to keep the peace.

MR. BRADLAUGH: Perhaps I may be allowed to explain that since speaking I have referred to *Hansard*, and find that it does not corroborate my own

impression of what the noble Lord (Lord Randolph Churchill) said on the occasion referred to a few minutes since. I think it is only loyal for me to say this.

MR. HOLMES: In answer to the question of the hon. and gallant Member for Galway (Colonel Nolan), I may just tell him that a magistrate may bind a man in securities for the preservation of the peace under the Common Law. That was a power always exercised and approved. In addition to that, under an Act of Parliament passed a long time ago—[Colonel NOLAN: But when?] In the Reign of Edward III. Under that Statute magistrates may demand sureties for good behaviour. That Statute is not by any means obsolete; it is acted upon in England almost every week.

COLONEL NOLAN: The Attorney General has not answered my question, under which Statute was Father Fahy bound over? Surely the right hon. and learned Gentleman can and will answer that question put in a simple form.

MR. MURPHY (Dublin, St. Patrick's): I would not have intervened except to ask for further explanation of the statement as to the action taken upon the *ex parte* statement of Mr. Lewis. I confess I am amazed, Sir, to hear from the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland that he thinks it his duty, on the mere statement of one party in a case, to order a State prosecution with all the panoply of the forces of the Crown, and where the case consists, at the outside, of alleged threatening language of one man to another. I think, Sir, that if in England an altercation, such as has been described by the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland, took place, the parties would be allowed to fight it out for themselves. The man who made such a representation, with a request for a prosecution by the Crown in England, would be told to issue a summons to the Magistrates' Court or the Police Court, where the case would be summarily decided on its merits, with both the parties standing on equal terms. In Ireland we generally find that, in disputes between landlords and someone else, the Crown Prosecutor mostly intervenes in the interests of the landlords. If anyone attacks the privileged classes, his case is

immediately made the subject of a Crown prosecution. I should like to know whether it is usual in England; and I would ask the Attorney General for England to say whether, in such a case as this of Father Fahy's, the Crown would order a prosecution? In Ireland Crown prosecutions are ordered on the smallest provocation. They are ordered on the representation of local magistrates and other individuals who have influence with the Crown; and there is nothing, in my opinion, which tends more to lower the respect for the administration of the law than the interposition of the Crown as prosecutor in cases of this kind, which will be always found to be in the interests of the landlord class, without having investigated sufficiently the cases before they order prosecutions. In nearly all the cases where the Crown intervenes we find one class pitted against another. I maintain that nothing is more calculated to lower the law, and to bring it into contempt in the eyes of the people, than the partial administration of the law by prosecutions of this kind. On the merits of this case I do not propose to say anything, as they have been dealt with by other speakers; but I do contend that the case illustrates the general proposition I have made. I do not believe there is any similar system in England, nor would such a system be tolerated by public opinion. I believe that here, when people fall out, they are expected to settle their differences between themselves. This case was not such a one as the Crown ought to have intervened in, particularly as they intervened on the mere statement of Mr. Lewis as against that of Father Fahy.

COLONEL NOLAN (Galway, N.): I should like the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General to answer me on the point of law. He has declared there are two different branches of the law under which Father Fahy might have been convicted. I press my question, and I maintain we are entitled to the assistance of the right hon. and learned Gentleman on the point of law; otherwise, what is the use of paying two Law Officers? What do the Attorney General and Solicitor General for Ireland sit here for? I suppose the Attorney General for Ireland does not answer because he is not a responsible Member

of the Government. I must, therefore, put my question to a responsible Member of the Government. I will put my question to the noble Lord the Chancellor of the Exchequer; but I cannot help being struck by the absurdity of there being two Irish Law Officers, who cannot inform us as to under which of two branches of the law a gentleman has been sent to prison.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL) (Paddington, S.): In answer to the hon. and gallant Gentleman I may say that my own opinion is distinctly this—that the Attorney General for Ireland, as the Representative of the Government, has given the fullest explanation—the fullest statement of this case—that it is in the power of the Government to give. The right hon. and learned Gentleman has answered all the questions put to him in the clearest manner. [“No!”] That is my opinion. I was asked for my opinion, and my opinion is, further, that no Member of the Government would be justified in occupying the time of the Committee further in continuing the discussion.

MR. E. ROBERTSON (Dundee): One point has been raised which I do not completely understand. I wish to know whether, since this trial took place, the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland has examined the evidence upon which the magistrates acted; and, if he has done so, whether he approves of their action in the matter? As I understand the right hon. and learned Gentleman, all he knows about the case as yet he gathered from the preliminary *ex parte* information that was laid before him, and that it was upon the presumption that this evidence was true that he acted. What this Committee is asked to consider is the action of the magistrates on the evidence which was placed before them. As I understand, the Attorney General for Ireland defends that action; but he has not yet stated to the Committee, in spite of anything the noble Lord the Chancellor of the Exchequer may say, whether he has seen the evidence upon which the magistrates acted, and whether, having seen it, he approves of what they have done. Let me say, however, that upon the statements made on the one side and on the other it is obvious that the magistrates have come to an inex-

plicable conclusion. If, as hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway say they believe, there was nothing in the case, why did the magistrates compel Father Fahy to give security to be of good behaviour for six months? That I cannot quite understand. If, as the Attorney General for Ireland says, the magistrates believe the evidence laid before them, it is inexplicable to me how, with such a charge laid before them, they, being convinced of the truth of the charge, could have satisfied themselves with such a meagre and unsatisfactory decision as, upon his theory, they have arrived at. I think the Committee has not been put in possession of sufficient information from the Attorney General for Ireland upon this point.

MR. SHEEHY (Galway, S.): In consequence of the very unsatisfactory answer we have received from the Government I feel it my duty to move the reduction of this Vote by £7,000, the amount of the salaries of the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland and his subordinates. We have heard from the right hon. and learned Gentleman that the first duty of the Government is to assert the law. The Government have always claimed that they will have the law carried out so as to bring peace and contentment to the people; but the assertion of the law in this case does not tend to produce peace, but to produce excitement. In this case the right hon. and learned Gentleman not merely receives the information sent to him, as it is sent in other cases, by his subordinates, but he sends down before the trial special instructions. He sends special instructions before the trial that these poor men who had been arrested should not be admitted to bail, but that they should be sent to prison. He now tells us that they can, if they choose, go before one of the Judges of the Queen's Bench. If they are able to make a case before the Queen's Bench, the right hon. and learned Gentleman promises to look further into the matter with a view to ordering the acceptance of bail. Well, now, here he has all the facts already in his possession; he knows exactly what the case is; but what does he invite these poor people to do? They are mostly people holding small plots of land, and he invites them to go to Dublin to an expensive Law Court to assert that

they have a right to bail. I contend that the right hon. and learned Gentleman knows right well that they have a right to bail; but it will not suit the policy of vengeance that he is carrying out to do them justice. The moment these people were convicted, they were conveyed from the Court as ordinary prisoners—they were handcuffed in pairs, and carried from Loughrea to Galway. It is said that this is not a policy of vengeance; that this is merely an assertion of the law; that this is not exasperating the people; that this is not creating excitement. Now, Sir, I stated, in opening this discussion, that if the right hon. and learned Gentleman would consider my proposition I thought Father Fahy would put his own feelings aside, and that he would probably, with a view of restoring peace to the district, give way if the other prisoners were admitted to bail. I may say I am not authorized to make this statement. I do not know whether Father Fahy would do as I say; but I think it is quite possible he would have done so had my suggestion been accepted. But now, in consequence of the reply we have received this evening, I think he would certainly be degrading himself if he gave any such undertaking. I hope he will not; and I believe that before six months are over Dublin Castle will see better than continue to retain this reverend gentleman in gaol. I understand the right hon. and learned Gentleman to say that the Crown has no authority to intervene in verdicts by the inferior Courts, but that it is open for the gentleman himself either to give bail or to remain in gaol. I can give the right hon. and learned Gentleman an instance where a gentleman was committed to gaol, having refused to give bail under a similar Act. He was committed to gaol for six months. He appealed to the Court of Queen's Bench to be admitted to bail. Judge Lawson refused, and the Lord Lieutenant of the time—I think it was Earl Cowper—four weeks afterwards, on his own motion, without any other proceedings on the part of the prisoner, released the gentleman, because he found it would be better that he should be at liberty; that it was better for the peace of the district and the country that he should be out of gaol. I say it would be better for the peace of the district of Woodford that the Rev.

Father Fahy should be unconditionally released, and that, in consequence of the manner in which our statements have been met, I am bound to press the Amendment I have moved to a division. The statement has been made over and over again—I made it at the beginning of the discussion, and it has been repeated since—that Mr. Blake acted in a dual capacity—namely, that of solicitor for Mr. Lewis and solicitor for the Crown. That has been denied. I assert not merely that he has been for years Mr. Lewis's agent in carrying out evictions, but that he has been the main instrument in torturing Mr. Lewis's tenantry, and that this is not the first time, as I should have proved if I had had the opportunity of making my statement this evening, that this man has incessantly tyrannized over the people in South Galway. I beg, Sir, to move that the Vote be reduced by £7,000.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £22,041, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1887, of Criminal Prosecutions and other Law Charges in Ireland, including certain Allowances under the Act 16 and 16 Vic. c. 83."—(*Mr. Sheehy.*)

Mr. M. J. KENNY (Tyrone, Mid): It may not be worth the while of the noble Lord the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Lord Randolph Churchill) or any Member of the Government to refer at further length to this question; but it is worth our while. This is a test case, because it marks a certain line of policy it is the intention of the Government to pursue in Ireland during the next six months. They have got a clergyman in gaol—we do not know how many more clergymen they may have in gaol before Parliament meets again—and we do not know whether they will even stop there, or whether they will not go on and proceed against the Representatives of the people. The right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland has said that the Statute of Edward III. has been used every day in England against criminals; but I would like to know how often it is used against parsons of the Established Church, or I should like to know how often it is used against Dissenting clergymen or clergymen of any denomi-

nation? The Statute of Edward III., as everyone knows, is a Statute directed against rogues and vagabonds; and clergymen, even in England, do not come under that denomination. There is a further point in connection with this question. The Rev. Mr. Fahy is a man well known in the South of Galway; he is well known as a man who has always been striving for peace and good order; as a man who has always endeavoured to stay the proceedings of landlords, and who has always endeavoured to induce the tenants to come to terms with the landlord party wherever possible. He has done so recently in a most successful manner in other cases. He approached Mr. Lewis to accomplish the same object, and Mr. Lewis took occasion to pick a quarrel with the Rev. Mr. Fahy, and immediately that quarrel was picked rushed into the police station and swore an information against the Rev. Mr. Fahy for the purpose of getting him bound over to keep the peace. The main point on which this information was based was that the Rev. Mr. Fahy had stated that Mr. Lewis's house might be blown up by dynamite. Well, I believe his house was blown up by dynamite; but for a gentleman who occupies a bad house it is an extremely paying proceeding to blow it up with dynamite. We had a case in the county of Kerry, not long ago, in which Mr. Samuel Hussey blew up his own house and came down on the county and got £1,500 for the purpose of repairing it—it was as good as putting £1,500 into Mr. Hussey's pocket.

THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order! The hon. Gentleman is travelling very wide of the point before the Committee.

MR. M. J. KENNY: And this gentleman, Mr. Lewis, came forward to claim compensation for the injury done to his own house.

THE CHAIRMAN: Even that is not pertinent to the Amendment before the Committee.

MR. M. J. KENNY: Oh, I will not proceed further with the exploits of Mr. Lewis in regard to the blowing up of his own house; but I will say that every person is aware that the Rev. Mr. Fahy has been during his whole life, during the whole period of his ministry, the agent of peace and good order in the South of Galway, and this gentleman

who swore an information against the Rev. Mr. Fahy, could not get even the Resident Magistrate of the district to lend anything like a favourable countenance to the charge Mr. Lewis brought against him. During the whole proceedings in Court, Colonel Waring, who is the Resident Magistrate, kept pressing on this gentleman, Mr. Lewis, to come to terms with the Rev. Mr. Fahy and go out of Court and shake hands and become friends, because the charges on which the proceedings were based were of such a frivolous nature as not to deserve the attention of a Court of Justice. Colonel Waring, the Resident Magistrate, went further, and said if he had been in the position of Mr. Lewis he would never have dreamt of instituting such proceedings. When we find a Resident Magistrate using language of that kind, using such language in a public Court, you may depend upon it the charge brought against the Rev. Mr. Fahy must have been of a trivial nature. There is a further point. The Attorney General for Ireland directed the Crown Prosecutor of the county of Galway to refuse bail; but, in the first place, the Crown Prosecutor for the county of Galway had, on his own authority, decided to refuse bail, and when questioned in Court on this point he stated in explanation he refused bail previously on his own authority; but now he was happy to be supported in his proceedings by the recommendation and advice of the Attorney General for Ireland. Well, Sir, we know very well that if there was a serious charge, that if the charge against the Rev. Mr. Fahy was of a serious nature, the Government would not stop at that, the local magistrates would not be allowed to stop at binding the rev. gentleman over to keep the peace. The local magistrates—who I believe, in the main, have acted upon the request of the Crown Prosecutor—if the charge against the Rev. Mr. Fahy was a genuine charge and not a malicious one, would, you may be perfectly certain, have returned the Rev. Mr. Fahy for trial at the next Assizes. Well, Sir, things would have been quite different if they had taken that turn. I do not think that the rev. gentleman himself would have objected to be returned for trial at the Winter Assizes, for then, at least, he would have had an opportunity

of being defended properly by counsel, and tried by a fair jury of Sligo jurymen, though they might be special jurymen. But the whole proceedings of the Government point to one conclusion—that there is a desire on the part of the Government to strike terror into the people of Connaught, to endeavour to bully them in the interest of the landlords into paying rents they cannot pay. That is the kernel of the whole question, and these law proceedings are for the purpose of intimidating these men. A local leader like the Rev. Mr. Fahy is pitched upon because he has always done his duty by the people, and the Government take the first opportunity of hurrying this man off to gaol for six months in lieu of humiliating himself to the extent of giving surety to be of good behaviour, as if any clergyman would consent to so humiliating a process, conscious of his own innocence and uprightness, conscious of the honour and propriety of his own character, as to enter into a bond in a Court of Law to be of good behaviour for six months towards a gentleman like Mr. Lewis, who is well known to be a rowdy and a bully. To ask a peaceful and upright man like the Rev. Mr. Fahy to enter into his recognizances to be of good behaviour towards this man is not justice, but a travesty of justice. I may say the hon. Member for South Galway (Mr. Sheehy) has put his case very moderately, and I shall have extreme pleasure in supporting him if he presses his Amendment to a division.

MR. HARRIS (Galway, E.): I was in hopes that this discussion would come to a conclusion very soon. I thought after the considerate, the moderate, and very able manner in which the case was put by my hon. Friends on these Benches, that the Attorney General and the Government would consent to grant the very moderate request that was made to them; but I find I was mistaken. Complaints have been made as to occupying the time of this Committee. I must say for myself that during the debate which has occurred I have limited my observations to the narrowest space. It so happens that I am very well acquainted with most of the parties concerned in these evictions. I know a great deal about Mr. Lewis—and I do not want to say anything disparaging about any man in this House, because

assertions of the sort are open to question, and people are often prompted by their prejudices to use language they might not be able to substantiate—he is a small landlord, and both himself and his mother have lived together and have been a great trouble to that part of the country. As regards the tenants against whom actions have been taken on the Clanricarde estate—

THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order! I have several times stated that it is not pertinent to the Vote before the Committee to enter into all the relations between landlord and tenant. The Question before the Committee is not the action of the Government in respect to the Rev. Mr. Fahy.

MR. HARRIS: The action of the Law Officers of the Crown, Sir, comes within the Question. In one case the rent was £25, and the law costs were laid down at £18. In the case of Patrick Conway, whose rent is £36, the costs were made out at £17 10s. In the case of James—

THE CHAIRMAN: That is not relevant to the question of criminal prosecutions.

Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; Committee counted, and 40 Members being found present,

MR. HARRIS: Mr. Courtney, I maintain that, of my own knowledge, Mr. Blake is connected with nearly all the landlords in the county of Galway. He belongs to one of the old families, and he is land agent for several landlords. And if we consider that the law is, as I may say, entirely in the hands of the magistracy of the county and the law officers of the county, and that a close relationship such as I have described exists between them, it is very hard upon the poor people of the district to contend against the forces brought against them. From what I have read of the proceedings at the trial, it does not surprise me to know that Mr. Blake acted in a very partial and one-sided manner. He insisted upon Father Fahy giving bail. It is not only Father Fahy, but the poor people arrested in Woodford and brought before the magistrates, who have been treated in a most cruel manner. I am sorry that the Government do not seem to realize the full importance of this matter, for one of the main causes of crime in county Galway, and I believe

in other counties, is the want of confidence in the administration of the law. Our people are very shrewd, and if the law were to be administered in a fair and just manner I have no doubt that a better relationship would exist between the Government and the people, and that very many crimes that have been committed in the county of Galway would never have been committed. But, however, when the people cease to have confidence in the law, when they see the magistracy, the Crown Prosecutors, the County Court Judges, and officers in every department of the law arranged against them; when they see that the law is not a protecting power, or a power which will do justice between man and man, especially between the rich and the poor, but is entirely on the side of the rich, which I am sorry to say it is in the county of Galway, it is not to be wondered at that the people resort to extreme measures. The administration of the law is a very important matter. In the county of Galway, some few years ago, there was a fair amount of confidence in the law; but gradually contentions arose between landlord and tenant. Things have gone from bad to worse, and now, I might say, the people are arrayed on one side and the law and the landlordocracy on the other. I would be glad indeed if the Government could see its way to alter this state of things; and I do not know anything which would tend to this end better than the release of Father Fahy. I also think that if the Attorney General for Ireland and the other Law Officers of the Crown could see their way to allow the poor people of Woodford who are now in prison to be liberated, a better state of things would arise in that part of the country, and we might have a chance of living in a peaceable and orderly manner.

COLONEL NOLAN (Galway, N.): The policy of the Law Officers of the Crown, partly owing to the work they do in the Law Courts and partly to their work in Parliament, is one open to a good deal of question, and the manner in which they are paid is very extraordinary. I see that the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland receives £1,200 a-year in lieu of patent fees. There are no patent fees taken out in Ireland; but still this payment of £1,200 continues. However, up to this evening

I always considered that the advantage of having two Law Officers of the Crown for Ireland was that we should be able to obtain the best possible information upon legal questions. To my astonishment I have been refused that information; failing to get it from the Law Officers of the Crown I appealed to the responsible Leader of the House (Lord Randolph Churchill). I have asked under what branch of the law a clergyman in the county of Galway has been imprisoned, and I have been met with a cool refusal. The right hon. and learned Gentleman refuses to give me the information in the first instance, and he is backed up in his obduracy by the Leader of the House. The conduct of the Attorney General for Ireland in the House to-night has been very extraordinary. I put it down to mere caprice, rather than ignorance of the law. I trust that the Solicitor General for Ireland means to speak upon this subject; if he is not acquainted with the subtleties of Irish law, I am sure the English Law Officers, who are sitting by his side at this moment, will be able to advise him. It is very important to know whether it is under the ordinary Common Law, or whether it is under the Statute of Edward III., that Father Fahy is at the present moment in gaol? I press that point. We know perfectly well that we cannot force an opinion from a Minister of the Crown upon any point. I am very glad that the Attorney General for Ireland has now returned to the House, because, perhaps, the Solicitor General for Ireland might not have liked to give an opinion in the absence of his senior Colleague, which senior Colleague has refused information. The contention of the noble Lord the Chancellor of the Exchequer that he will save time by making a totally new departure is one I cannot understand. I believe it is a well-established precedent that we may not ask information of any Minister with the exception of the Law Officers, and the information we ask from them must be upon a legal point. I am not certain whether it is under the Common Law, or under the Statute of Edward III., that Father Fahy is imprisoned. I have asked the question several times. I have appealed to the Leader of the House, and have got no satisfaction from him. I do not remember, during the five Parliaments I

have sat in the House, that a Committee has ever been similarly treated, and I think I am justified in moving to report Progress. I, therefore, beg to move, Mr. Courtney, that you do report Progress; but I state at the outset that the Motion will be withdrawn if the Attorney General will only give us a satisfactory answer to our question.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Colonel Nolan.*)

SIR JOSEPH M'KENNA (Monaghan, S.): Before you put the Question, Mr. Courtney, I should like to ask the Attorney General for Ireland particularly whether the proceedings against Father Fahy have been taken under 34 *Edward III. c. 1.*, or not? If they have not been taken under this Statute, then under what Statute have they been taken? I trust the right hon. and learned Gentleman will find it within his competency to give an answer to my question.

MR. JORDAN (Clare, W.): I think it is but reasonable, Mr. Courtney, when we have two Law Officers of the Crown in this House, that we should receive specific and definite answers to questions repeatedly put by us. My hon. and gallant Friend (Colonel Nolan) has put his question in the most respectful manner, and yet the Law Officers of the Crown sit silent on the Benches opposite, and refuse to give him an answer. I think it is but fair and reasonable that we should ascertain from the Attorney General for Ireland, or from some other Member of the Government, under what Statute Father Fahy has been committed to gaol; and I respectfully press upon the Government, and particularly upon the right hon. and learned Gentleman, who knows quite well under what Statute Father Fahy has been committed to gaol, to give us a respectful reply to a question put frequently in the most respectful manner.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (MR. HOLMES) (Dublin University): The only reason why I have not risen again is that I have given the only reply I can give, not merely once, but twice, and that is this—that the facts proved before the magistrates justified them in putting the rev. gen-

tleman under a rule of bail. I have not got the evidence before me; and, therefore, I do not know all the facts. Of course, it is perfectly open to any hon. Member to refer to the record of the charge, in order to ascertain under the provisions of what Statute the charge against Father Fahy has been brought. It is impossible I should know all about the case.

MR. JORDAN (Clare, W.): Then, will the right hon. and learned Gentleman ascertain the facts?

THE CHAIRMAN: The present discussion is not relevant to the Motion to report Progress.

COLONEL NOLAN (Galway, N.): Mr. Courtney, I have got an answer from the Attorney General for Ireland. Of course, it is not a very satisfactory one; but it seems to be the best it is in his power to give on the present occasion. I am convinced that it would have saved a great deal of time and bad temper if he had told all this before. I trust the right hon. and learned Gentleman will make it his business to ascertain under what Statute the charge has been brought, and that he will communicate the information to us as soon as he receives it. Having received the intimation from the right hon. and learned Gentleman that he does not know the whole of the circumstances of the case, and that he has told us everything it is in his power to tell us, I beg to withdraw the Motion to report Progress.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Question again proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £22,041, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1887, of Criminal Prosecutions and other Law Charges in Ireland, including certain Allowances under the Act 16 and 16 Vic. c. 83."—(*Mr. Sheehy.*)

MR. H. CAMPBELL (Fermanagh, S.): I think that the conduct of the Government, or of the Law Advisers of the Government, in refusing to accept bail in this case is very disgraceful, and such as no Member on these Benches can help rising to express his indignation at. We had the right hon. and learned Gentleman's subordinate in the county of Galway coolly rising in Court and advising the magistrates to refuse bail, telling them that he was confident

that to-morrow it would be found that his action was supported by the Law Officers of the Crown. The action of the Crown Solicitor in Galway shows very plainly the magnificent system of wire-pulling which exists in Ireland in the interest of the landlord class as against the tenantry or poorer class. As I have said, the Crown Solicitor announced in Court that on the following day he would be able to prove that the action he recommended the magistrates to take would be justified by Her Majesty's Government. What happened in Galway is simply a repetition of what happens throughout the length and breadth of Ireland. In all the Irish counties the Government have chosen for their Crown Solicitors little paltry lawyers; men whom they are certain, when the necessity arises, will take the part of the landlord class against that of the humbler classes in Ireland. It is scandalous and monstrous that the Government should back up their Crown Solicitor in the county of Galway in refusing to give bail in the case of a scamp of a man like Mr. Lewis. ["Order, order!"] I do not mean the term in any way offensively, Mr. Courtney, to the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General. It is well known that this Mr. Lewis is a man, like most of his class in Ireland, without character. He does not possess anything which goes to make up what is generally comprised in the word man. It is more than probable that he spent his last half-crown in buying a few pounds of powder or a few pounds of dynamite.

THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order! The hon. Member must confine his observations to the Question under discussion, which I have frequented indicated to the Committee.

MR. H. CAMPBELL: I was just going to say that the conduct of the Government in refusing bail in the case of this clergyman, as against a gentleman of the character and position of Mr. Lewis, is such as no one can justify.

MR. HOLMES: There has been no refusal of bail.

MR. H. CAMPBELL: At any rate, whether the Government refused to accept bail or not does not much matter. In this case the Rev. Father Fahy has acted as any Irishman, considering him-

self an Irishman, would act. He has elected to go to gaol sooner than accept the ignominious position into which Her Majesty's Government would like to force him. The other prisoners acting by his side have done likewise, and I have no two opinions as to which of the two—the Government or the rev. gentleman and his fellow-prisoners, when they return from gaol—will stand the higher in the estimation of the people of the locality. Do the Government think that by their present action in Galway they are smoothing the way for a peaceful or a quiet time in Ireland during the coming winter? Why, Sir, they are simply driving in the thin edge of the wedge, which will eventually split themselves. This is not the way in which a Government who desired to make matters go along smoothly between landlord and tenant in the different counties of Ireland during the coming winter should proceed. The arrest and casting into gaol of a clergyman of the persuasion to which by far the greater majority of the Irish people belong is certainly not the way by which you will firmly establish law and order in Ireland. I can only say what I, as a Representative of the people of Ireland, consider it my duty to say—that the action of the Government in this matter will rebound upon them, and that they will create, by the big structure which they are raising in Galway, a difficulty which will overwhelm them before many months go by.

MR. E. HARRINGTON (Kerry, W.): Mr. Courtney, although I was not present here during the earlier part of the evening, matters of this kind are nothing new to me. I have had, I should think, as varied an experience as the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland himself in the matter of Crown prosecutions. My impression is that there is not on the face of the earth, in any country pretending to the slightest semblance of civilization, such a system of misgovernment in this matter as there is in Ireland. Protest after protest has been made against the manner in which the law is administered, or rather mal-administered, in Ireland. And I am sure that the right hon. and learned Gentleman, and every conscientious Member of the Government, feels in his heart a repugnance excited

Mr. H. Campbell

by the state of things which has been presented to this Committee this evening. The hon. Gentleman the Member for South Tyrone (Mr. T. W. Russell), whom I see sitting below the Bar at this moment, stated this evening that we want one law for the priest and one law for the peasant in Ireland. Sir, that is not the fact. We do not want one law for the priest and one for the peasant; but we do want one for the landlord, priest, and peasant alike. This is our position; we want that equal law shall be dealt out to priest and peasant and landlord, to squire and labourer, in Ireland. [*Ironical cheers.*] The hon. Gentleman (Mr. T. W. Russell) cheers. I do not doubt the sincerity of the hon. Member; in fact, my complaint against him is that he is more biased by prejudice than by any disposition to act unfairly. I must say I have not had much experience of the hon. Gentleman, but that the experience I have had of him is that in cases in which he has interfered he has acted with a chivalry which does him credit and a generosity which might not be expected from him. It is said of us that we are incessantly talking; our complaint is that you are incessantly silent. The right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland was asked a plain question on a matter of fact. ["Oh, oh!"] It was a matter of fact, and a matter of law. It was a matter which was within his cognizance, and I have no hesitation in saying that it was quite competent for him to stand up in his place and give us the answer we desired. What was his action? What was his action, backed up and championed by the noble Lord the Chancellor of the Exchequer? His action was to give us a blank refusal, to tell us that he would do nothing. My hon. and gallant Friend (Colonel Nolan) asked whether it was under the antediluvian Statute of Edward III., or under any modern Act of Parliament, that this reverend gentleman was convicted. [The ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND: I shook my head.] He shook his head, but we did not know the meaning of it; and after a lot of screwing and drawing and bull-dosing, just like drawing a badger, we found that the meaning of the shake of the head was that there was nothing in the head. The right hon. and learned Gentleman sat down there with an air that

would have done credit to a Solomon; but when he rose he was unable to state under what Statute Father Fahy had been treated. Now, what are the real facts? The facts, I say, are disgraceful to the English Government. The right hon. and learned Gentleman had to admit that he really did not know the whole of the facts of the case. The ugly complexion which we bear before the British public is owing to the fact that we have to ring all the changes in our endeavour to extort from a hostile, silent, and unwilling Government that which they might as a matter of decorum answer us readily and at once. The admission of the right hon. and learned Gentleman throws a lurid light on the proceedings in Ireland. The right hon. and learned Gentleman admits that he does not know whether it was under the Statute of Edward III. or under a modern Statute that this prosecution was commenced.

MR. HOLMES: I think I stated that there is no modern Statute on the subject, and that the law upon which these proceedings were based is put into daily force in England as well as in Ireland.

MR. E. HARRINGTON: I am afraid the right hon. and learned Gentleman has only got deeper in the mire. The Attorney General for Ireland is a master of technicalities, but he does not appear to be acquainted fully with this matter. The alternatives in this case are the Statute of Edward III. or the Common Law. The noble Lord the Chancellor of the Exchequer has suggested that we ask these questions with an obstructive object. As a matter of fact, there is real ground for the questions which we have put to the Government. Is it not a notorious fact that the Statute of Edward III. is aimed against rogues and vagabonds, and that under it a vagabond may be kept in gaol until he can find security for his good behaviour? I ask is it as a vagabond that this Irish priest has been treated? That is a reasonable question, and I maintain that the right hon. and learned Gentleman has no right to shake his head and tell us that we have no right to ask such impertinent questions. No, Sir; the fate of a poor Galway priest is nothing to us; we are to concern ourselves with all the intricacies of the British Constitution. We are not to concern ourselves with what is done in Galway to a

priest of the Church to which the large majority of our people belong. Now, Sir, the right hon. and learned Gentleman admitted in this House to-night—he will admit it now again—that it was he who directed the prosecution. Is it reasonable to suppose that when he did this he did not know under what law the proceedings would be taken? Ah, Sir, the right hon. and learned Gentleman positively winces under my statement. He directed the prosecution against the Catholic clergyman. He is paid for doing so. We, the Irish people, are paying him £7,000 a-year for directing prosecutions, while he does not know under what Statute the prosecutions are to take place. I congratulate the right hon. and learned Gentleman upon his peace of mind in the matter. This is a vital question for us, and we have a right to press the question which we have addressed to him. The right hon. and learned Gentleman has also stood up in this House and has said that his deputy in the matter had no connection with the landlord. Well, my hon. Friend (Mr. Sheehy) who represents the division has asserted in this House that the man who is in that part of the country to represent the Attorney General, and the man who is there to represent British law, the continuance of which you want to force on us, is the agent for the landlord in question. The case is not one directly between the landlord and the tenants, but between the landlord and the person who acts as mediator between the landlord and the tenants. Who is this mediator; who stands by the poor tenantry and says a good word for them in their time of trouble; who has stood by them for generations when things looked darker than, thank God, they do now—who but the priest? Father Fahy was asked to walk into his prosecutor's parlour—"Will you walk into my parlour said the spider to the fly?" He walked in; but we have only one *ex parte* version of what happened there, and that version, according to the right hon. and learned Gentleman, was supplied to him, and upon that version he directed the prosecution, and in directing that prosecution he did not tell his deputy that which, seeing that that deputy was a landlord's man himself, he should have been most particular to tell him—namely, which way to proceed in the matter. Which way was he

to proceed? Under the Statute of Edward III.? Sir, there is a phrase, which is not Greek, and which would be very well understood in Ireland—namely, "Proceed by the law of lauv laudhir"—that is to say, proceed by the law of the strong hand. Not so long since I myself witnessed one of these extraordinary scenes which so frequently take place in the name of law and order in Ireland. I sat in the Court House whilst the case was proceeding, and saw the Clerk of Petty Sessions who was engaged there, fill up all the committals the day before the case was concluded. I ask all those hon. Members who are listening to me, who know anything about the administration of justice in England, what would be thought of the conduct of the officials in a Court who knew so well what the decision was to be that they made out the committals the day before the case was concluded? This is a matter which I may have to bring up again for the delectation of the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland later on in the debate. I saw with my own eyes the clerk filling up the committals the day before the prosecution had closed; and I fancy that is a sample of the proceedings in the case of Father Fahy. I do not wonder that the noble Lord opposite (Lord Randolph Churchill) is anxious to remain silent, and that the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland is anxious to mislead him. When the sun gets into blazing force there is such a thing as sun-stroke. Well, the truth is rising like the sun; soon it will get into the meridian, and we may expect the legal arrangements of Ireland to suffer from the sun-stroke of truth. This change is coming quickly, and I say to all fair-minded Englishmen who hear me that they will believe my words sooner than they think—they will believe that in Ireland there exists a hideous state of public wrong, a constant miscarriage of justice, and that the whole system will soon be laid bare to the light of day. The administration of law in that country is polluted at its source, that source being the connection which exists between the Government and the landlord system. In the case of the committals of which I have spoken—and in this matter the right hon. and learned Gentleman cannot plead non-responsibility, for the incident occurred

within the past two months, neither can it be said that I am overstepping the limits of your ruling, Mr. Courtney—the legal farce which was enacted was one of a kind with which we Irish Members are thoroughly familiar. There is no such thing as even justice in Ireland; we behold either a ridiculous and outrageous farce or a dreadful tragedy which affects the lives of innocent men. I have described a legal farce I myself witnessed, the committals being made out long before the end of the case, and everyone connected with the prosecution, from the very policemen up to the highest officials there, knowing what the decision was to be. Application was made on behalf of the prisoners for bail, and the magistrates and all concerned acted their parts so well that the facts seemed to come upon them by surprise. A solemn whisper went round amongst them; they affected to hold a consultation for a moment; they looked round to the representative of the Crown, who said—“Oh, I am not yet in a position to say what is the state of mind of the Attorney General on this matter.” I could have told him what the mind of the right hon. and learned Gentleman was. It was either represented figuratively by that calm repose in which he was indulging just now, or else it was represented by that phrase I quoted just now—“Proceed by the law of lauv laudhir; go ahead as you please.” The magistrates said they would be most anxious and willing to give bail, but as they did not know the mind of the Attorney General on the matter, they could not do it. All this was in face of the fact that the committals had been made out before my own eyes the day before. Does the right hon. and learned Gentleman not think it worth while to listen to how the law is administered in Ireland? He cannot stand up here and defend the action of his subordinates. [“Order, order!”] An hon. Member cries “Order!” I imagine I am the apostle of order. [*Laughter.*] You may laugh. I myself have been the victim of the law in Ireland, and I would appeal to the right hon. and learned Gentleman to ask his subordinates what their opinion of that case was. I say that I and my Friends who approach in this way the purification of the law which creates disorder in Ireland are the real apostles of peace and order in that country, and

not you who sit on those Benches opposite and give a silent assent to the statements of the right hon. and learned Gentleman, and give an occasional un-Parliamentary growl at the representations which come from this quarter of the House. I want to eradicate the present disorder in Ireland, to take it up by the roots altogether and establish there something like that good order which ought to obtain in every civilized country in the world. Are the magistrates in Ireland who sit on the Bench and are responsible for such a case as this of Father Fahy—but I will not pursue that farther, for I see by your gesture, Sir, that I am getting out of Order. I must confess that I have indulged in these few remarks rather in the heat of the moment in consequence of my recollection of what I have seen take place in a Court of Law, and hon. Members will, therefore, not feel surprised at not having heard from me anything in the nature of a connected essay. If I cut my observations short on this matter, it is not because I do not feel a great deal, or because I have not plenty to say on the matter. I have had a long experience of the maladministration of the law in Ireland, and, notwithstanding the magnificent salaries they receive, I do not envy the position of right hon. Gentlemen opposite who have to champion such gross anomalies and such a gross caricature of law as exists there. Right hon. Gentlemen would be right well advised if they would take that sensible course that evidently was in the mind of the presiding magistrate when he said—“Let this matter drop; do not allow it to go further.” The Crown Solicitor should have taken the case no further. But the Government are now responsible for the action of their deputy, who there and then interrupted the harmony of the proceedings. It would have been better for the cause of law and order in the county of Galway if that harmony had not been interrupted at that time. Here we have a priest in gaol. In what position, I ask, is such a man more likely to advance the public peace—in gaol or out of it? There is naturally a strong hostility to priests and to the Church to which they belong, in this country. [“No, no!”] I say yes. Have we not seen it ventilated in the letter which was addressed to the noble Leader of this House a few days ago? It is my duty to speak of

facts which I know, and I say this, that the priests in Ireland are a far more useful garrison, so far as the protection of the lives and property of the landlords are concerned, than any number of British soldiers. I declare that exasperation would have reached a much greater height than ever it has had it not been for the salutary and useful influence exerted by the priests as peacemakers in Ireland. It is a common practice in Ireland for us to warn enthusiastic friends of the Government not to venture upon a war against the priests. We tell them that if they do they will come ill out of it. The Government, however, seem only too glad of the opportunity afforded them by the over zeal of this clergyman in his desire to make peace between the members of his flock and the landlords, to make an attack upon the clerical party. Father Fahy, as has been pointed out, desired peace not war. He went to one of the landlords. Is it reasonable to suppose that, his errand being one of peace, he was seized with the desire to excite to crime? Is it likely that if he had intended to excite people to outrage and crime against this man, he would have gone into Mr. Lewis's parlour to tell him so? Is such a theory to be maintained in the light of day? If the right hon. and learned Gentleman knows anything at all about this case, he is aware of the fact that, when these two gentlemen met, they approached each other courteously, each one raising his hat, and that they then conversed together in regard to these evicted tenantry. The question of the eviction is not immediately before the Committee, but this is before the Committee, that the conversation grew first warm, then hot, and, I suppose, eventually got to a white heat; but, whatever was said in that conversation, it all grew out of the circumstance that the priest went there as a messenger of peace to bring about an amicable arrangement between the landlord and his tenants. I will not indulge in the rather natural suggestion which would come to the lips of most people, and say—"After all, it serves these priests right for endeavouring to throw their protection round the landlords." But that, at any rate, is the lesson the Government seem anxious to convey to the minds of the priests. That is the lesson which the silence of the Government

and this shielding of the Law Officers of the Crown in Ireland will convey to the minds of the people, if, when a man tries to make peace and it is found that his sympathies are in favour of bringing about an amicable settlement between the landlords and the tenants, he is thrust into gaol. The fact is, the Government are maintaining their old policy; they are true to their colours. There can be no doubt that the present Government is "true blue." It is maintaining its ancient reputation; it is carrying the blood-stained flag of old, and this is not the first drip of priests' blood upon it. It is the priest-hunting policy of old, and I say that, in the end, the Government will be ashamed of it, and will have much more reason to regret it than we shall.

MR. JORDAN (Clare, W.): I rise to support the demand of my hon. Friend in relation to this matter. I must say that I deprecate, in the very strongest possible terms that I can command, any observation from any individual, even from the hon. Gentleman the Member for South Tyrone (Mr. T. W. Russell), or from any side of the House, that would accentuate or increase the religious differences and feelings now existing in Ireland, and that would increase ill-feeling between creed and creed, and class and class. It should be the desire of all sides of the House to diminish, rather than to increase, such a state of things. That has been my tendency and practice, and, so far as I know, the tendency and practice of my hon. Friends about me. It is their desire, so far as I know at present, to diminish instead of increase such feeling. We desire to live on the best possible terms with our fellow-countrymen. Our lot has been cast with them, and we would rather that peace should be maintained between all parties than that a constant state of hostility and warfare should prevail. In the case of Father Fahy, I desire to join my hon. Friends in an appeal to the Treasury Bench—

Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; Committee counted, and 40 Members being found present,

MR. JORDAN: I was saying that I desire to join my hon. Friends on this side of the House in an appeal to the Treasury Bench—which was empty then, though it is full now—to take such steps,

as soon as convenient, as will lead to the remission of the sentence under which Father Fahy is now immured in Galway Gaol. I think it is right they should do so. In my opinion, the action of the Crown was in this case arbitrary, unjust, and impolitic. It was arbitrary in allowing the imprisonment of Father Fahy for language alleged to have been used in an altercation. I think that the presiding magistrate, Colonel Waring, who intimated that gentlemen were not likely to remember words they used in the heat of an altercation, and who recommended that an amicable settlement of the difficulty should be arrived at, took up a wise, judicious, and prudent attitude; and I trust that in future we may see a greater number of such magistrates on the Bench in Ireland. If we had had more of them in the past, to give such advice, we should have had much less trouble in that country than we have had. The action of the right hon. and learned Gentleman, in ordering a prosecution in such a state of affairs, was arbitrary. I think it was also unjust to pass such a sentence on the reverend gentleman on the testimony of the one man against the testimony of the other. The magistrates found Father Fahy guilty—

THE CHAIRMAN: Order! The question of the justice of the sentence cannot be considered under this Vote. That has reference to the function of the magistrates.

MR. JORDAN: Well, the result, at any rate, was that the testimony of one gentleman was taken as against that of the other gentleman.

THE CHAIRMAN: It is not competent for the hon. Gentleman to discuss that matter under the present Vote. It is not relevant to this Vote.

MR. JORDAN: I bow to your decision, Sir. I understood that the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland, on the statement of one person, ordered a prosecution, in an *ex parte* manner, and that he did not hear the statement of the defendant. Under the circumstances I think I may fairly say that the action of the Government was partial and one-sided, and, if so, I maintain that it was unjust, and, further, that it was impolitic. I deplore for the peace of the country that this action has been taken, and this reverend gentleman has been

imprisoned. I think that instead of doing good it is calculated to do a considerable amount of harm. It came out in evidence—or, at least, whether it was in evidence or not, I think the prosecution was based on the statement—that the reverend gentleman threatened Mr. Lewis, in the course of their altercation, that unless his (Father Fahy's) view of the case were taken, the house of the other would be blown up with dynamite. I think that such a statement as that would be discreditable, and I do not think it likely that any gentleman or any man would make it to another, much less is it likely that a clergyman, or a person in the position of Father Fahy, would do so.

THE CHAIRMAN: I have repeatedly pointed out to the hon. Gentleman that that question is not relevant to this Vote. All that can be discussed on this Vote is the action of the Crown Officer.

MR. JORDAN: Then I think that the action of the Crown was calculated to produce disorder and commotion in the country rather than peace and order. I have to say that I know, so far as my knowledge of the priesthood of Ireland goes, that the priests are the custodians of the peace of the country, and that in many parts of the country they have repressed crime and outrage rather than promoted it. I have again and again heard the Roman Catholic priests state to their people in large crowds assembled that they were neither to take offence from the opposite party nor to give offence. That is the general character of the Roman Catholic priest, so far as I know, and it is with the greatest possible pleasure that I bear testimony to it, to maintain the peace of the country, and restrain the passions of men who have very often been outraged, and who, if they were not restrained by good counsel of that kind, might be tempted to commit deeds that afterwards both they themselves and other people would deplore. I think this reverend gentleman has been placed under such a ban by being required to give bail that he is perfectly justified in refusing to assent to the sentence, and in going to gaol in preference. I would endorse the statement of my hon. Friend the Member for East Mayo (Mr. Dillon) and my other hon. Friends, that rather than admit that he had committed a fault which he was conscious of never having com-

mitted, and rather than admit that he was a rogue and vagabond—rather than acquiesce in the justice of such a sentence by finding bail—he did right to go to prison. I am certain that Father Fahy, after having heard of this discussion, rather than give any countenance to the legal assumption that he is a vagabond and a wanderer, by giving security for good behaviour, will continue to remain in prison until the term of his imprisonment has expired. [“Hear, hear!” and laughter.] No doubt, it is exceedingly delightful to my Friends—if I dare call them so—on the opposite side of the House to find that a Catholic priest has been imprisoned for having taken sides with the people from whom he sprung as against the class to which hon. Gentlemen on the opposite Benches belong.

THE CHAIRMAN: I have already warned the hon. Gentleman; and if he is not more relevant in his observations he will come under the serious censure of the Chair.

MR. JORDAN: I have little further to say beyond that I do not take exactly the same view as some of my hon. Friends. I would not say that the same justice should be meted out to priests and peasants; that is not exactly the parallel. I think the same justice should be meted out to the priest in the South as to the pastor in the North. That is what I would advocate. I do not think it likely, from what has already taken place, that the use of violent language, inciting to crime and breach of the peace, would be visited in the case of the pastor in the North of Ireland with the same severe pains and penalties as would be inflicted on the Roman Catholic clergyman in the county of Galway. We have had very violent language used by pastors in Belfast and the North of Ireland lately, and no action whatever has been taken by the Government; but the very moment that language is used by a Catholic priest to Mr. Lewis which Mr. Lewis chooses to consider disrespectful to his greatness, he, to score a point in popularity with the landed and ruling classes, swears an information against that Catholic clergyman, gets him indicted and prosecuted, and, contrary to the opinion and desire of the presiding magistrate, has him immured in Galway Gaol. I would join my hon. Friends on this side of the

House in pressing on the Government, on grounds of justice and policy, to take such steps as will bring about the liberation of Father Fahy from Galway Gaol.

MR. COX (Clare, E.): I have great pleasure in supporting my hon. Friends who move the reduction of this Vote. The only regret I have is that I know very well our protests will be useless, and that the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland will get his salary. It is evident that it is through the right hon. and learned Gentleman's action that this Catholic priest has been imprisoned. I can well understand the silence of the right hon. and learned Gentleman; I can understand his refusing to answer the questions which have been put to him by the hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for Galway (Colonel Nolan). If he stated the Acts or Act under which this imprisonment is inflicted, he would only be opening up a precedent for the future. He wants to have both nets. Father Fahy is probably not the only priest who will be arrested for standing between the landlords and the people, and, under circumstances somewhat similar to those of the present case, the Law Officers of the Crown may find it convenient to discontinue action under one law and to proceed in the future under another. Supposing this is only the beginning of the Marquess of Salisbury's 20 years of coercion for Ireland. If it is, the end may not be so far off as 20 years. So far as we are concerned we are prepared to meet that policy; the people of Ireland are prepared to meet it; the priests of Ireland, as the heads of the people, will be prepared to meet it; as also will the Representatives of the Irish people in this House. The people of Ireland have experienced that sort of law and order before, and the Government know perfectly well that no Irishman has ever come through an experience of that law and order a greater lover of English rule than he was before. The right hon. and learned Gentleman opposite is a landlord partizan, and as such is not likely to be an impartial administrator of justice in Ireland. He instigated this prosecution because this Catholic priest stood between the people and a landlord. I ask the Committee, if the positions were reversed, and Father Fahy alleged that

he had been threatened by the landlord, would the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland alter his view and issue a prosecution against the landlord? I venture to say he would do nothing of the sort. As I said before, I believe this is the beginning of the Marquess of Salisbury's 20 years of coercion. The priests stood by the people in the past, and the people stood by them. The priests will stand by the people in the future, and so will the other leaders; and if the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland desires by his attitude to-night to give us an example of the way the Government are going to meet the demands of the Irish people, and if he is shadowing forth what the government of Ireland will be in the coming winter, I venture to say that he is brewing a storm which will break with the greatest violence upon those who are responsible for its existence.

MR. J. F. X. O'BRIEN (Mayo, S.): The right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland in the attitude he has assumed in connection with this case reminds one very strongly of the Marquess of Salisbury's "20 years of firm government." When the Marquess of Salisbury spoke those words, we, in our simplicity, thought he simply meant coercion; but the Attorney General for Ireland has found a way to get him out of the necessity of applying coercion. He has invented a new legal procedure which renders a Coercion Act unnecessary. He has invented a plan by which a person objecting either to the Government or the landlord class can be, on the testimony of one person, interested or otherwise, shut up in gaol for six months. Certainly that is a plan upon which the right hon. and learned Gentleman is very much to be congratulated. He deserves, too, very high congratulation in regard to the manner in which his first essay in the carrying out of his new plan has succeeded. The ease and simplicity with which the new plan works out is almost miraculous. According to the statement of the presiding magistrate on the Bench before whom Father Fahy was tried, the rev. gentleman had gone as a peacemaker between landlord and tenant. On previous occasions, according to what we are told, Father Fahy had been successful as a peace-

maker. In carrying out his mission of mercy he came to this Mr. Lewis, a neighbouring landlord, who was about to carry out a number of evictions. He went to this gentleman in the hope of effecting a settlement between him and his tenants. But to Mr. Lewis, and, presumably, to the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland, this office of peacemaker assumed by Father Fahy was by no mean agreeable—as we can see it has not been agreeable to our Friends opposite. We know what steps were taken to put an end to Father Fahy's office of peacemaker. [*Cries of "Divide!"*] Mr. Courtney, will you kindly keep Order, if you please? The Attorney General for Ireland has told us the history of the case. It appears that Mr. Lewis, with whom Father Fahy had some altercation, went to Dublin, and what happened? We were told in very simple language that Mr. Lewis stated his case to the Attorney General for Ireland; the Attorney General for Ireland, at once convinced by the arguments of Mr. Lewis, instructed his understrapper to conduct the prosecution, and Father Fahy was locked up. This case touches us Irish Members acutely, and I beg to say that the conduct of the Chancellor of the Exchequer in indulging in threats against us for discharging our duty here is, if not unconstitutional, an outrage and a scandal. [*Cries of "Withdraw!"*] The committal of Father Fahy on the unsupported evidence and on the uncorroborated statement of Mr. Lewis is certainly a state of affairs which will have evil consequences in Ireland. I fear that the Government are very much inclined to go in for a policy of exasperation in Ireland. The Chancellor of the Exchequer at the commencement of the Session indulged in language which the Chief Secretary for Ireland endeavoured to explain away. He said that the landlords were to enforce their rights strictly, and that the Government would not shrink from recovering the land for them—a direct encouragement to them to confiscate the tenants' interests and to exterminate the people wholesale.

THE CHAIRMAN: I must ask the hon. Member to confine his observations to the Vote before the Committee.

MR. J. F. X. O'BRIEN: To my mind, at all events, it appears that the

action of the Government is directed to opposing the feelings and the sentiments of the Irish people. I think, on the other hand, that their action ought to be directed to the removal of the exasperated feelings produced by events which are taking place in certain parts of the country, and it is certainly lamentable to think that the action recently taken, especially that of the Attorney General for Ireland, is calculated to intensify instead of appeasing the angry feelings which they seem to have done their best to provoke. In conclusion, I desire to protest, in the strongest manner, against the conduct of the Government towards Father Fahy.

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.): I think it is now time to go to a division; but I am bound to say that the people of Ireland will not be satisfied with the position taken up by the Government. I have just received a telegram to say that there are 70 people in gaol about this row. The gaol is so crammed that the old prisoners have had to be sent away to another part of the county, and judging from the terms of late telegrams more people are likely to be imprisoned before this row comes to an end. I do not believe that one minute more than was necessary has been taken up with this question—more than the importance of the subject demands. A more stupid and injudicious act was never committed by a Government. However, as it is plain that we are not going to get any satisfaction, we can do nothing better than go to a division.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 75; Noes 162: Majority 87.—(Div. List, No. 37.)

Original Question again proposed.

MR. A. BLANE (Armagh, S.): I rise for the purpose of moving the reduction of this Vote by the sum of £2,250, being the expenses of the Crown Solicitor on the North-East Circuit—Louth, Monaghan, Armagh, Down, and Antrim. I have to draw the attention of the Committee to the conduct of the Attorney General for Ireland—to two cases under the direction of this Crown Solicitor. There were two cases at Belfast, in one of which a person got seven years' penal servitude for firing at the police, and, in the other, two men were charged with

firing at a Police Inspector. By the direction of the Attorney General for Ireland the charge was withdrawn, and when it had been withdrawn the prisoners pleaded guilty to a second charge, and on the 11th of December last they got eight weeks' imprisonment. I put this case at the time to the Chief Secretary for Ireland, and asked whether, the two cases being precisely similar, having regard to the conduct of the Law Officers of the Crown, the Government would not release the prisoners? But the answer which he gave me was that a Liberal Government were in Office when the sentence of seven years' penal servitude was given, and that a Conservative Government were in Office when the sentence was given of eight weeks' imprisonment. I hope the Committee will see that justice is done in this case. I do not see that there is any use in appealing to the Attorney General for Ireland or the Chief Secretary for Ireland, in these cases, if they both return the same answer; but I do not think that, seeing these cases are almost identical, the Attorney General for Ireland can get up and say that justice has been done between man and man.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £28,791, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1887, of Criminal Prosecutions and other Law Charges in Ireland, including certain Allowances under the Act 15 and 16 Vic. c. 83."—(Mr. Alexander Blane.)

MR. GILHOOLY (Cork, W.): I think the action of the Attorney General for Ireland will give materials for debate in this House for some time to come. I wish to call attention to one of the grossest miscarriages of justice ever heard of in Ireland under English rule. At the Munster Assizes, Denis Murphy was tried for shooting at Mr. Cuttle, a member of the National League. The Grand Jury of the county was composed of landlords and agents, and they ignored the bill sent up to them. I have already directed the attention of the Attorney General for Ireland to this gross miscarriage of justice, and the cool, if not audacious, answer of the right hon. and learned Gentleman was—

An hon. MEMBER: I rise to Order, Sir. I wish to ask if the hon. Member

Mr. J. F. X. O'Brien

is in Order in the expressions he is using?

THE CHAIRMAN: I am not prepared to say that the hon. Member is out of Order.

MR. GILHOOLY: The reply was that, having perused the depositions in the case, the Grand Jury were in his opinion justified in the course they had taken. Now, I have correspondence here which I will not read, because it would occupy too much time; but I will just give a summary of the depositions in this case, and I will ask any fair-minded Member on either side of the Committee, when they have heard the case, if he will get up and say that the Attorney General for Ireland was right in propping up and endorsing the scandalous action of the Grand Jury? A man named Denis Murphy had taken a farm in the neighbourhood of Bantry, from which another man had been evicted, and in consequence he was unpopular in the neighbourhood. A young man, the secretary to the local branch of the Irish National League, it is alleged by the son of Denis Murphy, had on frequent occasions denounced Denis Murphy at the meetings of the Irish National League. But it was denied that he had ever named him.

THE CHAIRMAN: I understand that the Grand Jury ignored the bill.

MR. GILHOOLY: I say it was the duty of the Attorney General for Ireland to send up a second indictment against the prisoner, and I beg to direct the attention of the Committee to his conduct in the matter. To proceed with the case. Mr. Cottle had left the village followed by Murphy, who fired at him with a revolver; he swore that the bullet whizzed past his ear—that he saw the flash, and in this he is corroborated by Murphy's own brother, who swore that Murphy fired the shot with the intention of frightening Cottle only. The constable swore that when Murphy was arrested he admitted that he fired the shot with the intention of frightening Cottle. We have evidence that the shot was fired from a pistol held in the hand of Murphy; notwithstanding this, the Grand Jury of Cork, composed of landlords and agents, ignored the bill. Well Sir, the Attorney General for Ireland on that occasion at once justified the action of the Grand Jury, and refused to take cognizance of their action

and send up a second bill. I submit that the action of the Attorney General for Ireland is not calculated to inspire confidence in the law among the people of Ireland. I submit that in this case it was the duty of the Attorney General for Ireland to see that justice was done; and I say, further, that in this case there has been a gross miscarriage of justice. I believe that, in failing to get another indictment framed against Murphy, he has acted unconstitutionally, and that his action is sufficient to make the people of Ireland defend themselves against these murderous attacks. The result of his action, in this instance, is that Mr. Cottle, whenever he leaves home, seeing that he has no chance of getting justice or protection from the myrmidons of the law, goes armed with a six-chambered revolver, and says that he will not be again attacked with impunity. The action of the Attorney General for Ireland in this and in the last case that has been before the Committee is enough to make the people of Ireland refuse to give any assistance to the Law Officers of the Crown in Ireland, or to magistrates and County Court Judges in vindicating, carrying out, or making the people obedient to the law. The Attorney General for Ireland is most anxious that a Catholic priest in Galway shall be imprisoned; but when an agent or instrument in the hands of the landlords strikes down an opponent, and ought to be tried for the act the right hon. and learned Gentleman refuses to take action, and thereby does what is calculated to bring the law in Ireland into contempt.

MR. PENROSE FITZGERALD (Cambridge): I do not intend to take up the time of the Committee at any length; but as foreman of the Grand Jury in the case to which the hon. Member refers, I desire to say this—that the Grand Jury were on their oath, and that the particular case engaged their most anxious intention, I think, for a longer time than any other case which came before them. I know the circumstances and the sworn evidence brought before the Grand Jury, and I can tell the Committee that in this case the duty put upon them by their country was honestly and strictly carried out.

MR. GILHOOLY: I forgot to mention one point. I think that the particulars of this case should be laid on the Table of the House, in order that

hon. Members may see how justice in these matters is administered in Ireland.

THE CHAIRMAN: The action of the Grand Jury is not a question which can be discussed under this Vote.

MR. E. HARRINGTON (Kerry, W.): I have to call the attention of the Committee to a case which occurred in Kerry of the police being fired at in the night. I do not want to labour this case; but I want to impress upon the Attorney General for Ireland to be very careful, and not by his remarks to say anything that may be used against the accused; because I have known expressions which were used in this House become stereotyped. The question before the Committee is the salary of the Attorney General for Ireland. We want to ascertain how he earns that salary, and how far he deserves it; and bearing upon that point I am entitled to make an appeal to him at the present moment. There are several men in goal in Kerry for whom bail is refused. I say that the exceptional circumstances in Kerry give a certain colour of right to the proceedings of the right hon. and learned Gentleman in the disturbed districts; but I think he will agree with me that this is a special case. There is an annual fair held in the county of Kerry which is attended by the people from the adjacent districts. On the night of the day when the fair was held, a car was passing along the road, and it is alleged a shot was fired from it; and it is the assumption of the Crown itself that this was a freak. One of the men accused of that freak is a professional man—a doctor, and he is now in prison without bail; and I appeal to the right hon. and learned Gentleman whether it is not already time to terminate this procedure of taking him up in July, and keeping him in gaol to December or January? Another of the persons in this case is an auctioneer and merchant. I do not, of course, enter into the evidence relating to this case; and that is the reason why I appeal to the right hon. and learned Gentleman to say whether he sees anything so abnormal in it that he should keep these men in prison for six months, and practically subject them to a penalty greater than the law warrants? I feel for the right hon. and learned Gentleman in not inspiring at this time a great amount of confidence; but I hope he will be able

to see his way to send a word to the magistrates upon the subject. It was upon his word that the magistrates refused bail. The matter was brought before one of the Judges, and his words were that if gentlemen indulged in a freak they must suffer for their freak. Well, I think the Judge is correct in saying that they must suffer; but my contention is that they ought not to suffer before they are found guilty. I apologize for having to go into this case, but I express the hope that the right hon. and learned Gentleman will be able to see his way to recommend bail to be taken; and I can assure him that the acceptance of bail in cases of this kind would materially facilitate the maintenance of order by the authorities.

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.): I wish to refer to a matter which was the subject of a Question in this House. I wish to know what answer will be given to the Memorial of the people of the town of Clonmel, who ask that the Winter Assizes should be held in that town instead of Cork? The Memorial has been very numerously signed, and I see no reason why the Law Officers of the Crown should not accede to the request.

MR. W. J. CORBET (Wicklow, E.): I have a question to ask the right hon. and learned Gentleman with regard to a bequest made in 1793 for the purpose of establishing a woollen factory at Wicklow. I do not make any charge against the Crown and Treasury Solicitor, Mr. Lane Joynt, or the Attorney General for Ireland, and I am bound to say that I have had some courteous letters from the former gentleman on the subject; but the fact is that this sum of money has not been made available, nor can we get any satisfaction about it. I find in the Report of the Charity Commissioners a statement in which they say that a remarkable case has arisen under the will of a lady, Miss Elizabeth Eaton, made in 1793 and proved in 1796; that the fund now accumulated in Court amounts to about £4,000. We are anxious to know whether there is any possibility of this sum being available for the purpose intended, and we have already made application on the subject to the Attorney General for Ireland. The money has lain in Court for 55 years; and my object is to ascertain from the right hon. and

Mr. Gilhooly

learned Gentleman whether he will see into the matter? There has been great distress in Wicklow during the last winter; I am afraid that this distress will be emphasized during the coming winter, and I am therefore anxious that this sum may, if possible, be available for the purpose of meeting that state of things.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. HOLMES) (Dublin University): The hon. Member for West Kerry (Mr. E. Harrington) has said, at the commencement of his observations, that the question before the Committee was as to whether the Attorney General for Ireland had earned his salary, or not. I think that most hon. Gentlemen in this House who have heard the discussion of this evening will very readily admit that the Attorney General for Ireland does earn his salary. It would seem that he is responsible for the discussion of all legal matters in this House; but, under ordinary circumstances, one would think it hardly possible that the Attorney General for Ireland should get up on all occasions and discuss matters which are usually settled at the Assizes. Now, the hon. Member for South Armagh (Mr. Blane) referred to a charge against a man at Belfast, which, on my direction, was withdrawn. Now, I can tell the hon. Member that that was not done by my direction at all. The next case to which the attention of the Committee has been called is that of Denis Murphy. This man was sent up to the Summer Assizes, and the Grand Jury, as has been stated, ignored the bill; and in connection with this I may mention that my Predecessor was in Office three weeks after that, and he did not think it necessary to take any steps in the matter. I suppose the Committee is aware that neither the Attorney General for Ireland nor anyone else knows what takes place before the Grand Jury. The examination takes place in the room, and witnesses are called, but it is not in the power of the Attorney General for Ireland to control the decision in any way. I find that witnesses were examined in this case, and that the bill was ignored. It does not lie with me to say that the Grand Jury made a mistake, and on the contrary I have not the slightest doubt that they were justified in the action they took. The hon. Member should recollect that the evidence that comes before the Grand Jury

is often materially different from that which appears on the information. The Grand Jury having in this case felt justified in ignoring the first bill, I suppose that they would have done so with the second also if it had been sent up to them. The hon. Member for West Kerry (Mr. E. Harrington) said, at the commencement of his remarks upon the case which he brought forward, that he hoped I would not make any observations in replying on the case which could prejudice the accused. [Mr. E. HARRINGTON: I qualified that.] I do not impute anything to the hon. Member; I merely call attention to this for the purpose of adding that I am most anxious to avoid making observations in cases where proceedings have been instituted, or may afterwards be instituted. But it is a most inconvenient system to discuss these questions in the House at all, because it is almost impossible to avoid saying something which might possibly anticipate the course of justice. I wish, above all things, to avoid that. The case to which the hon. Member for West Kerry referred was one in which application was made to the High Court of Justice, which heard the case from beginning to end, and, upon the exercise of its discretion, declined to make an order. What was done was by the order of the High Court, and that being so hon. Members will see that it is perfectly useless to make an appeal to the Government to do anything in the matter. The hon. Member for East Mayo (Mr. Dillon) has called my attention to the question of the Winter Assizes at Cork. The City of Cork is generally selected as the venue for the Winter Assizes held for Munster, because, all circumstances considered, it is not only the most convenient place, but almost the only convenient place, in which to hold the Assizes. I admit that it imposes on the jurors of Cork a considerable burden; but, at the same time, in all these matters we must weigh the conveniences of one against the inconveniences of the other, and I say that notwithstanding the burden imposed on the people of Cork, that the inconvenience might be greater if the Assizes were held elsewhere. As Attorney General for Ireland, I have nothing to do with this; it is a matter which is decided by the Privy Council, by whom any suggestion for improvement would no doubt be carefully considered. As I have said, the balance of

convenience is in favour of the City of Cork, and it would probably be difficult to bring forward any argument to show that any other place would be more convenient. The hon. Member for Wicklow (Mr. Corbet) has called attention to the sum of £4,000, which the Commissioners of Charitable Bequests discovered in 1883 was lying in the Court of Chancery. It was difficult to trace how the money came there, and the investigation occupied a considerable time. It is by no means certain that the money can be applied to the purpose to which the hon. Member refers, because it is left by the will to the heirs of a particular family in England, of whom there are no less than 38. The late Attorney General for Ireland decided to take steps to get the question settled by a Court of Law, and there is reason to believe that the case will be decided shortly by the Judges.

MR. E. HARRINGTON (Kerry, W.): In the case I have referred to, the representative of the right hon. and learned Gentleman stated to the Court that he had no instructions from the Attorney General for Ireland, and he could not accept bail, and in that case the magistrates felt themselves powerless, although they professed themselves willing, to accept bail. We all know that if the representative of the Crown says—"I am willing that bail should be accepted; there is substantial bail offered for these men, and I am willing that it should be taken," the magistrates would consent; and when the right hon. and learned Gentleman stands up and says he has no power, he might as well say that this House has no power. It is the same now as it was in the old Roman times—if the Attorney General holds down his thumb, the prisoner is kept in; if he holds it up, he is admitted to bail.

Question put, and *negatived*.

Original Question put, and *agreed to*.

(3.) £38,861, to complete the sum for the Supreme Court of Judicature in Ireland.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.): I desire to ask the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland (Mr. Holmes) whether he has recently given attention to the possibility of economizing this Vote, and also the possibility of saving a considerable amount of ex-

penditure in connection with the District Registrars in Ireland? There was a very able Minute drawn up some two years ago, I fancy by the right hon. and learned Gentleman himself—it was of such ability that I may naturally ascribe it to the right hon. and learned Gentleman—in which the opinion was expressed that the Clerks of the Crown are thoroughly capable of performing the duties now discharged by the District Registrars. The writer went on to express the belief that the Revenue does not secure anything like the amount it ought to secure in respect to letters of administration and Probate generally, especially since the Land Act of 1870, and more especially since the Land Act of 1881. This is a question of considerable importance not only with regard to the expenditure under this Vote, but also with respect to the Revenue.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (MR. HOLMES) (Dublin University): The Committee is aware that I have only been in Office a few weeks; during that time a great many matters have been brought under my notice, but amongst them there has not been that to which the hon. Member has referred. Now that he has directed my attention to it, I will give it the great consideration it deserves, with the view of carrying out as far as possible the recommendations contained in the Minute he has alluded to.

Vote agreed to.

(4.) £7,835, to complete the sum for Registry of Deeds, Ireland.

MR. MURPHY (Dublin, St. Patrick's): Mr. Courtney, I rise to call attention to the claims of the second and third class clerks in the Registry of Deeds Office, Dublin. The circumstances regarding the position of these clerks is pretty well known, as they have been more than once the subject of discussion in this House. It was admitted on all hands that those clerks had exceptional grievances to complain of; but as they have been now partially redressed, I need not go back on the question further than the year 1878. In the early part of the year 1878 a Royal Commission was appointed to inquire into the organization of the Registry of Deeds Office. In October, 1880, that Commission issued a Report, and one recommendation, amongst others, was—

Mr. Holmes

"That the present second and third classes be united as a second class, the salaries to commence at £90, and to advance by yearly increments of £10 to £300, the present maximum of the second class."

Notwithstanding that the Commission thus reported nothing was done in regard to the organization of the Office; but during the period from 1880 to 1885, various efforts were made to induce the Treasury to give effect to the recommendation of the Royal Commission. In 1885 the Treasury appointed a Committee to inquire again into the circumstances connected with this Office, and this Treasury Committee issued a Report which confirmed the recommendations of the Royal Commission as far as the second and third class clerks were concerned. This Report was laid on the Table of the House during the last Session of Parliament, but a copy of which unfortunately I have not been able to procure in the Library. The result of the Report, however, was that the Treasury issued a Minute based upon the Report of the Committee and upon the provisions of the Report of the Royal Commission. The Minute was as follows:—

"The present second and third classes shall be united, the salaries of the clerks rising by £10 a-year to a maximum of £300 a-year, and from the 1st April next each clerk who was in the third class on the 30th October, 1880, shall receive the rate of salary to which he would have attained if this regulation had taken effect at the end of that financial year."

The meaning of that recommendation was that the clerks should enjoy henceforth the rate of salary to which they would at this period have attained if the recommendation of the Royal Commission of 1880 had been acted upon in 1880. Well, Sir, I think that the Minute of the Treasury carries with it the justification of the claim I am now about to make on behalf of these clerks. It is quite clear that the Minute issued in 1885-6 is only intended to take effect at the beginning of this financial year; but surely, if the change is reasonable now, it was reasonable in 1880, when the Royal Commission reported, and, therefore, the increments which would have accrued if the Minute had been issued in 1880 ought to be now given to the clerks, and treated, in fact, as back pay which is still due to them. The result of the reorganization generally of the Office is that the sum of about £2,000 has been saved annually, and

the whole amount of the arrears of pay which the clerks are claiming is only about £1,400, or considerably under one year's saving of the reorganized Office. Considering the strong claims these gentlemen have, and the length of time during which these grievances remained without any redress, I hope the Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson) will put them in the position they would have occupied if the Treasury had at once acted on the recommendation of the Royal Commission, without waiting for six years to do so. At the present time I only ask the hon. Gentleman to give some promise that he will look into the matter himself, and give it the consideration it certainly deserves. The concession desired is equitable and just, and one to which the clerks are very properly entitled.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.): The hon. Member has stated very fairly what I believe is the general impression of what happened in connection with the reorganization of this Office. The only point of difference between us is this, that there has been a little misapprehension on the part of the clerks as to what really was the meaning of the Treasury Minute to which the hon. Gentleman has referred. We are only at issue as to the increments which would have been paid during the two periods to which the hon. Gentleman has referred. This question has only been brought to my knowledge to-day. I will promise the hon. Gentleman that I will personally inquire into it, and see whether the clerks are fairly entitled to be allowed the increments.

MR. MURPHY: If the Treasury Minute had been issued at the time the Royal Commission reported, they would have been receiving this money all the time that has since passed by. That is the ground on which they make their claim.

MR. JACKSON: I would have referred to the Treasury Minute if I had had time.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.): I should just like to say that if the Treasury do not see their way to give the entire sum, they might, at all events, make some allowance to the clerks.

Vote agreed to.

(5.) £1,163, to complete the sum for Registry of Judgments, Ireland.

(6.) £26,613, to complete the sum for the Irish Land Commission.

MR. TUTE (Westmeath, N.): I wish to draw attention to a great inconvenience suffered by the tenants in Ireland, owing to the fact that the Chief Commissioners of the Land Court do not hold their Courts of Appeal in convenient centres. At present, tenants have to go to Dublin, with the result that they lose very much and the landlords gain. Take the case of a tenant with seven or eight or ten acres of land, when the reduction made by the Sub-Commissioners is very small. The amount in dispute is, perhaps, only £2 or £3 a-year; but he has to bring all his witnesses to Dublin, and even then runs the risk of failure. He has to pay large fees to professional witnesses; in fact, the game is not worth the candle. It is well known that in several cases landlords have lodged appeals simply because they knew the tenants would not contest them, and the tenants have been compelled to settle out of Court at great loss, the landlords making their own terms. Surely it is quite easy for an arrangement to be made by which the Court of Appeal can hold its sittings in convenient centres. I called attention to this matter last Session, but all to no purpose. I trust the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary will give his attention to the question.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH) (Bristol, W.): I agree with the hon. Member that appeals should be heard, as far as possible, at places convenient to the appellants. Of course, the Chief Commissioners have a considerable amount of work in Dublin, and cannot be expected to go about the country as frequently as Sub-Commissioners are sent; but still I think they ought to make arrangements to hear appeals at convenient places, and I will call their attention to the fact.

Vote agreed to.

(7.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £54,450 (including a Supplementary sum of £8,763), be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1887, for the

Salaries, Allowances, and Expenses of various County Court Officers, and of Magistrates in Ireland, and of the Revising Barristers of the City of Dublin."

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.): I should like to ask the Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson) if he can now do that which the Treasury official has said they will do? It was pointed out before the Public Accounts Committee that a number of Resident Magistrates in Ireland were receiving under this Vote sums which were illegally issued. The fact has been pointed out by the Comptroller and Auditor General in previous years, and something has been promised which was to set the matter right. This year, again, a similar Report was made and similar evidence given before the Committee, and the Treasury promised to send in a Memorandum to show the position the Treasury had taken up. At the time the Public Accounts Committee rose no such Memorandum was received; therefore, I desire to ask the hon. Gentleman what the position of the Treasury is in the matter?

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.): The position of the Treasury is this. In consequence of the Report of the Public Accounts Committee the Treasury thought it their duty to take the opinion of the Law Officers. The Law Officers expressed the opinion that, though the course which has been adopted is within the law, it is a straining of the law. Inasmuch as we have no power to alter the matter without legislation, we are pressing, and shall continue to press, upon the Irish Office the necessity of obtaining at the earliest moment the legislative changes requisite to legalize that which is really a straining of the law. Perhaps the hon. Gentleman will accept the assurance that that will be done next year.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: They come to this Committee and ask for money to be issued for the purposes of particular officers with regard to which they have already received the opinion of the Law Officers that the issuing of the money is illegal, or that at any rate it is a straining of the law!

MR. JACKSON: The hon. Gentleman will recollect I stated distinctly that the opinion of the Law Officers was that what has been done is within the

law, but that it was a straining of the law, and that, therefore, we propose to do that which we hold to be our clear duty, to put the matter right by obtaining the necessary legislation.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: Will the hon. Gentleman lay on the Table the Memorandum which the Treasury official was to present, but did not present?

MR. JACKSON: Certainly.

MR. J. O'CONNOR Tipperary, S.: It is not my intention at this late hour of the night (11.20) to occupy the attention of the Committee at as great a length as I would had the hour been earlier; but it is my intention to move the reduction of the Vote by the sum of £1,000, the amount of the salary of Captain Plunkett, the Special Resident Magistrate of the Cork District. I do so on the ground that Captain Plunkett, by the suppression of the right of public meeting in the South of Ireland, and by his failure to bring the guilty to justice, has created ill-will, and that it is, in the interest of good government and respect for the administration of the law, expedient that he should be dismissed from his position as Special Resident Magistrate. Now, Sir, I do not think it needs any words of mine to arouse in the minds of Englishmen indignation at the suppression of the liberty of the people to indulge in free speech. The value of free speech and public meeting is well known to Englishmen. They have fought for and exercised that right, and to the exercise of that right is due the possession of those great liberties and privileges that the English people enjoy above the people, perhaps, of any other country on the face of the earth. But, Sir, in Ireland the right of public meeting and of free speech is of greater consequence and necessity than it is, perhaps, in any other country. It is well known by all hon. Members of the Committee that there are many grievances to be redressed in Ireland. To the agitation that has taken place from time to time is due the fact that some of the disabilities under which Irishmen at one time laboured have been removed; it was due to agitation and to public meeting that the recent very necessary legislation has taken place, that the land laws have been reformed, that grievances have been remedied; and it is to the right of public meeting and to the right to agitation that the Irish people look

for the removal of every grievance under which they suffer. Well, Captain Plunkett, who occupies the position of Special Resident Magistrate in the South of Ireland, has interfered with this right that is of so much consequence to the people. And not only has he interfered with the right of holding public meetings, but he has oppressed the people in an unnecessarily harsh and tyrannical manner. Without further preface, and in order to keep my word with the Committee, I shall relate briefly the manner in which Captain Plunkett has carried out his functions. I shall have to go back and quote from newspaper reports of as far back as 1883 in order to prove my contention—namely, that by retaining this Special Resident Magistrate the Government are doing themselves an injustice, and doing what is only calculated to bring the administration of the law into disrepute. *The Cork Herald* of October 22, 1883, said—

“The National League meeting announced to be held at Inniscarra yesterday was proclaimed in pursuance of the Lord Lieutenant's Proclamation to that effect issued on Friday last.”

The Proclamation was issued on the Friday and posted on the Saturday. It was, therefore, utterly impossible for the people who lived widely apart from each other to know that such a Proclamation had been made.

“In connection with the suppression of the meeting a large force of the Royal Irish Constabulary was drafted to the place where it was intended to hold the meeting, and a Constabulary force, if required, was also at hand. In addition, Dr. Townshend was present in case it was necessary to bring his services into requisition.”

I shall not use the many quotations I have prepared to show how elaborate were the arrangements made by Captain Plunkett in order to scatter the people who came there in the exercise of their right, and to show the unnecessarily harsh and tyrannical manner in which Captain Plunkett acted in the suppression of the meetings of the Land League. I was announced to attend the meeting at Inniscarra. Although I knew the meeting was proclaimed I felt it my duty to go where I knew the people would be assembled. Knowing well the disposition of Captain Plunkett, knowing well that he desired to come into conflict with the people, knowing well that he was anxious to imbrue his hands in the blood of the

people—[*Cries of "Order!" and "Withdraw!"*]

THE CHAIRMAN: I think the hon. Member will see the propriety of modifying that phrase.

MR. J. O'CONNOR: Well, Mr. Courtney, I am called upon by you to withdraw the expression, and I will do so. From my knowledge, however, of the disposition of Captain Plunkett, I have no hesitation in saying that it would be with the greatest pleasure he would come into conflict with the people, in order that he might hurl the force at his disposal against them.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: I appeal to you, Mr. Courtney, whether it is within the privilege of debate in this House to bring charges of this kind against a public servant?

THE CHAIRMAN: I think the hon. Gentleman will see he is approaching the verge of discretion, and that he might use language better befitting this Assembly.

MR. J. O'CONNOR (who was received with cries of "Withdraw!"): I have, at the request of the Chairman, modified the phrase I originally used. I have fulfilled the obligation; it is the Chair I obey, and not hon. Members who sit in judgment, and who contribute nothing to the deliberations of the Committee but demonstrative shouts. I was about to say, when I was interrupted by the noble Lord opposite (Lord Randolph Churchill), that the Government will, perhaps, be thankful to me at the close of my remarks for having shown up the character of a man in their service whose actions are not calculated to bring the administration of the law in Ireland into repute. I have already said I went to the place where the meeting was to be held, and I asked Captain Plunkett to allow me to address the people, in order that I might advise them to disperse; and what was the answer I received from Captain Plunkett? He said—

"I will not; the people have been warned not to assemble, and I will not allow you to speak to them. There have been Proclamations posted up all round here, and that, along with what I have already said, is notification enough."

I protested that the notification was not sufficient; that, as the meeting was only proclaimed on the Saturday, the people did not know of the Proclamation; and I added that I came specially to speak

to the people and advise them to return to their homes. I was anxious that the people should not give Captain Plunkett and his associates the chance which I believed they desired—of coming into conflict with them. And what was the result?

"County Inspector Ker rushed up, with a copy of the Proclamation, and inquired if it was wanted? Captain Plunkett said 'No; he had a copy in his pocket;' and told Inspector Ker to send up a dozen men. Mr. O'Connor said, 'There is no necessity, we know how to conduct ourselves.'"

A body of police then got on the west side, and drove the people away; it is not strictly correct to say they were dispersed, they were driven off bodily, as a prominent member of the National League said, "as you would drive a lot of cows." I saw the police, under the command of Captain Plunkett, use their batons and the butt ends of their rifles to drive the people away. That circumstance alone goes to prove the correctness of my contention—that the police under Captain Plunkett were not anxious that those who promoted the meeting should advise the people to disperse quietly and peacefully to their homes, as they always did under such circumstances, but that there was a desperate anxiety on the part of the authorities to bring about a conflict between the people and the police. I wish, however, to abbreviate my remarks, and will not, therefore, read the accounts of meetings at Ovens, Missadagh, Castle Lyons, Killamullet, and elsewhere. At all the meetings, under similar circumstances, I was present. At all the meetings the Proclamations were not posted until the Saturday night; and this was done, I believe, by Captain Plunkett, in order that the people might assemble and be dispersed with rigour. I have seen the police rush upon the people, and, in the most unnecessary and harsh manner, beat them with the butt ends of their rifles. Two women have had their ribs broken from that kind of treatment. Men and women have been thrown down and wounded by the constables. All these things have been done under the command of Captain Plunkett, and I mention them in support of my contention that Captain Plunkett has acted with the greatest tyranny in proclaiming meetings, and has also made use of unnecessarily harsh measures in dispersing

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them. Why has he suppressed these meetings? Has it been because of crime committed in the district? Has it been because any violent language was indulged in by those who spoke to the people at such meetings? Has it been because murder had been committed? Nothing of the kind, as I can prove by quoting the statistics of crime for six months previous to the meetings. Besides threatening letters, there were, in August of that year, two outrages reported in the East Riding, and one in the West Riding, those two divisions comprising the whole of the county of Cork. In September there were five in the East, and two in the West; in October, two in the East, and two in the West; in November, one in the East, and none in the West; in December, one in the East, and again a virgin record in the West; and in January, one in the East, and two in the West Riding. During that period the only serious case reported was the manslaughter of a man named Spence, and that was entirely of a non-agrarian character. The unfortunate murder of Spence was altogether a family affair, a family quarrel arising out of disputes concerning land. Of this unfortunate occurrence, it would appear it was made a pretext for suppressing meetings all round the county of Cork in an unnecessarily harsh manner. Hon. Members generally have a little regard for the right of public meeting; I am sure there is not an Englishman alive who does not respect that bulwark of the British Constitution; but it would appear that hon. Members on the other side are quite satisfied to have the British Constitution outraged in any manner possible, so long as the outrage is committed on the persons and liberties of the Irish people. That was the state of the county at the time Captain Plunkett selected as the fitting one for suppressing these meetings, held for a perfectly legal purpose, for the redress of grievances, for impressing upon Parliament the necessity of passing legislation for ameliorating the condition of Ireland. The same story may be told of all Captain Plunkett's actions in connection with the suppression of meetings in Cork for a long time. But that is not the only ground upon which I call for the dismissal of Captain Plunkett. I will pass over many other peccadilloes

of this worthy magistrate, and only just mention that which created much ill-feeling in connection with the man named Hallisay. This man was said to have been fired at, and after a little time he got police protection; and then, in a short time, his story was found to be a bogus one. But the man was left on Captain Plunkett's hands; and, in order to get rid of him, he sought to inflict a fine on the people of the district by saying that unless they subscribed to emigrate the perjured ruffian he would put into the district a certain number of extra constables, for whom the people would have to pay. To satisfy the whim of this special magistrate, the alternative was presented to the people to be mulcted for the exportation of Hallisay, or to submit to the blood tax put upon them by police being drafted off for Hallisay's protection. This was another of the admirable modes Captain Plunkett adopted to preserve the peace of the county by the operation of law he was sent there to administer. But it is my intention to ask for the dismissal of Captain Plunkett on other grounds. Captain Plunkett has failed to bring the guilty to justice, and it is under his reign that the recrudescence of outrage has occurred in County Kerry. Is it not a fact that, all over Ireland for the last two years, there has been an extraordinary degree of peace and quietness and an absence of outrage? Except in one small spot in Kerry the state of Ireland is what we all desire. If it is not so, why does not the Government come forward and ask for special provisions to put down, as a reason for doing so, the abnormal state of things? Why do they not bring in a Coercion Bill, if the ordinary law is not sufficient to cope with the ordinary state of society in Ireland? Except in the one spot presided over by Captain Plunkett, all Ireland, under the ordinary magistrates, is in its normal peaceful condition. But under this man, who can do nothing but suppress meetings, under his administration of the law for the special protection of the district there is a recrudescence of crime, to the disgrace of the district, and the sorrow of every man who wishes well to his country. But those who know Captain Plunkett know how he performs his duties. Instead of being in Kerry, looking after the police who

fail to do their duty, he is promenading the streets of the capital of the South of Ireland with the fashionable people of the locality, and a train of detectives at his heels. There has been a recrudescence of crime in Kerry; but Captain Plunkett has failed to bring any of the perpetrators of outrage to justice. Why, in one remarkable case that occurred at Castlefen in the parish of Fires, when a dreadful affair ensued owing to the insensate folly of some young people of the district, if it had not been for the heroism of a young lady, the daughter of the man who was killed—but for her bravery in tearing the mask off one of the men, if it had not been for that circumstance that crime would have been unpunished to this day for anything Captain Plunkett had done to bring it to light. The restoration of order in Kerry has very properly been taken out of his hands. Major General Buller has been sent to Kerry to do that which Captain Plunkett failed to accomplish, to restore order which has become disorder under his management. Then, what is the object of keeping this special magistrate; when his occupation is gone can he not be dismissed? When a Tory Ministry was in power a short time ago, instructions were given to diminish the staff of Captain Plunkett. The detective police there had received orders to betake themselves to their respective barracks; and the lease of the house he occupied, and which he had purchased, was to have been sold. I suppose all that was for the purpose of getting rid of this man, the last remaining remnant of the special provisions introduced by Lord Spencer when he appointed special magistrates. Is there not a double reason for getting rid of him now? His functions as restorer of order in Kerry and Cork have ceased; they have been placed in far abler hands. There are now no meetings he could suppress in the manner before stated; the two purposes for which he has hitherto existed now no longer require him. Why, then, retain a man who has outraged the principles of liberty, and has failed to bring the guilty to justice; who has failed in every respect for which a special magistrate is wanted to exercise his functions? On those grounds I ask the Chief Secretary to consider the case I have made. To fulfil my promise to be brief,

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I have curtailed many things upon which I could wish to dwell; and I ask the Government and the Committee, for their own sakes, for the sake of the Constitution I believe we respect and pretend to extend to the people of Ireland, for the sake of that sacred right of public meeting and free speech this man has outraged in every particular, and for the sake of peace and good order and respect for the administration of the law, I ask the Government to dismiss this man. In order to protest against his conduct in the past, and to prevent a repetition of it in the future, I move to reduce the Vote by £1,000.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

“That a sum, not exceeding £53,450 (including a Supplementary sum of £8,763), be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1887, for the Salaries, Allowances, and Expenses of various County Court Officers, and of Magistrates in Ireland, and of the Revising Barristers of the City of Dublin.”—(*Mr. John O'Connor.*)

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BAUGH) (Bristol, W.): When the hon. Member commenced his remarks he described a state of things in Ireland at which I confess I was surprised. The hon. Member spoke of the suppression of the right of public meeting, and of free speech; but I am under the impression that the right of public meeting and of free speech exists as freely now in Ireland as in England, though I am afraid they are more frequently abused. But when the hon. Member began to explain to the Committee his main reason for objecting to the salary of Captain Plunkett, the Committee must have heard with astonishment that it related to a matter which occurred three years ago, and reflected nothing at all against Captain Plunkett. If there was anything in the statement the hon. Member made, reflecting against any person, it was against Lord Spencer, the Viceroy, under whose Proclamation Captain Plunkett acted, and whose orders, according to his duty, he carried out. I do not say whether the Proclamation or the orders were right or wrong. On the Bench opposite sits a former Colleague of Lord Spencer, and it is possible for that right hon. Gentleman to defend Lord Spencer, if it is necessary. All that happened in 1883 was

that Lord Spencer, in the exercise of the powers entrusted to him by the Crimes Act, proclaimed certain meetings in the county of Cork. The hon. Member insisted on attending those meetings, although they were proclaimed, and Captain Plunkett very properly and rightly put down those meetings; and, in doing so, did his duty as a magistrate and deserved well of his country. The hon. Member talks of the tyranny of Captain Plunkett, and his desire to provoke a conflict between the people and the police. I think I have never heard a more outrageous, more unfounded charge made against a public servant. If the hon. Member believed in his statement, why did he not address it to the House three years ago?

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND said, it was so addressed over and over again.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: Why did not the hon. Member bring his charges forward when the late Government were in Office? He makes his statement now upon matters with which the present Government have nothing whatever to do, and of which they can know absolutely nothing. All that he has said, if he has any cause for complaint, ought to have been made a complaint against the Government that ordered Captain Plunkett to do as he did. The hon. Member says that Captain Plunkett should not be continued in office, because he has been superseded in Kerry. He has a large and difficult district to manage—Cork and Limerick, besides Kerry, now under Sir Redvers Buller's control; and I will venture to say, what I have heard from every quarter in Ireland, that there is no more able or efficient magistrate in the county than Captain Plunkett. He has done his duty well in the past; I believe he is doing it now; and that he will do it well in the future. He has not been superseded in Kerry for any default on his part; but the Government had sent General Buller there because they think it right, in face of the grave and serious difficulties that exist, that a man of great experience and ability, coming to the work with a fresh mind, should endeavour to cope with the lawless state of the country by re-organizing and improving the force at the command of the Government, in the hope that law and order may be maintained without asking the House for extraordinary powers. That is all we have

done in regard to Captain Plunkett, in whom the Government still place the fullest confidence with reference to the district with which he is at present entrusted. I must conclude, as I began, by saying that a more unjust, more unfounded attack on the salary of a public servant I have never heard.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR (Liverpool, Scotland): The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary, who by sufferance is trying to govern Ireland, has given a fair specimen of the spirit in which he will proceed. A more outrageous answer to a legitimate case was never given by an official in the House. It seems to be a settled tradition of the Tory policy that no Member should get up from the Tory Benches to speak on an Irish question without having a kick at Lord Spencer. I do not think that any feeling but that of disgust will meet this action of the Tory Party. I have myself opposed Lord Spencer's policy, and am an opponent at this time even of the policy he pursued. I attacked him when he followed a policy I considered wrong; but the Tory Party supported Lord Spencer when he carried out their policy, and then denounced him the moment they got into Office. The noble Lord the Chancellor of the Exchequer has introduced a demeanour and style of language hitherto unprecedented; and his contortions are scarcely worthy of his position. No sooner had he changed his side of the House than he got up and denounced Lord Spencer, after the latter had risked his life for three years in carrying out a Tory policy in Ireland, and now the Chief Secretary for Ireland has what I must call the effrontery to get up and denounce the policy of Lord Spencer, because it too faithfully carries out the Tory traditions in Ireland. Such conduct is ungenerous, even base. What is the answer of the Chief Secretary? He says that Captain Plunkett has not been superseded in Kerry; but is it, or is it not, the fact that Captain Plunkett was formerly the superior authority, but now has to report to Sir Redvers Buller, and is not Captain Plunkett, therefore, superseded? I can understand the sympathy of the right hon. Gentleman for persons superseded by others—such an experience is not unfamiliar to the right hon. Gentleman in his own career; and, perhaps, Captain Plunkett is quite as satisfied with his position as is the

right hon. Gentleman with his own; but, all the same, he is superseded. The right hon. Gentleman made an excuse that it was necessary to bring a fresh mind to the consideration of the state of Kerry. We have had a fresh mind brought to bear upon the condition of this House, but are not much impressed by this sham exhibition of—

THE CHAIRMAN: I must call on the hon. Member to observe the amenities of debate.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR: The right hon. Gentleman, by his exhibition of Parliamentary passion, has sought to evade the real question before the Committee. What has he to say to the statement that, under Captain Plunkett, crime has increased in Kerry? Can the right hon. Gentleman deny that? Can he instance a single case of serious crime in which Captain Plunkett has brought the criminal to justice? Yet this gentleman, who has given gross and undeniable proofs of his incompetency as a preserver of the peace, is kept in office, merely in order that the Estimates may be swelled, so that he, whom the right hon. Gentleman chooses to regard as a deserving officer, may be pensioned at the expense of the taxpayers. The right hon. Gentleman says that Captain Plunkett deserves well of the country for putting down public meetings, and that he has only carried out the views of Lord Spencer. I do not know whether that is the case or not; but I suppose Lord Spencer proclaimed meetings on the advice of local magistrates like Captain Plunkett. On the whole, I should say that, while Lord Spencer must be held responsible for the Proclamation, the advice emanated from Captain Plunkett. When the right hon. Gentleman says Captain Plunkett deserves well of his country for putting down meetings, what country does he mean? [Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: The United Kingdom.] I must go to a somewhat higher and more reliable authority than the noble Lord. Is putting down meetings a public service? Has any Government ventured to put down meetings in this country? Yes; it was done in 1806 by Lord Castlereagh and Lord Sidmouth; but not an Englishman now but denounced the action, be he Tory or Liberal. A Government cannot carry out in 1886 what it was possible to do in 1806. I

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hope a division will be taken, if only to teach the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary that not by simulated indignation and violent language can such a case be disposed of.

DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid): If the present Government wishes to create disorder in the South of Ireland, they have nothing else to do than persist in the course which has been inaugurated in Ireland by the noble Lord the Chancellor of the Exchequer. [*Continued interruption.*]

MR. CLANCY (Dublin Co., N.): As a protest against the conduct of hon. Gentlemen opposite I move that Progress be reported.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again." — (*Mr. Clancy.*)

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND (Fermanagh, N.): I beg to support that proposal. It is absolutely out of place that Irish Members, when ventilating their grievances in this House, should be met with these continuous interruptions. ["Divide, divide!"] I protest against these attempts to prevent our voices being heard in this House. ["Divide, divide!"]

THE CHAIRMAN: I appeal to hon. Members on both sides to preserve Order.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: I only rose to say that I supported the Motion of my hon. Friend the Member for Dublin County, North (Mr. Clancy) for Progress, simply as a protest against the treatment we have received in stating our case. We have a right to be heard, and I repeat that this Motion is the only way in which we can protest against these interruptions.

MR. J. O'CONNOR: I stated that I would be as brief as possible in making my speech on this question, and I point out that in doing so I only occupied 25 minutes. When this subject was introduced in 1884 by the then Member for Mallow (Mr. W. O'Brien), I find that he occupied two hours in making his statement.

THE CHAIRMAN: I must point out to the hon. Member that this is a Motion to report Progress.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT (Derby): I hope this Motion will not be pressed. There is certainly a tone of impatience

in the Committee, which is perhaps natural; but I think that if hon. Gentlemen who support the reduction of the Vote are allowed to continue the discussion a little longer we might get to a division on the Vote. I do not agree with the view taken of Captain Plunkett's action by the hon. Member for South Tipperary (Mr. J. O'Connor); but I hope that hon. Gentlemen who support the Motion for the reduction of the Vote will be allowed to state their reasons for so doing.

MR. J. O'CONNOR: I believe this Motion for reporting Progress will not be persisted in, and I ask my hon. Friends who support my Motion to be as brief as possible, to follow my example, and bring this discussion to a termination. I am convinced that if my hon. Friends only get fair play they will not take up the time of the House at great length. I venture to express a hope that the Motion for reporting Progress will be withdrawn.

COLONEL SAUNDERSON (Armagh, N.): I have one observation to make with regard to the speeches of hon. Members opposite. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby (Sir William Harcourt) says there have been signs of impatience during the speeches of hon. Members opposite. Undoubtedly, there have been signs of impatience; but allow me to remark that this is not directed against the ventilation of grievances by hon. Members opposite, but it has arisen because speech after speech has been delivered by them exactly similar in tendency and effect. It has been the same speech made over and over again. ["Order, order!"]

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: I rise to Order. I wish to know whether the hon. and gallant Member is speaking to the Question before the Committee?

THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. and gallant Member is replying to the arguments of those who desire to report Progress.

MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W., and Sligo, S.): I listened to what fell from the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby (Sir William Harcourt) as to the withdrawal of the Motion for Progress; but, at the same time, I am at a loss to understand a sentence in the speech of the hon. and gallant Gentleman (Colonel Sanderson) who has just offered his explanation of the impatience of hon.

Members opposite. The hon. and gallant Member says that hon. Members on this side of the House have made speech after speech of the same tendency. I understand that this discussion came on half-an-hour ago, and that my hon. Friend below me (Mr. J. O'Connor) was the only Member who addressed himself to the subject. There has been only one speech from an hon. Member and one from the Government in that time; and I cannot but think that the expressions of the hon. and gallant Member for Armagh are hardly called for under the circumstances, and I hope that the Members of the Government will not, by their demeanour and language, add to the offence.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL) (Paddington, S.): I think it necessary to express my agreement with a great deal that has fallen from the hon. and gallant Member for Armagh (Colonel Sanderson). I am not in the least surprised that the Committee should begin to exhibit some considerable signs of impatience with the immeasurable amount of obstruction to the passing of these Estimates. I am perfectly certain that if the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition (Sir William Harcourt) had been present throughout this week, and had noticed the character of the proceedings which have taken place, he would not have been surprised either that great impatience should be displayed on the present occasion; and, Sir, when, in addition to all that protraction of proceedings which, I say, is almost unprecedented, a public servant who is in the midst of great danger and difficulty—

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR (Liverpool, Scotland): I rise to Order. I ask whether any reference to the case of Captain Plunkett is in Order on a Motion to report Progress?

THE CHAIRMAN: The noble Lord is replying on a question which has arisen out of the Motion to report Progress.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: I was saying, in reply to the charge brought against hon. Members on this side of exhibiting signs of impatience, that I was not surprised at it, when, in addition to all the protraction of the proceedings which have taken place, a public servant, who is endeavouring, in the midst of great difficulty and danger,

to perform his duty to the Sovereign and the country, is subjected to an attack which my right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant has thought it his duty, with the assent of three-fourths of the Committee, to denounce as outrageous. We shall not be deterred by any Motion to report Progress, which I must certainly oppose, from expressing our opinion on those proceedings, in order to bring home forcibly to the mind of the public the nature of the proceedings the British House of Commons is called upon to confront.

MR. SEXTON: I only say, in reply, that we shall not be deterred, by any language of the noble Lord, from taking any proceedings we may conceive it our duty to take.

MR. CLANCY: My only object in moving to report Progress was to obtain a patient hearing for those hon. Members on this side of the House who wish to speak, when it became apparent to all that hon. Gentlemen on the opposite side of the House were determined to hear no more of it. ["Agreed, agreed!"] All I can say is, that if hon. Members are determined to persist in these interruptions I shall persist with my Motion to report Progress, and, if necessary, with other Motions. Allow me to say that this is a game which two sides can play at; at the same time, if these interruptions are not persisted in I shall be ready to withdraw my Motion.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*.

Original Question again proposed.

DR. TANNER: I was about to make a few observations on the subject-matter of this debate, and to move a reduction of the Vote by the amount of Captain Plunkett's salary, when I was met by the obstruction of hon. Members opposite. Now, the character of Captain Plunkett as a public man and an officer of Her Majesty in Ireland is distinctly well known, and thoroughly estimated at its proper worth, by the people of the city and county of Cork. I was more than surprised to hear the remarks which have this evening fallen from the right hon. Baronet the Chief Secretary for Ireland. But, Sir, the known character of Captain Plunkett is savagery, for I cannot term it by any other name, and it is certainly strongly to be reprobated. [*Laughter.*] Right hon. and hon. Gen-

tlemen opposite may laugh at this; but I will ask them, in all seriousness, whether it is for the advantage of the cause of justice in the South of Ireland, or in any other portion of Her Majesty's Dominions, that an officer fulfilling magisterial functions should be known as literally a savage in his character? I have seen over and over again the treatment which people in Ireland have received at the hands of Captain Plunkett. I have seen people in Ireland knocked about with the butt-end of rifles, and Captain Plunkett would have used the rifles too—

THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Gentleman must observe the Rules of conduct and debate in this House.

DR. TANNER: I was speaking about the conduct of Captain Plunkett, and I understand that that is the subject of debate; but of course, Mr. Courtney, I bow to your ruling. I heard the right hon. Baronet opposite say that there is no more able and efficient officer in Ireland than Captain Plunkett. It strikes me as a very strange thing, and I do not understand how it has come to pass, that Captain Plunkett, who went down to the City of Cork as divisional magistrate for Cork, Kerry, and Limerick—how it was that when he went to that district everything was perfectly quiet, but that when he went down fishing and shooting into Castleisland and the Millstreet district outrages began to appear. It would seem that this was brought about by his presence there—by his walking about in the company of landlords who were distinctly hated and reprobated in the district. Captain Plunkett was, unfortunately, continued in command of this district where peace and tranquillity reigned, or, rather, was supposed to reign. Things kept quiet for a time; but in 1885 Captain Plunkett was still retained. What was the object of that? He was only placed there in consequence of an abnormal state of affairs; but yet we find that Captain Plunkett was kept on after the state of affairs had become perfectly tranquil, in order that he should draw his pay which we are now asked to pass in this Vote. I say that if Captain Plunkett was not wanted in the neighbourhood he should have been withdrawn; but in consequence of his being kept on outrages became paramount in the district of Castleisland, and it is in

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consequence of his incapacity, of his want of power, of his known indolence of character, that Captain Plunkett has not been able to restrain violence and lawlessness in the district entrusted to his charge. Captain Plunkett's known idiosyncrasies are the cause of his want of power in dealing with the people. It is well known in Cork that his principal amusements are gambling, ladies' society, and German bands. Why, Sir, on the South Marina we find that his office is rendered a perfect nuisance in consequence of the attendance of these German bands morning, noon, and night. His office is equally attended by ladies; and we know that the two detectives, to whom is entrusted the horrible duty of following him about, say that they cannot keep him in sight, and that he is always trying to escape from them. I recollect one instance in Captain Plunkett's career which I will mention. Captain Plunkett actually broke his billiard cue in triumph on the night of the election of an hon. Gentleman as Member for Cork. Why do not the right hon. Baronet and the noble Lord get up in their places and defend him? Simply because he is a sprig of nobility out of place; and it is in consequence of Tory partiality that they try to maintain a political tool—[*Repeated cries of "Order!"*] I am not going to deal with the entire career of Captain Plunkett. I only intended to say a few words about it, and that because I know it thoroughly, and have known it for years. I can only say that if the right hon. Baronet and hon. Gentlemen opposite knew as much of Captain Plunkett as I do, and as much as is known to the humblest person in the City of Cork, they would walk into the Lobby with the hon. Gentleman who has moved the reduction of this Vote. I am glad that the Government have had an opportunity of saying that they will maintain law and order in Ireland, and I sincerely hope that they will achieve that by the removal of Captain Plunkett and every man like him.

MR. JOHN MORLEY (Newcastle-on-Tyne): I do not like to sit and hear these charges brought against Captain Plunkett without saying a word or two upon the subject. I must say that I have not always been able to agree with the policy that Captain Plunkett has been the agent in carrying out. In fact, I have often thought it objectionable; but I do not think it quite fair to level all

these charges and lay all this blame on Captain Plunkett, merely because he has done what every public officer is bound to do—namely, to execute the orders and carry out the instructions of his superior officers. Whether those orders and instructions were right or wrong is not the point in debate. I do not now offer any opinion upon this question, though I should think that hon. Members below the Gangway are undoubtedly entitled to make a protest against the measures which Captain Plunkett has sometimes had to carry out. Having said that, I trust we may be allowed to proceed to a division; and, for my part, I shall undoubtedly feel it my duty to vote with the Government on this occasion.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: I can assure you, Sir, that I really only wish to point out certain matters in answer to something stated by the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland in reply to my hon. Friend who moved in this matter. The right hon. Gentleman, after using some very strong language, which would, it seems to me, be condemned by Members on these Benches, said he was surprised that if there were so many complaints against Captain Plunkett something had not been heard about them in the House of Commons before to-night. The right hon. Gentleman asked why it was that no explanation or complaint against Captain Plunkett was made when the Government on the Front Opposition Bench was in power? Now, Sir, the right hon. Gentleman will probably be surprised to learn that so far from there having been no mention made of Captain Plunkett, and no complaint raised against his conduct in this House, that on March 15, 1884, when the Liberal Party were in power, the late hon. Member for Mallow (Mr. W. O'Brien) brought forward the following Motion:—

"That, in the opinion of this House, Captain Plunkett, Special Divisional Magistrate of the Cork District, by repeated and unconstitutional invasions of the right of public meeting, and by the imposition of arbitrary and unjust burdens on the people, has abused his authority and created widespread discontent and ill-will, and that, in the interests of good government and of respect for the administration of the law, it is expedient that he be dismissed from his office."

And now, Sir, I think it will be admitted on all hands that it is, to say the least of it, a strange coincidence, if there

be nothing against this Captain Plunkett's conduct, that so far back as 1884 it was considered by the Irish Members to be their duty to bring forward a Motion respecting this gentleman exactly similar to that brought forward by my hon. Friend to-night. Sir, I will say this in conclusion—that it is very hard upon Irish Representatives, when they came here to make a complaint—as they consider a just complaint—against certain officers of the Crown in Ireland, that before they have opened their mouths—[*Laughter*—yes; almost before they have spoken a word to state their case or grievance or complaint against a particular officer, that this particular officer should receive, at the outset, the support and praise and approval of the highest Ministers of the Crown. Could not the noble Lord the Chancellor of the Exchequer have waited to offer his defence of Captain Plunkett's conduct until he had heard what the Irish Members had to urge against him? He did not wait. The noble Lord complained that the time of the House was being unnecessarily occupied. What was the fact when he said that? Why, that only one speech had been made with regard to Captain Plunkett—namely, the speech of the hon. Member who introduced the subject (Mr. J. O'Connor). Surely the Irish Members—[*Cries of "Divide!"*]

DR. FOX (King's Co., Tullamore): I must move to report Progress if this interruption goes on.

THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member has no right to interrupt the hon. Gentleman (Mr. W. Redmond).

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: The Irish Members have a right, to some extent at least, to support the speech of the hon. Member who has moved in this matter. As a matter of fact, no one had spoken save the introducer of the question when the Chancellor of the Exchequer rose to complain. Let the noble Lord the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland hold what views they may about this Captain Plunkett; but we hold that he has grossly mismanaged the affairs of his position. We hold that Captain Plunkett's presence is conducive to crime; and we hold not only that, but that the position which Captain Plunkett holds, not to the people but to the Government, is a posi-

tion which is dangerous to the public peace. In conclusion, I will say this as to Captain Plunkett—he was sent to Cork to put down crime, and whether he did it intentionally or through ignorance and gross incapacity I do not know; but certainly, instead of fulfilling his mission and putting crime down, however it came about, crime has increased everywhere he has gone, and has multiplied in connection with every position he has occupied. I go far to corroborate and endorse every statement my hon. Friends have made as to the provocation given to the people by unnecessarily proclaiming meetings as to the disturbances which have taken place in consequence, and as to the belief which largely prevails in Cork that these disturbances have been given rise to by Captain Plunkett himself in order that the Castle authorities, finding disorder still prevalent in the district, may keep him there to put it down.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: The hon. Member who has just sat down has complained of supposed hardship to Irish Representatives. I will tell him what I think a great hardship on Members of this House—namely, that a stale story, which he tells us himself was fully debated and decided two and a-half years ago, should be hashed up again now at half past 12 o'clock at night.

MR. SEXTON: If the story were a stale story we should be only too glad to forget it; but, unfortunately, the story is kept constantly fresh by the conduct of Captain Plunkett himself. For my own part, however, I shall be disposed to leave the question—[*Cries of "Divide!"*] I will not be stopped by these interruptions. I say that, for my part, I shall be disposed to leave the question where the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Newcastle-on-Tyne (Mr. J. Morley) left it, in the few words he addressed to the House, which seem to me to be worthy of more attention than they have received. He said that though he condemned the system which Captain Plunkett had to administer, yet he recognized that Captain Plunkett was obliged, by his duty, to do certain things which we Irish Members feel ourselves called upon to criticize. I feel that to the full extent. I consider there are some officials in Ireland who consider themselves, in the name of duty,

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bound to do many things which are most repugnant to us and to the Irish people. I am inclined to think that the system is more to be blamed than the officials. Captain Plunkett is one of the worst results of a bad system; and until you attack the system at the root, and cut it away, you will constantly have to complain of such cases. The root of the evil lies deeper than the conduct of Captain Plunkett, and by attacking such official action as that under notice we shall scarcely touch the real nature of the case. The Government have evaded the real question at issue, and I, for one, am now willing to proceed with the Business of the Committee.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 54; Noes 188: Majority 134.—(Div. List, No. 38.)

Original Question again proposed.

MR. SEXTON: I wish to ask the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant the question I desired to put to him on another Vote, when you, Sir, ruled that it would be more proper to put it on this Vote. We understand that General Sir Redvers Buller has made Reports to the Government that relate not only to the existence of crime, but also to the condition of the people, and especially to the question of their ability to pay rent. What I wish to ascertain from the right hon. Gentleman is whether he proposes to extend the description "confidential" to all parts of Sir Redvers Buller's Report, or whether whilst he keeps to himself and the Government those parts of the Report which refer to crime, he will be willing to communicate to the House any remarks of Sir Redvers Buller which relate to the condition of the people, their ability to face the coming winter, and their capacity to pay rent, or which will bear in any way upon the Bill of which my hon. Friend the Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) will move the second reading next week.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: Sir Redvers Buller went to Ireland not to consider the question of rent or the fall in prices. These are questions which Her Majesty's Government propose to inquire into. I have received several Reports from Sir Redvers Buller; but

they have been purely confidential, and there is no part of them which I can communicate to the House.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR: Are we to understand that Sir Redvers Buller has, or has not, reported on the ability of the tenants to pay rent in Ireland? That is a simple question. I do not see what reason the right hon. Gentleman can have for refusing to answer it. I quite admit that he could not make any communication to the House with regard to the state of crime in Ireland, because, no doubt, such information might have the effect of placing in peril the property, and even the lives, of people living in the districts of Clare, Kerry, and Cork. But I think the Committee are entitled to know whether or not Sir Redvers Buller has sent communications to the right hon. Gentleman with regard to the social and agrarian conditions of the people of these counties. We have a right to ask for yes or no—whether or not Sir Redvers Buller has dealt with this question?

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: The hon. Gentleman does not seem to understand the meaning of the words "confidential communications." It would be just as wrong for me to say what they are not as to say what they are.

MR. E. HARRINGTON (Kerry, W.): I happen to be in a position to thoroughly understand the meaning of Sir Redvers Buller's mission to Kerry. I thoroughly understand what are the exceptional circumstances which have occasioned that visit, and I will undertake not to delay the Committee more than a couple of minutes while I recount several facts which will throw light upon the matter. Sir, since 1880, 1,784 families, amounting to 12,000 human beings, have been evicted in the county of Kerry. Of these people a large proportion are still homeless by the wayside. Crime and outrage has, unfortunately, arisen in the county; but they have followed the track of eviction. I have been a witness of the origin of many of these crimes, and can speak to its having been the cruel exactions and exterminations carried out under the law. I have witnessed a scene of this kind—a family evicted, and amongst them a young girl dangerously ill. The agent, declaring that the man was only shamming, went on with the eviction, and an hour after the girl was a corpse. T

there was any crime or outrage in the district, and before there was any occasion for the services of Sir Redvers Buller. This case occurred on the 7th March, 1883. At that time the Parliament of this Kingdom was actually passing a law to prevent cruelty to pigeons—aye, on that very day the peasant girls of Kerry might be brought out to die, whilst you were protecting pigeons. Your proposed inquiry is all humbug and nonsense, a sort of Pharisaical fraud. If Sir Redvers Buller is not libelled he is a soldier, and if he is a soldier his first instincts are to be a man. [*Laughter.*] Well, I wish to cast no reflection on gentlemen of the Militia opposite. I say if General Buller is an English gentleman he will have a heart in his breast, and will not have been able to avoid making communications to the Chief Secretary, confidential or otherwise, concerning the condition—the social and agrarian condition—of the poor people amongst whom he is living. No doubt those communications will yet be brought into the light. This officer will find it impossible to help making Reports on the extraordinary social state of the county, and cannot fail to notice what has been at the root of all the disorder and crime which has prevailed there, and which has occasioned his mission. I said at the beginning that I would not detain the Committee long, and I do not intend to do so. I may, however, be permitted to say, in conclusion, that it would not be unreasonable of us Irish Members to occupy a great deal more of the time of the Committee and of this House, and of this nation, which persists in imposing its rule upon us, in discussing those matters, which are so vital to us, but which English and Scotch Members will not pretend to understand.

MR. SEXTON: I have no choice but to take direct issue with the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland as to the claim which he has made in the face of the Committee to the right to keep the Reports of General Buller, and every part of them, under lock and key and away from us. General Buller, as I understand, was sent to Kerry, and the announcement which was made to us so short a time ago that the memory of it is still fresh in our minds was that he was despatched there to discover and put down crime. That mission was in its nature confidential.

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We Representatives of the Irish people here do not ask either that General Buller's statements as to the condition of crime, or that his suggestions for putting an end to crime, shall be communicated to us. We admit that his mission to that extent, in order to be efficacious, must be secret. But there the need for secrecy ends. If General Buller has chosen, or has felt it to be his duty as a conscientious man, to go beyond his mission of discovering and putting an end to crime, and if he has felt it to be incumbent upon him to report to the Government as to the power of the people of Clare and Kerry to pay their rents this winter, I say that it is imperatively necessary that the Government should at this moment communicate to us at least the substance of such Report. Upon what basis can the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary endeavour to apply such a term as "confidential" to the Report of Sir Redvers Buller upon the question of rent? He says my hon. Friend (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) does not understand the term "confidential." My hon. Friend and we understand the term perfectly; there is nothing difficult about it; but we say that the term is improperly applied by the right hon. Gentleman. We say that he endeavours to apply to an official Report the term which only applies to the secret part of it. Now, I appeal to the Committee and the public on this ground—that with the prospect before us this winter in Ireland, and with the fear we have that the forces of the law may be extremely applied, we have a right to two things. First, that the Government, when declaring their policy upon the Tenant Relief Bill of my hon. Friend the Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell), shall, at the same time, enable the House and the country to judge whether their policy in regard to that vital Bill accords with the conclusions and advice of Sir Redvers Buller on the question of rent, or whether it is contrary to it? We are entitled to know whether they are acting upon, or against, the advice of their confidential agent? I, therefore, press upon the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary the duty of laying before the Committee those passages in the Report of Sir Redvers Buller which deal with the agrarian condition of the people, and with nothing else; we simply ask to know whether Sir Redvers Buller

of social order in those counties; for we know that the result of the non-payment of rent is that the occupiers are evicted by the landlords, and also that crime and outrage of necessity follow the harsh action of the landlords in driving their tenantry out on the road side. Then, if General Sir Redvers Buller reports that the agricultural depression in Clare and Kerry makes it absolutely impossible for the tenants to pay their rents, what happens? Why, General Sir Redvers Buller is called upon, as an agent for carrying the law into effect, to carry out proceedings which personally he condemns. I maintain that that is a humiliating position to force any officer of the British Army into; and I shall be greatly surprised if General Buller does not, if these things occur which I anticipate, throw up his appointment in disgust, as every English officer who has been sent across to Ireland in former times to discharge similar functions has done. We invite from the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary a further statement on this subject. We have pointed out clearly that we do not wish to obtain from him any information which, in the interests of law and order, he may wish to keep private; but that we are entitled to a statement from him upon the question as to whether General Sir Redvers Buller's Report as to the agricultural condition of Clare and Kerry does not go to show that the tenants are quite unable to pay the rents which have been asked of them. If we do not receive a satisfactory statement from the right hon. Gentleman I shall be bound to press my Motion to a division. Sir, I beg to move that this Vote be reduced by the sum of £1,000.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Committee has just negatived a Motion to reduce the Vote by £1,000.

MR. M. J. KENNY: Then I move to reduce the Vote by £500.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £53,950 (including a Supplementary sum of £8,763), be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1887, for the Salaries, Allowances, and Expenses of various County Court Officers, and of Magistrates in Ireland, and of the Revising Barristers of the City of Dublin."—(*Mr. M. J. Kenny.*)

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: The hon. Member seems to anticipate

that Sir Redvers Buller would carry out in Clare and Kerry a policy of which his conscience disapproved. General Buller is not the man to do anything of the kind.

MR. M. J. KENNY: I did not say so.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: Then I wonder why the hon. Member made such an imputation.

MR. M. J. KENNY: I beg the right hon. Gentleman's pardon—I said almost exactly the opposite to that.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: General Buller has been sent to Kerry to do certain work. Hon. Members choose to assume—I do not know on what foundation, but possibly on the statement of some newspaper correspondent—that he has taken up other work, and reported to the Government upon quite another subject. [**MR. SEXTON:** Has he?] I wish to say, with perfect courtesy to hon. Members, that I have given my answer; and I shall neither add to nor take away from it.

MR. E. HARRINGTON (who rose amid some interruption): I claim a right to be heard, and I think the instincts of justice require me to speak, and until I become tedious and wearisome to the Committee I am entitled to be heard. If the instincts of justice will not prompt hon. Members to give me a fair hearing, I must try and do what I can in the physical contest they will force me to engage in. [*Interruption.*] It is my intention to pay all respect to the Chair and to the Committee; but, with all deliberation, I beg to say that I shall remain on my legs until I am heard. I only desire to make a few brief comments upon what the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary has said. He said he has given us his answer. I say he has given his answer; but it is a very bald answer. [*Interruption.*] Ah! it is a very bald answer when the lives of 12,000 outcast human beings are at stake. ["Oh, oh!"] The right hon. and learned Gentleman the Home Secretary (Mr. Matthews) says "Oh!" The right hon. and learned Gentleman is supposed to have that delicate and elastic conscience which is to safeguard the lives and liberties of those condemned for crime in this country; but are the people of Kerry not human beings? Are they not entitled to our consideration as human beings? ["Oh, oh!"] Hon. Members say "Oh, oh!"

Mr. M. J. Kenny

and seem by their manner to indicate that the people of Kerry are not entitled to such consideration. ["Fustian and bosh!"] It is fustian and bosh says one hon. Member. Well, I must say a long experience of the hon. Member shows me that nothing proceeds from him beyond a monosyllable. [*Cries of "Question!"*] Hon. Members sit opposite night after night there, taking their cue from the Government. [*Cries of "Question!"*] Ah! this is the question, and it is a burning question. It is a question which has left, as I say, 12,000 human beings by the roadside in Kerry. ["Oh, oh!"] Oh! but then if you hear a report of the smallest outrage in the county of Kerry you open your ears widely enough, though you will not listen to a statement of the real evil. [*Renewed Interruption.*] There is nothing to be gained by this temporary exhibition of impatience. I think it would be as decent to waste from seven to ten minutes over this matter, if it be a waste, as to persevere in these attempts to stifle the voice of suffering humanity. [*Laughter.*] Mr. Courtney, it is very hard for me, under the circumstances, to keep within the limits of the Question before the Chair. However, Sir, I shall make every effort to do so. The right hon. Baronet has told us that he has given us his answer. I presume he means his answer to be final. In the right hon. Gentleman's own words, the gallant General who has gone down to Kerry is to be his confidential agent, directly responsible to him. Well, if General Buller is directly responsible to the Chief Secretary, and if that right hon. Gentleman is, as he should be, directly responsible to this House, why should he shirk this question? What is this House for but to protect the interests of the people? What are we, Sir, but the Representatives of the people; and why should there be any burking of this question? Why should there be any screening of the real criminal? Oh, you throw your purple cloak over him. [*Laughter.*] I see, Mr. Courtney, that this excites the risibility of hon. Members, but I do not hesitate to say that the evicting and exterminating landlords of the county of Kerry are the real criminals with whom General Buller has to deal. General Buller has gone down to that county, according to instructions, to throttle

crime. He cannot have failed to discover already that there are two criminals before him. I am as anxious to see crime of all sort put down as the Government are, and I have given as much proof of the faith in me in that respect as anyone. I say that when General Buller went down to Kerry he found two criminals—a powerful criminal and a lesser criminal—and like a soldier and a man who went out to throttle crime, he said throttle landlordism first and we shall be able to settle the other afterwards. "Oh," says the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary, "that is not convenient; that is not Tory policy; why, we should turn all the fat into the fire if we were to say anything to the Kerry landlords." The rents in the rest of Ireland are under Griffith's valuation; the rents in Kerry are 48 per cent over Griffith's valuation. "Oh," says the right hon. Gentleman, "do not ask us a word about that; that is a matter for the Tory Cabinet; we will not allow that to be drawn into the light of day; we will not think of discussing that; we will not have that part of General Buller's Report." Well, Sir, if, prompted by instincts of that policy of vengeance which, as long as man is man, will always occupy a place in the breast of suffering humanity, the Kerry peasants indulge in acts of outrage, the Government say—"Bring them to justice; but shield the landlord. Show up these criminals; show what a criminal class these Kerry peasants are; but protect the landlords." That is the policy of the Tory Party. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary pays a very fine compliment to the dulness and opacity of the hon. Member for the Scotland Division of Liverpool (Mr. T. P. O'Connor). He says my hon. Friend does not understand the meaning of the word "confidential." Sir, we understand much more than the right hon. Gentleman will give us credit for. I am sure we quite understand a great deal more than many hon. Gentlemen opposite, who do not seem to understand themselves when a question of this kind is being discussed. [*Cries of "Divide!"*] We are still on this Vote, and we will not divide until it seems right to us that we should. All we desire is a fair elucidation of matters which can reasonably and rationally be discussed on this Vote. I may remind you, Mr. Chairman, that when this matter was mentioned

previously you invited us to discuss it at the proper time. Now is the proper time, Sir; and I ask you, is it not more than a travesty of discussion for the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to stand up in his place and say—"No matter what case you make, I will give you no answer? We sent General Buller to Ireland, and we will tell you at the proper time the result of his mission." I suppose that will be when he has shot down a few Kerry peasants without trial, as you, no doubt, expect him to do, following out the policy—*[Cries of "Divide!"]* Yes; divide. I repeat, following out the policy of the noble Leader of the Tory Party when he likened the Irish people to Hottentots. Ah! when he trots the real criminal out of his lair, when he shows you that a Kerry landlord is a man who is incapable, even if the instincts of humanity were in him—is incapable from his present position of exercising them. *[Cries of "Question!"]* I maintain that this is the question. I see on these Benches an enlightened Gentleman who has travelled quite recently in the South of Ireland, and I am sure that with his impartial and open mind he could throw a flood of light upon this question. *[Cries of "Name!"]* And he could tell you very plainly who the criminals are. I could name them; but I will not do so, because they are personages who are adorned with coronets, and it would be very distasteful to Gentlemen opposite if I were to name them. There would be instantly great cries of "Divide, divide!" and "Agreed, agreed!" and so forth. There would be a cry of anything that would stifle the voice of justice. I see opposite an hon. and gallant Gentleman from Scotland who possibly never saw Ireland or the sky over it.

THE CHAIRMAN: I must really ask the hon. Gentleman to confine his observations to the Vote before the Committee.

MR. E. HARRINGTON: In confining my observations to the question I would like to make an appeal to hon. Members in all parts of the House, and it would be not to let themselves be carried away by the prejudice that may be inherent in them. Here are the bald facts of the case. General Buller is sent down to Kerry, because there is an abnormal state of things in that county.

Mr. E. Harrington

"Oh, oh!" An hon. Gentleman says "Oh, oh!" and that entitles me to retort that if there was not an abnormal state of affairs in the county of Kerry, why was General Buller sent down there? And is it not fair and reasonable, as we have been promised an opportunity of discussing this very Vote, that we should be able to state our reasons for the abnormal crime and disorder existing in Kerry. But, Sir, I pass from the causes altogether, and I take matters as they are—I take the action of the Government. It has been an action to sustain and maintain the Irish landlords against the Irish peasants and the average Irishman. What have the Government done? They were not content with expending £3,000 of taxes in the protection of Lord Kenmare; but as soon as General Buller was sent to Kerry the first overt act of the Government was to identify themselves with the arch evictor and exterminator of the county of Kerry. They gave him, for instance, whatever profit was to be derived from the stabling of General Buller's horses. I desire to speak of the Government with all respect; but, so far as it has to do with Ireland, it does not deserve the name of Government. It is worse than a mockery—it is an arrant sham. It does not know the duties of Government, because the first duties of a Government are to protect the people, and not any one class of the people. You do not surely call Lord Kenmare the people; you do not call Samuel Hussey the people; or Lord Ventry the people. I want you to extend to them the same law, the same protection, the same right, as you do to other people. *["Hear, hear!"]* "Hear, hear!" say hon. Members. Lord Kenmare has suffered by his own harsh evictions. Will the Committee bear with me while I tell them—*["No, no!"]* They will bear with nothing that bears on the truth. Will the Committee believe me when I say that in the worst year for the recovery of rents Lord Kenmare received £38,000 out of a possible £40,000? The Government argue that as Lord Kenmare is the victim of disorder he must get the profit arising from the stabling of the horses of General Buller. In order to show how impartially these matters are conducted in Ireland, General Buller has been entertained at the County Club of Tralee—a Club exclusively composed of the parti-

zans of the Government now in power. So partizan is that Club in its character that the Land Court upholder, *The Times*, which is your champion, your Old and your New Testament, announced that General Buller had been entertained by the Club of the county. I think we are entitled to stop supplies from General Buller until we receive some satisfactory answer from the Government. [*Cries of "Divide!"*] I wish to draw your attention to the interruptions of a certain noble Lord who might reasonably be in the nursery at this hour.

THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member, in his speech, should confine himself to the ordinary amenities of debate.

MR. E. HARRINGTON: General Buller was entertained at the County Club in Lewistown. [*Cries of "Divide!"*] I will give you a single instance of a different character—

MR. ISAACS (Newington, Walworth): I rise to Order. I ask whether the hon. Member is speaking to the Question before the Committee?

THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member is somewhat discursive in his remarks; but I cannot say he is absolutely out of Order.

MR. E. HARRINGTON: I should very much regret if I were out of Order. It is very hard, under the present circumstances, to address oneself definitely to the subject; but my object is to point out to the Committee what is the effect of the mission of General Buller to Kerry. This is a Motion to reduce the Vote by the amount of General Buller's salary. We cannot estimate the amount of that salary, which is, perhaps, contingent on results; and I suppose that if General Buller does not produce the requisite number of convictions—

THE CHAIRMAN: I again appeal to the hon. Member to adhere to the subject of debate, and not discuss irritating topics which only lead to disorder.

MR. E. HARRINGTON: I shall not pursue that topic, but will give hon. Gentlemen one or two facts. I say that to give General Buller a salary is a mistake, and that the Chief Secretary for Ireland, who denies that General Buller has gone *ultra vires*, is responsible for the mistakes he may make. The policy of the present Government is to screen from view the wrong-doing of the Kerry landlords, and the fact that rents there

have been judiciously reduced by 48 per cent, although they would have no hesitation in bringing forward any iniquities on the part of the Kerry peasants.

MR. SEXTON: We have no design of prolonging this discussion. I have asked the right hon. Baronet a question connected with the mission of General Buller which cannot be considered out of place. I ask him whether the gallant officer he has sent to Kerry has said that the rents cannot be paid? Why did he not answer "Yes?" Because he would have then subjected himself to attack from his Tory followers from Ireland. The right hon. Baronet was in a dilemma. He could not state anything but the fact, of course; and if he did that, he would have caused mutiny in the ranks of his Party, and the gallant officer would have had to be recalled. From the refusal of the right hon. Gentleman to answer my simple question, every reasonable man will agree that Sir Redvers Buller has reported that the rents in the counties of Clare and Kerry are such that they cannot be paid. Why does the right hon. Baronet not answer by a monosyllable? It cannot be spoken. I am satisfied, however, just as much by the conclusion to be drawn from his eloquent silence; and I doubt whether we ought to challenge the salary of Sir Redvers Buller, because I am now convinced that he is a competent and reliable officer.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 57; Noes 171: Majority 114.—(Div. List, No. 39.)

Original Question put, and *agreed to*.

(8.) £60,632, to complete the sum for Dublin Metropolitan Police.

(9.) £70,886, to complete the sum for Prisons, Ireland.

MR. M. J. KENNY (Tyrone, Mid): There is a question with reference to the present Vote which I wish to bring under the notice of the hon. Gentleman the Financial Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson). Some time ago it was my duty to complain of the resolution which the Irish Government arrived at during the previous Administration of closing some prisons and merging them practically in others. I refer to the case of the Northern prison centre,

which has been changed from Omagh to the city of Derry. Now, for a considerable time the town of Omagh was practically the prison centre for Ulster; it has the advantage of being situated in the centre of a forest; it was supposed to be a capital prison; there was no question as to the safety of the prison, or as to its capacity to retain all the prisoners that might be sent there. But there were some complaints that, owing to defective sewage arrangements, the prison was unhealthy. The magistrates responsible for the proper management of the prison made frequent complaints to the Prisons Board in Dublin about the sanitary condition of the place; they continued to do so for 18 months; and at the end of that time the Governor of the gaol, who was a retired military officer, died of typhoid fever, and the Prisons Board then saw what was the state of things, and went into this matter. A sufficient sum was expended to place the prison in a proper condition. I visited it lately, and I am bound to say that I think the most exacting person could find no fault with it at present; indeed, if I were asked in what prison I would spend six months' confinement I would name Omagh Prison in preference to any other in the country. But the moment this improvement was made the Government shut up the prison, and took the prisoners to Derry Gaol. The prisoners from Cavan and Tyrone, in the vicinity of the prison, have now to be sent to the prison at Derry, which is a distance of 100 miles. I believe that this will not effect a saving of public expenditure, but that it will be ultimately a loss to the taxpayers of the country. I do not, of course, expect that the Financial Secretary to the Treasury has had an opportunity, since his accession to Office, of inquiring into matters of detail; but I would ask him to devote some attention to this subject. I would ask him to examine the Report of the Royal Commission on Prisons, in order to see whether the Commissioners actually recommended that the prison in Omagh should be shut up under the circumstances I have described. Objection was taken in their Report to the sanitary condition of Omagh Prison; but, as I have said, the sanitary defects were removed, and immediately after that the Prisons Board proceeded to shut up the gaol alto-

gether. In placing this question before the hon. Gentleman I suppose that he will be able to give immediate attention to it, because in the month of June last I brought it under the notice of his Predecessor (Mr. Henry H. Fowler); and there will, therefore, be some traces of it in the Treasury Office. I trust the hon. Gentleman will communicate with the Prisons Board, and say that this gaol is in splendid condition, and that it ought not to be closed, and rendered practically valueless. Not only is the closing of this prison a loss in itself, but the removal of the prisoners will throw considerable additional expenditure upon the taxpayers of the country. It is, therefore, a matter of economy which I bring under the notice of the hon. Gentleman.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.): Before the hon. Gentleman rises to reply, I wish to urge upon the Government a matter with which I believe they will be able to deal. I do not wish to occupy the Committee at length with many remarks at this hour of the morning; but I desire to call attention to the fact that although, a few years ago, a Royal Commission was appointed to inquire into the state of prisons, which Committee made many recommendations, those recommendations have been, to a great extent, utterly disregarded. The Commission was strongly constituted, under the Presidency of Sir R. Assheton Cross, having also upon it the right hon. Member for Surrey (Mr. Cubitt); and I expect these two Gentlemen will be in a position to explain to the Government the serious state of things which they discovered to exist in Ireland. Among other things they refer to the necessity of having permanent medical officers to have jurisdiction over all prisons; also to the sanitation of the different prisons, the qualification of governors, and the pay and accommodation of warders, male and female. There is, in fact, hardly a single subject relating to prison management with which the Report of the Royal Commission does not deal exhaustively and thoroughly. The Report is probably one of the most able that was ever furnished, and yet it has been allowed to lie by without action being taken upon it. I hope the Government will adopt the recommendations of this Commission, which was composed of Members of their own political Party, and

then I think they will be able to remove almost every ground of objection to the present Vote. I do not know that it is of any use to go into detail. In that Report, as I have said, they will find almost everything it is necessary to know, and I will only urge upon them the necessity of acting with promptitude in the matter.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.): I understand that a consolidation of the duties was recommended by the Commission, and that the recommendation has been adopted. A medical officer has, I believe, been appointed. [Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: Not a superintendent.] The medical officer is charged with looking after the whole of the staff. I do not know whether that was a recommendation of the Commission. Few of the recommendations can be carried out; some, however, have been, whilst others are under consideration, and it is intended that they shall be carried out. I am obliged to the hon. Member for the reasonable character of his remarks, and I will promise to look into the matter.

MR. TUITE (Westmeath, N.): I wish to call attention to the inconvenience occasioned by the abolition of the prison at Mullingar. It is now only a Bridewell, and great inconvenience is felt by the prisoners having to be sent to Tullamore, whose terms of imprisonment exceed seven days. Mullingar is an important railway centre, and is well adapted by its position to be a prison centre. I think that if the matter is reconsidered a prison will be re-established in Mullingar. The sanitary arrangements of the gaol were complained of; but I think that the evil that exists in that respect could be put an end to by an expenditure of not more than £200. I hope the hon. Gentleman will devote the same attention to this matter as he has promised to give to the point mentioned by my hon. Friend (Mr. Arthur O'Connor).

MR. MURPHY (Dublin, St. Patrick's): The hon. Gentleman (Mr. Jackson) says that very few of the recommendations of the Royal Commission can be carried into effect. I am sorry to say that one recommendation which has been carried into effect has caused a great deal of inconvenience. The Commission re-

ported in favour of closing up a good many of the minor prisons throughout Ireland. Well, I think that the closing up of some of these minor prisons and not substituting anything for them, thereby compelling prisoners condemned to short terms of imprisonment to be sent from the towns where gaols were previously maintained to the few prisons now existing, is a very serious inconvenience indeed, and is attended with considerable expense to the State, and great hardships to the prisoners. I take it from the Report of the Royal Commission that they were cognizant of that fact, and were fully alive to what I have described becoming the result of the closing of the prisons, which they recommended; but they never contemplated the total extinction of the minor prisons without putting something in their place. I see that in Paragraph 20 the Commissioners recommended that there should be what are called legalized cells provided at the police stations, in the small towns, for the detention of prisoners sentenced to short terms of imprisonment, as there are in Scotland. This recommendation should be adopted out of consideration for the prisoners themselves, and also to remove the heavy strain which escort duty at present imposes upon the police, and to save the necessity of carrying prisoners, sentenced only to short terms of imprisonment, long distances away. I know that at this late hour—2 o'clock a.m.—it is desirable not to go into detail upon matters of this kind; but it is within my knowledge that great suffering and inconvenience has been caused by requiring these prisoners to be sent long distances. I know cases where prisoners sentenced in County Wicklow to 48 hours' imprisonment have had to be sent to Kilmainham, 25 miles away, in cold, bleak weather, on an outside car, because there were no local prisons; and when they arrived at Kilmainham, late at night, finding the prison full, they had to be sent on again to another Dublin prison. A similar condition of things exists in other parts of the country. It is certain that it was never contemplated that the minor local prisons should be shut up without substituting anything for them. I am aware that difficulties may arise in some cases in providing the legalized cells of

a suitable character in connection with police barracks; but I would press upon the Government the desirability of either re-opening some of the prisons which are closed up, or of adopting the recommendation of the Commissioners in its entirety. I hope the hon. Gentleman who is responsible for this matter will give it his careful attention, with the view of putting a stop to the grievances which now prevail.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.): In my own county prisoners are taken 50 or 60 miles to be confined in gaols, and the upshot is that in minor offences the magistrates will not convict, not desiring to see people sent so far away. This is altogether a different matter to the question of expense, and I hope the hon. Gentleman the Financial Secretary to the Treasury will take it into account.

MR. JACKSON: I understand that this question of the establishment of lock-ups is to be considered. I think, however, it will be found that it will not be prisoners sentenced to short terms of imprisonment who will be confined in these places, but persons under arrest and awaiting trial.

MR. MURPHY: I think the hon. Member will find that the Commissioners recommend that short-term prisoners should be confined in legalized police cells in the local places.

DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid): With regard to the position of medical officers attached to prisons, I think, if the hon. Gentleman will go into the matter and give it the attention it deserves, he will find that the members of the Profession at present attached to prisons are subject to what is a considerable grievance. Nothing can better show up how these gentlemen are situated than the contents of a communication I have received during the past few days. This communication was received by me not from any Irish Nationalist, but from a member of the Medical Profession who is distinctly and indisputably a Tory. He wished, if it were possible for him to do so, to lay before this House a grievance that was felt by the Profession in regard to these prisons. When medical officers were under the old Prisons Board they were only asked to attend the prisons on certain days in the week, not daily, as they are at present. This

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gentleman to whom I refer is in charge of a very large prison in the South of Ireland. In days gone by he only had to attend two days in the week; but he is now called upon to attend daily. This is one case; but I think, if the hon. Gentleman will take the matter up, he will find that the grievance is felt all round—that what is the case in connection with one prison is practically the case all round. The medical officer I have mentioned, in the old days, only had to attend the jail two days a-week; but, owing to prisons in other districts being closed up, the number of prisoners under his care greatly increased; in fact, as he tells me, it increased from 67 to 176, throwing increased duties upon him. A daily attendance then became necessary. Well, if increased attention and attendance on the part of the medical officers is rendered necessary by the adoption of prison reforms, it follows that these gentlemen should be paid higher salaries. I do not wish to delay the Committee; I wish to get through with this matter as quickly as I possibly can; therefore, I will only say that I hope the Government will give this point their careful attention. If they do, I think they will acknowledge the necessity of doing something to remedy the grievance I have referred to. If the hon. Gentleman desires it, I will give him the name of the prison in question, and I will also show him that the medical men in a number of other prisons in the South of Ireland are similarly situated.

MR. HARRIS (Galway, E.): I should like to draw the attention of the Committee to the state of Galway Gaol. I have some personal experience of what I am going to say. Some of the cells are too small for the health of any person who may be confined in them, and I cannot believe that it is the desire of the Government to injure the health of the criminals whom they may send to prison. These cells are only 7 feet by 6 feet, which is a very small space indeed, and there is no proper ventilation in them. In another part of the prison the cells are fairly good, the size having been materially increased. I think about half the prisons now have these larger cells. The reform should be extended to the other half. I would also draw attention to the fact that there are no

books—that there is no library—in this prison. [*Laughter.*] Hon. Gentlemen may laugh; but according to the regulations there should be books in the prisons for the prisoners to read—or a certain class of prisoners. It is an unfortunate thing that on the Sabbath day the prisoners can get nothing to read.

MR. DEASY (Mayo, W.): I desire to ask the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland a question which is very important to hon. Gentlemen from Ireland. I put down a Notice a few days ago, asking the right hon. and learned Gentleman whether the sum due to the Grand Juries in Ireland under the Prisons Act of 1878 had been recouped by direction of the Queen's Bench. The right hon. and learned Gentleman, in reply, said he did not know that the Queen's Bench had given any decision at all on the subject. Well, I am sure the right hon. and learned Gentleman cannot have made full inquiry into the subject, otherwise he would not have given that answer. As a matter of fact, the case which resulted in the decision in question was tried in 1883 by the Queen's Bench, and a decision was given which directed the Government to recoup the Grand Juries in Ireland certain sums which had accrued due between the year 1878 and the date of the decision in the Court of Queen's Bench. The sum due to each county was small; but still there was a sum due to them in the hands of the Government, which had not been handed over to the Grand Juries. I do not wish to go into particulars at this moment; but if the right hon. and learned Gentleman is not aware of them, I shall be happy to furnish him with all the information in my possession.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (MR. HOLMES [Dublin University]): The answer I gave to the hon. Member the other evening was that I was not acquainted with any case tried in the Court of Queen's Bench, or any other Court, in which it was decided that the Government should recoup the Grand Juries in the manner suggested. I added that if he would furnish me with particulars of the case I should be glad to make inquiries into it, and that I now repeat. If he will furnish me with the particulars I certainly will inquire into the matter.

DR. TANNER: I should like to receive an assurance from the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury, if possible, as to some step being taken to remove the grievance of the medical officers of prisons.

MR. JACKSON: I will give the hon. Member the assurance he asks for.

Vote agreed to.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. Jackson.*)

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR (Liverpool, Scotland): I must say I am surprised at a Motion involving such a waste of public time coming from the Government. It is only a few minutes past 2 o'clock, and we on these Benches are perfectly fresh. ["Oh, oh!"] The hon. Member for Kennington (Mr. Gent-Davis) dissents from my view as to the desirability of going on with the Business of Supply. I can understand his condition; I do not suppose he is very fresh; for if I had been shouting as much as he has during the night I should be in a state of abject exhaustion by this time. I cannot understand why the Government should be so anxious to adjourn. I shall not vote against them, because, for my own part, I am favourable to adjournments at such late hours of the night; but I hope the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland will not stand up to-morrow, and, because of the slow progress made, object to hon. Members on these Benches criticizing the subject-matter of the Votes. We have got on very smoothly for the past hour and a-half, and perhaps we should have managed to make much greater progress than even we have made if the right hon. Gentleman had taken the trouble to be a little more courteous in his manner.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH [Bristol, W.]): I will not say anything in reply to those observations; but if the Committee is willing to go on with the Estimates I am sure the Government have no objection. We cannot take the Irish Constabulary Vote this evening, for it has been decided to put that down for to-morrow. We must go to Class IV.

Motion, by leave, withdrawn.

a suitable character in connection with police barracks; but I would press upon the Government the desirability of either re-opening some of the prisons which are closed up, or of adopting the recommendation of the Commissioners in its entirety. I hope the hon. Gentleman who is responsible for this matter will give it his careful attention, with the view of putting a stop to the grievances which now prevail.

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Mr. Murphy

books—that there is no library—in this prison. [*Laughter.*] Hon. Gentlemen may laugh; but according to the regulations there should be books in the prisons for the prisoners to read—or a certain class of prisoners. It is an unfortunate thing that on the Sabbath day the prisoners can get nothing to read.

MR. DEASY (Mayo, W.): I desire to ask the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland a question which is very important to hon. Gentlemen from Ireland. I put down a Notice a few days ago, asking the right hon. and learned Gentleman whether the sum due to the Grand Juries in Ireland under the Prisons Act of 1878 had been recouped by direction of the Queen's Bench. The right hon. and learned Gentleman, in reply, said he did not know that the Queen's Bench had given any decision at all on the subject. Well, I am sure the right hon. and learned Gentleman cannot have made full inquiry into the subject, otherwise he would not have given that answer. As a matter of fact, the case which resulted in the decision in question was tried in 1883 by the Queen's Bench, and a decision was given which directed the Government to recoup the Grand Juries in Ireland certain sums which had accrued due between the year 1878 and the date of the decision in the Court of Queen's Bench. The sum due to each county was small; but still there was a sum due to them in the hands of the Government, which had not been handed over to the Grand Juries. I do not wish to go into particulars at this moment; but if the right hon. and learned Gentleman is not aware of them, I shall be happy to furnish him with all the information in my possession.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (MR. HOLMES) (Dublin University): The answer I gave to the hon. Member the other evening was that I was not acquainted with any case tried in the Court of Queen's Bench, or any other Court, in which it was decided that the Government should recoup the Grand Juries in the manner suggested. I added that if he would furnish me with particulars of the case I should be glad to make inquiries into it, and that I now repeat. If he will furnish me with the particulars I certainly will inquire into the matter.

DR. TANNER: I should like to receive an assurance from the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury, if possible, as to some step being taken to remove the grievance of the medical officers of prisons.

MR. JACKSON: I will give the hon. Member the assurance he asks for.

Vote agreed to.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairmando report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(Mr. Jackson.)

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR (Liverpool, Scotland): I must say I am surprised at a Motion involving such a waste of public time coming from the Government. It is only a few minutes past 2 o'clock, and we on these Benches are perfectly fresh. ["Oh, oh!"] The hon. Member for Kennington (Mr. Gent-Davis) dissents from my view as to the desirability of going on with the Business of Supply. I can understand his condition; I do not suppose he is very fresh; for if I had been shouting as much as he has during the night I should be in a state of abject exhaustion by this time. I cannot understand why the Government should be so anxious to adjourn. I should be so anxious to adjourn. I shall not vote against them, because, for my own part, I am favourable to adjournments at such late hours of the night; but I hope the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland will not stand up to-morrow, and, because of the slow progress made, object to hon. Members on these Benches criticizing the subject-matter of the Votes. We have got on very smoothly for the past hour and a-half, and perhaps we should have managed to make much greater progress than even we have made if the right hon. Gentleman had taken the trouble to be a little more courteous in his manner.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH) (Bristol, W.): I will not say anything in reply to those observations; but if the Committee is willing to go on with the Estimates I am sure the Government have no objection. We cannot take the Irish Constabulary Vote this evening, for it has been decided to put that down for to-morrow. We must go to Class IV.

Motion, by leave, withdrawn.

CLASS IV.—EDUCATION, SCIENCE,
AND ART.

(10.) £1,322,989, to complete the sum for Public Education.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.): I had intended to bring forward the case of the annual grant to the Middle Grade School near Swansea; but, first of all, at this hour of the night I doubt whether the Committee would very well relish being detained the necessary length of time to enable me to lay the details before it. Besides, I was rather gratified at the tone of the assurances we received some nights ago from the Government in the discussion which arose on the Motion that the Speaker leave the Chair to go into Committee of Supply on the Civil Service Estimates. I will, therefore, in consideration of the assurances we then received, abstain from detaining the Committee on this particular case. I cannot help expressing a hope that the Government will reconsider the decision which they arrived at in regard to it. I am satisfied that a very grievous hardship has been inflicted on the managers of the school in question, and that while it is, perhaps, the hardest case that has ever arisen under the rule which relates to it, the school has such merits in its favour as would warrant the reconsideration and reversal of the decision already arrived at.

MR. CONWAY (Leitrim, N.): I am sure the Committee will forgive me if I say a word or two on this subject. I had the honour of moving a Motion with respect to the scheme the other evening, and I met with the sympathy of the House then; but since that discussion I have read with considerable interest, not unmingled with astonishment, the evidence given by the Secretary to the Department before the Royal Commission on Primary Education. I am almost inclined, notwithstanding the assurances of the hon. Gentleman the Member for East Donegal (Mr. Arthur O'Connor), to take a vote on the reduction of the amount to be devoted to Public Education. We find that in evidence before the Royal Commission, Mr. Cumin, Secretary to the Committee of Council on Education, called attention to a speech of the late Mr. Forster, formerly Vice President of the Council, in which the right hon. Gentleman had said that

the denominational schools should not clash with the board schools, and that there should be no rivalry between them. And yet, by the action of the Department, rivalry has been created, with the result that a number of the denominational schools has been suppressed—that is, suppressed so far as participating in the public grant goes, not suppressed as to actual existence. If they do not obtain recognition by the Board, which has power to override recognition by the Department, they do not participate in the grant, and the result is that they are denominated adventure schools. In adventure schools the education the children receive is, of course, of a low class, and in the half-time districts the children are sent to these schools as being those at which the minimum amount of attendance and the lowest standard of education are exacted. So that the school board authorities do not reap the reward of their selfishness, for these children do not come to them. The parents decline to put their children into the board schools. In 1870 Mr. Forster declared that the Privy Council had the power to determine whether certain schools should or should not be considered necessary, and this view was shared in by the Marquess of Ripon. The *dictum* of the noble Marquess, however, has been overturned by the interpretation put on the Education Act by the present Permanent Secretary to the Department, Mr. Patrick Cumin, who would reduce the denominational schools to the position of the schools which I have described as private adventure schools. Mr. Patrick Cumin has, in fact, interpreted this Act from his own reading of it. I am not going to criticize the ability of Mr. Cumin—we all know that he has been for years a most efficient public servant. We are also well aware that he has had for his legal services in the Department an increase of salary—he receives certain emoluments for services as Secretary, and £500 for legal services. But the interpretation of the Act is contrary to the intentions of the originators of the Act, to the *dicta* of the late Mr. W. E. Forster and the Marquess of Ripon. Mr. Cumin steps in and interprets the Act to his own liking, and against denominational schools. I think I shall be perfectly within my right in moving to reduce his

salary by £500. According to the Returns and to the evidence furnished to us, Mr. Cumin has actually been the means of the suppression, since 1876, of 50 denominational schools. While I would like to meet the Committee in the best possible spirit, I think the Committee would forgive me if I were to put them to the trouble of a division. Owing, however, to advice which I have received from a source I am willing to respect, I will not trouble the House with a division, but will simply put before the Department, through the medium of the Vice President of the Committee of Council, an alternative. The Department has power, under Article 135 of the Code, to formulate a Minute; this Minute, if it were placed upon the Table in the next Session of Parliament, would certainly satisfy me—a provisional Minute giving the Department power to bring these schools within its scope, and to adjudicate upon their necessity or otherwise. I did, in the last Session of Parliament, put a series of Questions upon this matter in the endeavour to impress upon the Department that it has power, under the 98th section of the Education Act, to determine whether a school be necessary or not. Unfortunately for denominationalists, the Department has handed over that power to school boards. Now, I ask them to withdraw it until the final Report of the Commission, and to themselves determine whether a school be necessary or not. I am perfectly certain that if the Vice President were to put such a Minute on the Table this House would come to his assistance, and concede the power I have in view to the Department until the Royal Commission has issued its Report and legislation can be initiated. I hope the right hon. Baronet (Sir Henry Holland) will take my remarks into his favourable consideration.

MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne): I only wish to say one or two words on this occasion. I was not in the House when this Vote came on just now. I understand that the Government, profiting by the experience of a few nights ago, offered to report Progress. And I am bound to say, in the interests of those who are not present, and who I know would have been anxious to discuss this Vote, that I regret the Motion to report Progress

was resisted on this side of the House. Had I been in the House I should have acted consistently with the attitude I took the other evening, and have supported the proposition to report Progress. I merely rise now in order to renew the protest which I made the other evening, but which I shall not carry further than a mere verbal protest—that it is inexpedient—I will not use a stronger word—that these Estimates should be taken at this hour of the morning (2.40). And I say this all the more anxiously on this occasion because I was talking to the hon. Member for Leicester (Mr. Picton) this evening, and he expressed a great deal of satisfaction at the Vote not having been allowed to come on on Monday evening, because, as he told me, he was interested in it, and hoped to take part in the discussion which might arise. Through the action taken this evening, the hon. Member, not being present, is precluded from taking part in the discussion. I shall not trouble the Committee with any Motion on the subject. [“Move!”] No; I will not move to report Progress. There are various matters in regard to which I have been memorialized by school teachers in my own constituency, and which I should like to lay before the Committee. I shall not trouble the Committee at this hour of the morning—I would rather prefer to reserve the complaints which my own constituents have asked me to lay before the Committee until a more suitable opportunity in the Estimates of next year.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR (Liverpool, Scotland): I have, indeed, made a very great sacrifice in assisting the Government to proceed with this Vote at this time of the morning (2.45), because I do not know any Vote in the whole of the Estimates in which I take a deeper interest, or upon which I am more inclined to speak at great length. At this hour in the morning, however, I would not be justified in imposing upon the Committee any lengthened observations; but perhaps I may just occupy a few minutes of the attention of hon. Members. I hope the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council (Sir Henry Holland) will take the opportunity he now has of initiating a large policy with regard to education in this country. Last year the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birming-

ham (Mr. Joseph Chamberlain), unquestionably attracted a great deal of attention, and obtained a good deal of popularity, by the offer of free schools. Well, Sir, I am sufficiently impartial upon this question to hope that the Government will be able to adopt the same platform with certain modifications. I think it would be desirable that education in this country should be gratuitous, but upon the principle that fair play should be given to all sections of educational thought on this question. On this question I wish to speak with moderation, because I think the country is moderate upon it also. I do not think, except in a few cases, that there is very much extravagant feeling on the subject, and I am of opinion that the right hon. Gentleman (Sir Henry Holland) will be able to devise a settlement satisfactory to the country if he will boldly set himself to the task. I am perfectly convinced that if the right hon. Gentleman were to endeavour to enforce upon the country a completely secular system of education he would find this task at present impossible. I know there is a very powerful and very enlightened section of public opinion in this country which is in favour of completely secular education; but I am inclined to believe that if the experiment were tried at this moment it would not meet with the approval of the majority of the English people. On the other hand, I must say I do not like many things in the present school board system. It appears to me an extremely illogical compromise. I think it is unfair to both the Catholic and the Hebrew child to have to attend these schools, though, if I remember rightly, there is some consideration shown in the case of a Hebrew child. But some people are under the impression that the present schools are, to a large extent, unsectarian in character. I do not share that opinion. School boards are sectarian in character, at least in the eyes of Catholics. I understand there are daily readings from the Testament, with explanations from the masters reading them. I do not wish to enter upon any controversial subject; but hon. Gentlemen opposite me will know that the reading of the Testament with explanations and comments by a non-Catholic teacher does not recommend itself to Catholic parents or to Catholic children. Therefore, I

think that the present school board system cannot be described as wholly unsectarian in its character. I speak with some trepidation on this question, knowing how bitterly feelings are excited upon it; but I think that means can be found by which, at the same time, education can be made gratuitous, and full justice can be done to the claims both of the secular and of the denominational schools. I understand that in my own constituency the school board adopts a very moderate policy, and does not do anything to commit itself to any action which might be called unfair competition with the existing schools of the different denominations. I do not quite share the views which were expressed by my hon. Friend (Mr. Conway) of the action of Mr. Cumin. I do not know whether the right hon. Gentleman will have time this year to approach this very great problem; but I am sure that he can take it up with advantage, now that the public opinion of this country has reached a stage which will allow the matter to be dealt with in a thoroughly just spirit. A good deal of the wild prejudice which existed on this question some years ago has passed away; and it is clear that all Parties—with the exception, of course, of the extreme politicians on either side—are willing that the settlement should be moderate as well as large.

THE VICE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL (SIR HENRY HOLLAND) (Hampstead): Sir, I have listened with attention, and I hope profit, to the speeches of hon. Members upon this important subject of education; but I hope I shall not be accused of want of courtesy, or of not being alive to the importance of the question, if I deal somewhat briefly with the different points and suggestions which have been brought under the consideration of the Committee. And this for two reasons—first, because my right hon. Predecessor (Sir Lyon Playfair) made, in June last, an able and most exhaustive statement, dealing, more or less fully, with many of the questions raised to-night; and I feel sure the Committee would not desire that I should, at this late hour, travel over the same ground; and, secondly, because the Royal Commission on Elementary Education is still sitting, and evidence has been given, and more will probably be

given, upon the principal subjects touched upon to-night. Till they report the Education Department could take no step in the direction suggested, even if it were thought desirable. My right hon. Predecessor, in his statement, declined, for this latter reason, to argue debateable questions, which would be dealt with by the Royal Commission; and I shall, with all respect to the Committee, adopt the same course. In truth, these questions are removed, if I may so say, from the Court of the Education Department to the Court of the Royal Commission; and, just as in legal matters it is thought to be inexpedient to discuss and prejudge questions which are *sub judice*, so in these educational matters it would not be desirable or expedient for the Department to make any change of a substantial character in the law, or in the practice which has prevailed in giving effect to that law, until the Royal Commission has reported. For this reason I will not go into that class of cases where complaint is made that, in school board districts, voluntary schools have been refused grants. The hon. Member for East Donegal (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) has made a special reference to one well-known case, the Dan-y-Graig case; but he has postponed any further discussion upon it to a future and better occasion. In these circumstances, I shall, of course, not go into it; but I venture to direct the attention of the hon. Member to my defence of the action of the Department in that case which I made in the debate on education last June; and it is because the Royal Commission is still sitting that I am quite unable to assent to the suggestion made by the hon. Member for North Leitrim (Mr. Conway), that the Department should pass a short Minute to the effect, as I understood him, that it would not sanction the enlargement of premises by a school board in cases where they thought that the necessary accommodation in the district would be found by a voluntary school, but that they should make a grant to such school. Such a Minute would be, I apprehend, in direct conflict with the existing law, and could not be made until that law is altered; and such an alteration, as I have before said, could not properly be undertaken by the Department until the Commission has re-

ported. Let me observe, in passing, that the hon. Member fell foul of Mr. Cumin, the Permanent Under Secretary of the Education Department, for having wrongly interpreted the law, and forced his interpretation upon the Department. That is an error. Mr. Cumin, of whose ability no one can entertain any doubt, did, as legal adviser to the Department, put forward his construction of the Act of 1870. But the hon. Member did not refer to the fact that the Law Officers of the Crown had supported him in that construction. Let me refer the Committee to the answer to Question 1,882 of the evidence before the Royal Commission. It is there stated that both the Attorney and the Solicitor General (the late Sir George Jessel and the present Lord Chief Justice) were asked their opinion as to what the words that the school board were entitled

"to provide such additional accommodation as is in their opinion necessary"

meant; and they said that

"it gave absolute discretion to the school boards to supply such additional accommodation as was in their opinion necessary."

That is in exact accordance with the opinion and advice of Mr. Cumin. I would cite also the opinions of the late Right Hon. W. E. Forster and the Marquess of Ripon as to the meaning and intention of the Act, which will be found stated in the answer to Question 1,995, and which fully confirm the view taken by the Department. But I desire to state for myself, and, I believe, for the Department, that in our opinion full recognition should be made of voluntary effort, and no injustice should be done to voluntary schools. Fair play should be shown to both classes of schools—board and voluntary. We bear in mind Mr. Forster's statements in 1870, when introducing the Bill. I would prefer to give to the Committee the exact words of the right hon. Gentleman. He said—

"We must take care not to destroy in building up—not to destroy the existing system in introducing a new one. . . . Our object is to complete the present voluntary system, to fill up gaps . . . and welcoming as much as we rightly can the co-operation and aid of those benevolent men who desire to assist their neighbours. . . . Not only do we not neglect voluntary help, but, on condition of respecting the rights of parents and the rights of conscience, we welcome it. . . . We acknowledge and make the utmost possible use of present educational efforts."—(3 *Hansard*, [199] 443-4, 460, 464.)

If it can be shown, from the experience of 15 years, that the working of the Act has unduly hampered the voluntary schools, further legislation may be required; but that is a matter which is under the consideration of the Royal Commission, and we must wait for their Report before introducing any change. I have been obliged at this late hour to deal very briefly with the points brought under the notice of the Committee; but I hope I have made clear the position of the Department. We are fully alive to the importance of the questions; but our action, except as to administrative details, is for the present necessarily stayed until the Royal Commission make their Report. As to the complaints made by the hon. Member for the Camborne Division of Cornwall (Mr. Conybeare), I will beg him to bring them before me officially, and I can assure him they shall receive careful consideration. And as to the exhortation of the hon. Member for the Scotland Division of Liverpool (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) that I should distinguish myself by a large and bold policy, and initiate the principle of free education, with certain modifications and limitations, I am afraid I must content myself with pointing out to him that I could not undertake such a revolution in the present system while the Royal Commission is sitting.

Vote agreed to.

(11.) £170,043, to complete the sum for the Science and Art Department.

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.): I have a few points in connection with this Vote to submit to the Committee. They chiefly relate to the establishment in Dublin. The Science and Art Institution in Dublin is analogous, though on a very much smaller scale, to the British Museum here; and I and others have protested over and over again against the system of managing the Science and Art Establishment in Dublin from London. It leads to no end of inconvenience and trouble in Dublin, and, I am sure, to a great deal of worry and annoyance to the officials in London; besides this, it very greatly impairs the usefulness of the institution. I do not propose to go fully into the question—it would take up too much time—but I particularly wish to direct attention to a question I raised several years ago, and that is the treatment meted out to the Librarian.

Sir Henry Holland

At the head of the Dublin National Library, which forms part of the Science and Art Institution, is a gentleman with whom I am very well acquainted. He is a man who is as well qualified for the position he holds as any man in England, Ireland, or Scotland. He is hard-working and courteous; in fact, he is in every way qualified for his post. Now, I want to point out that the salary this gentleman receives is utterly and entirely insufficient for a man of his class. I draw attention to this matter entirely on my responsibility. I have never been asked by the Librarian to bring the matter before the notice of the Committee of the House of Commons; indeed, I have never heard him make the smallest complaint as to his treatment. If you turn to the salaries paid to the officials at the British Museum, you find that the salary of the Principal Librarian and Secretary is £1,200 a-year, with an official residence; that the salaries of the Keepers of Departments are £750 a-year, with official residences; that the salaries of the Assistant Keepers of Departments are £600 a-year. Now, the salary of the gentleman who is the Librarian of the National Library of Ireland, and who is a man who has made a scientific study of his work, is only £450 a-year, and that is his maximum salary. When I drew attention to this subject before the salary of this Librarian was only £350. I am very glad there has been an increase. I think my demand that the salary of this gentleman be still further increased is a very moderate one. I do not mean to say you should put him upon an equality, as regards remuneration, with the Chief Librarian of the British Museum; but I think it is ridiculous that the head Librarian of the National Library in Ireland is not entitled to as large a salary as the Assistant Keepers of Departments at the British Museum. All I want to urge on the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council (Sir Henry Holland) is that he ought to put it to the Treasury whether they could not increase this gentleman's salary to £600 a-year. I repeat, I make this proposition upon my own responsibility. I am pretty intimate with the Librarian, having come in contact with him when I have gone to the Library to read; but I have never had the slightest conversation with him on this subject.

Another point to which I desire to direct attention is the expenditure on the purchase of books. I see there is spent annually in the purchase of books for the British Museum somewhere about £30,000, whereas there is only £1,000 spent in the purchase of books for the National Library of Ireland. I do think that a fair proportion would be about one-fifteenth part of what is spent for the British Museum. The Dublin Library is very largely used, and the Government is now building new premises for this Library. I do not pretend to say that we are entitled to as much as the British Museum; but I think it is a very moderate request indeed that the £1,000 now allowed annually for the purchase of books for our Library should be increased to £2,000. I could speak at very great length on this Vote, but I do not think the time (2.55) suitable; and, therefore, I will confine my observations to the two points I have mentioned.

THE VICE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL (SIR HENRY HOLLAND) (Hampstead): It is not necessary for me to make such an inquiry as is suggested by the hon. Member for East Mayo (Mr. Dillon) into the character and work of the Librarian, as I am quite aware of his high character, and of the good work he has done. I am inclined to agree with the hon. Member that the salary of the Librarian is low; but the point is new to me, and I cannot make any promise upon it, except that I will inquire into the matter. If it is thought reasonable that the salary should be raised, I hope I shall have the support of the hon. Member in the attempt to soften the proverbially stony heart of my hon. Friend the Financial Secretary to the Treasury. As to increasing the amount allowed for purchase of books, that point also has not been brought under my notice; but I will inquire into it, and see what amounts are allowed in other cases. I agree with the hon. Member that it will hardly be fair to make any comparison with the amount allowed to the British Museum, as that is not the Library of London, but of the nation at large. We must look to the sums allowed to other local libraries.

DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid): It is not my intention to go into this subject at very considerable length. I wish to

confine my remarks on this occasion within the shortest possible limits. As regards Ireland, the question of education is of vital importance; and I hoped not only to have spoken upon it, but also to have heard what hon. Gentlemen opposite had to say upon the subject. We are now dealing with the question of Science and Art; and as an Irishman standing in this House, which was designed by Barry and decorated by Maclise, I feel proud of participating in the Vote before the House. Irishmen have always been to the fore, especially in the department of Science and Art, and I say that this House is a standing monument of their ability and capacity. ["Oh, oh!"] I am not going into the subject of technical education; but hon. Gentlemen opposite who cry "Oh!" must be aware of the great advantages which technical education necessarily confers. That is a recognized fact, and I am not, at the present hour, going into the subject at great length. The amount we are asked to vote is not too large when we consider the vast importance of the facts connected with it; but I think when we come to deal with this matter in connection with Ireland we shall find that there are one or two things to be borne in mind. The Royal College of Science and Art is an Institution of comparatively recent date. The original Institution was entitled a Museum, and there has been considerable discussion with regard to it as connected with technical education in Ireland. A Memorial was signed in which the question of increasing the facilities for technical education was first considered, and which went on to say that this should be done in accordance with the views of the Memorialists. The next communication goes on to tell of the existence of this Museum of Irish industry, of which the Royal College of Science is the lineal descendant. The Memorialists said that the objects they had in view would be best promoted by placing the Museum under the control of the Royal College of Science, and thus extending the usefulness of an Institution little availed of. I should like to meet the wishes of hon. Gentlemen on all sides by making my remarks as brief as I possibly can. Now, I point out that in Ireland, in connection with this College of Science, there are many points of controversy. In the first place,

we find that the College of Science is situated in rather an out-of-the-way district of Dublin, and that the artisans, who are entitled to all the advantages connected with technical education which ought to be, and are, gradually being opened to them, cannot take advantage of this Institution in consequence of its being so situated. They have accordingly made the suggestion that schools should be opened in at least two or three districts, and that the staff of the Royal College of Science should be utilized to impart instruction to them on certain evenings of the week, the salaries of the instructors being, of course, raised for the increased work they would have to do. My object is to draw attention to the fact that it is impossible for the poor working people to obtain the technical instruction they are entitled to under the present system. ["Divide, divide!"] Her Majesty's Government would have us believe that they are the friends of the working man; but when I stand up here for the working man, I find that right hon. Gentlemen opposite shout me down. What I have said in connection with this case is equally true in Cork. We have a very large and beautiful Art School built there, owing to the munificence of a gentleman who gave a large sum of money for the purpose. This school, in itself, is very useful; and, as the inhabitants state, it has opened up a career of usefulness which will be beneficial to the town as well as to themselves. In our city of 80,000 inhabitants, we find, in connection with institutions like this, that the artisans are unable to take advantage of the classes which are open for their instruction, the working end of the city, if I may call it so, being distant three or four miles from the shopkeeping portion of the city. We are, therefore, trying to open a second school where such technical education as is given in the Royal College of Science shall be available for the people. What we are trying to do in Cork I hope will be done in other parts of the country. I invite the attention of English Members to this fact. Do we not see the decline of British trade, and are we not going to inquire into the causes of that decline? We are here, among other reasons, for the purpose of improving British trade; and I ask what is the use of such Reports as I hold in my hand unless they are attended to by the

Government? We send Inspectors to the schools abroad—to Germany, to France, and other countries; and ought we not to instruct ourselves by the knowledge which they impart? I say that it is by scientific and technical education that we can improve the trade of the country. This matter is certainly one which should not be sneered at by hon. Gentlemen opposite; on the contrary, it is deserving of the attention of Her Majesty's Government, in the most extended sense. I ask the right hon. Baronet whether the communications on this subject which were received by his Predecessor from various artisan clubs in Dublin and from the artisans in Cork and Belfast merit, and will receive, his attention?—because I am of opinion that the carrying out of the suggestions therein contained will be of more benefit to Ireland than many of the ephemeral schemes which have been put forward.

MR. M. J. KENNY (Tyrone, Mid): I do not propose to detain the Committee for any length of time; but I am bound to say that some questions arise in connection with this Vote which are worthy of the consideration of the Government, and certainly of those Members of it who are responsible for the Government of Ireland. The first question I refer to is that of the College of Science and Art in Dublin. That is a question which is capable of enormous development. At the present time it is of very little use, and what it does is entirely the result of the generosity, devotion, and ability of those who are teachers in it; but if it received from the State the encouragement which it deserves, it will be of the utmost use to the artisan population in Ireland. It did, for some time, good service, because artisans and mechanics were admitted free; but shortly after that there was a small charge upon those who desired to become students of the Institution, and the result was that it ceased to be of any practical utility. The Senior Professor of this Institution gave evidence before the Committee, of which I was a Member, to the effect that if there was to be any development of technical education in Ireland it must be carried on at the expense of the State, because the mechanics of Ireland are too poor to support a system of technical instruction. Now, I think it is worthy of the

consideration of the Gentleman who is Vice President of the Council (Sir Henry Holland), and who takes very great interest in everything, I believe, which tends to the welfare and advancement of the people of Ireland—I say it is worthy of his attention that the question of the development of technical instruction in Ireland should be brought forward as a matter of definite public policy. Then, Sir, I have to refer to the question of the Geological Survey of Ireland. The learned Professor at the head of the College in Dublin is a man of considerable experience as a geologist, and was able to give the Committee valuable opinions as to what could be done by the Government for the purpose of developing the mineral wealth of Ireland. At present there are only two mineral industries which pay in Ireland. There are some coal mines which pay, and some iron mines which pay; but there is no other mineral deposit which can be worked profitably. I have the opinion of a most distinguished mineralogist in Ireland, that there should be borings carried on throughout Ireland. ["Oh, oh!"] This question is also worthy of the attention of the Government, and especially of the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President, and who, notwithstanding the jeers of some hon. Members opposite, will, I trust, consider it. The Professor also recommended that there should be, at a trifling expense, a series of experiments carried on, in order to discover what are the mineral deposits in Ireland and those which it would pay to work; and I believe that there are such deposits to be found, if the Government will do what is wanted for the development of the industrial resources of the country. I believe that there are considerable deposits of coal and iron; and that if these are brought together, as they would be brought together in England and Scotland, there would be an iron and steel industry in Ireland which would rival the most successful industries in those two countries. I am aware that the iron industry is not, at the present time, very successful in England; but it must be remembered that there is a considerable quantity of iron sent over from Ireland to England for the purpose of smelting. This iron makes the finest steel, and if the deposit were properly developed I am convinced that it could be made of great benefit to the people

of Ireland. I represent a district in which there are very large coal mines; it is, in fact, with one exception, the only part of the country where mining pays. In Antrim there are found enormous deposits of iron, a large quantity of which is shipped to England; whereas, if we had a Government in Ireland which would be able to inquire closely into the requirements and capacities of the country, these two deposits could be brought together and worked with advantage to the Irish people. Now, I urge upon those who are responsible for the development of education in Ireland, and for the advancement of education among the people, to consider these questions of technical education and natural deposits which so closely affect the future development of Irish resources. I believe if the Government would devote their attention to these matters that they might do enormous good to the people of Ireland. I am bound to say that this is a question which does not come within the vortex of political strife, and that if the Government would undertake to deal with it, as far as I and the Representatives of the greater part of Ireland are concerned, we shall be prepared to give them the most cordial assistance in their attempts to improve the material position of the people. We have within reach the means of improving their condition immensely, and all that is required is that there should be direction, inspection, and encouragement proceeding from the Government, because Ireland is not like England—in this respect; because England is so rich, that Englishmen can develop their own industries and private enterprizes; and I should like to know in what other country, except America, is personal enterprise able to do what it does here? On the Continent, Governments superintend what is here done by private enterprise; and Ireland, above all things, needs the care of the Government in this respect. Therefore, I submit to the Vice President that he should do all in his power, as I believe he will, for the purpose of developing the plans of Irishmen who are anxious to improve the material prosperity of their country.

SIR HENRY HOLLAND: Of all the many important and pressing points connected with education, perhaps none is more important and pressing than that of technical education. It is, there-

fore, very desirable that it should be brought before Parliament in a more definite form, and at a better opportunity, and at a time when it can be fully discussed. However anxious I am to promote technical education, nothing of importance can really be done to secure a uniform and thorough system until Parliament has decided two questions; first, how, and by whom, the cost of erecting and maintaining technical schools is to be borne; and, secondly, whether the attendance shall be made compulsory for a longer time than it is at present. I fear, unless that is done, technical education in its full sense can hardly be taught, though much may be done in that direction. I will not now discuss the subject further; but I will point out to the hon. Member (Dr. Tanner) that the hon. Member for South Manchester (Sir Henry Roscoe) has given Notice of a Motion for next Session, which will raise the whole question of technical education, and I hope that an early opportunity will be found for bringing on that discussion. As to the suggestion made by the hon. Member for Mid Tyrone (Mr. M. J. Kenny) that a grant should be made for boring in different parts of Ireland, with a view to test the mineral resources, coal and iron, of that country, I will consider the matter; but I entertain great doubts whether the Treasury will assent to any such application.

DR. TANNER: I will defer making some remarks on several other points upon which I wish to speak until the Report stage.

SIR HENRY HOLLAND: If the hon. Gentleman will come and see me at the Department, we shall be more likely to come to some understanding.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: May I ask how soon will the Geological Survey of Donegal, the county I represent, be completed? This is the only county in Ireland where the Geological Survey is not completed. I am afraid there is a great deal of time being wasted in this matter, and it is very important that the survey should be completed.

SIR HENRY HOLLAND: I will inquire into the matter.

Vote agreed to.

(12.) £77,285, to complete the sum for the British Museum.

Sir Henry Holland

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £3,607, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1887, for the Salaries and Expenses of the National Gallery."

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR (Liverpool, Scotland): I observe that the Leader of the House (Lord Randolph Churchill) is fast asleep on the Treasury Bench—I see he is now awake. I had been going to remark that I did not think it desirable to steal a march on him by going on with any further Votes. Not because I am not perfectly fresh; but I observe that we have reduced to slumber not only the noble Lord, but the majority of hon. Members opposite. Several questions of great importance arise on this Vote, and I see on the Paper several Notices of Amendments to it. Several important purchases are contemplated by the Department, and are to be brought under discussion; and for these reasons I think it would perhaps be as well to leave the discussion of this Vote over until to-morrow.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH) (Bristol, W.): I hope we may be allowed to go on to the end of this Class.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR: I should be quite willing personally. I assure the right hon. Gentleman I could go on for several hours more. But I know what a severe strain all this involves upon hon. Members opposite. This is a Vote to which, unless I am much mistaken, Notice of Amendment has been put by several hon. Members, all of whom are absent. If I am not mistaken, I think there is an item in the Vote in regard to some of the Blenheim sales. ["No, no!"] Yes; in connection with the National Portrait Gallery.

THE VICE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL (SIR HENRY HOLLAND) (Hampstead): This Vote is for the National Gallery.

MR. CLANCY (Dublin Co., N.): I see an Amendment on the Paper in the name of the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy (Sir George Campbell). I would suggest that the National Gallery Vote should be postponed.

DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid): There is just one question I should like to ask the right hon. Baronet (Sir Henry Holland), and that is, whether the National Gallery is opened on Sundays?

SIR HENRY HOLLAND: No.

DR. TANNER: Then, if it is not, I know for certain there are a great many Members of this House who will oppose the Vote. As they are not present the Vote should be postponed. I myself desire to speak on it, and take a division on it.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: If the Vote is opposed it will not be reasonable to take it now. The only Votes to which Notice of opposition has been given are the National Gallery and the National Portrait Gallery.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*.

(13.) £7,400, to complete the sum for Learned Societies and Scientific Investigation.

MR. M. J. KENNY (Tyrone, Mid): I wish to say just one word on this Vote. I see that a portion of the Vote goes to cover the expense of supplying newspapers with forecasts of the weather. We see these forecasts in the London daily papers; and I must say for the last few years they have been uniformly wrong. Now, I want to know whether, if the Meteorological Society is to exist, it is to continue in its present state, or go on improving? I believe there is no use in having such a Society if it does not go on improving, for I have never yet known it produce a weather prophet who has been able to give the slightest idea of what the weather is going to be. This is a Vote under which we gave £15,300 last year, and under which we are giving the same amount this year, for the luxury of reading in *The Times* certain forecasts of the weather which are always wrong. ["No, no!"] Yes; I challenge any hon. Member to point to a single forecast in *The Times* newspaper, within the last 12 months, that has been right. There has not been one. In fact, it is almost safe to go on the principle that exactly the reverse of that which is predicted in *The Times* forecasts will happen. I am of opinion, Sir, that if this State subsidy to the meteorologists is to continue, these gentlemen should show some reason for it, or, at least, that the result of their inquiries has been to advance science. Because, after all, what is the use of pursuing any object for a scientific purpose unless we are able to arrive at a definite result? The only object of science is to arrive at definite information. I assert

that in connection with these meteorological investigations we have arrived at no definite information, and that the gentlemen who conduct them have failed to effect the object for which the State subsidizes them. I would ask the attention of the right hon. Gentleman responsible for this Vote to this question of meteorology, so that he may, if possible, stimulate these gentlemen in their researches and induce them to furnish to the State some Report which will, if possible, enable Parliament to come to the conclusion that their Institution and their Society, or their "Council," as they call it, is one that is worthy of continued support.

Vote agreed to.

(14.) £6,152, to complete the sum for the London University.

(15.) £6,000, to complete the sum for the University College, Wales.

(16.) £1,837, to complete the sum for Deep Sea Exploring Expedition (Report).

DR. TANNER (Cork, Co., Mid): I should like to have some assurance from the right hon. Gentleman in charge of this Vote as to what is the great practical benefit that has accrued from this Deep Sea Exploring Expedition—from this cruise of the *Challenger*. We heard a great deal about it at the time it took place; but, so far as I can gather from the Reports which reached us from the Expedition in the years 1873-4-5-6, the principal result has been to find places at the bottom of the ocean most suitable for laying down cables. I should like to know something about the matter.

COMMANDER BETHELL (York, E.R., Holderness): The result of these investigations has been 30 large volumes; and if the hon. Member will study these log books he will perfectly understand the object of the Expedition.

DR. TANNER: The hon. and gallant Gentleman has referred me to 30 odd volumes; but I maintain that we should not be always asked to read these terrible volumes which are issued from time to time in connection with our scientific services. I should like to hear from the right hon. Gentleman (Sir Henry Holland), or any hon. Gentleman who has to do with the Vote, in a short and suc-

cinct form, what is the meaning of this charge?

SIR HERBERT MAXWELL (A LORD of the TREASURY) (Wigton): The hon. Member has alluded to the true origin of this Expedition—namely, the great extension of the Sub-Marine Telegraph Service, and the immense development of telegraphic communication between the different parts of the world. I am sure the Committee will not be inclined to underrate the importance of that matter. Then, of course, connected with this Expedition, there has been an immense development of biological science. It may be interesting to know that the great cause of the delay which has occurred in the publication of these volumes of Reports—which will be all completed by the end of next year—arose from the illness of many of the distinguished men who are preparing the volumes, and from the death of one.

Vote agreed to.

Motion made, and Question, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again,"—(*Mr. Jackson*),—put, and *agreed to*.

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow*.

Committee to sit again *To-morrow*.

SUPPLY.—REPORT.

Resolutions [15th September] *reported*.

MR. CLANCOY (Dublin Co., N.): I drew attention in Committee to the case of Mr. Jephson, a public official. He was engaged as a Director of one of those Companies in Ireland which deluded people into subscribing their money, and which eventually came to smash. I asked the right hon. Baronet the Chief Secretary for Ireland—who did not pay any attention to my request—to say something on the matter. I wished him to give an express direction that, for the future, Government officials should not act as Directors in these speculations for the future. But, as I say, I got no reply from the right hon. Gentleman. I beg now to ask for some assurance on the subject.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH) (Bristol, W.): I noticed at the time the observations which fell from the hon. Gentleman; but amongst the many

subjects to which my attention was directed I, unfortunately, overlooked this matter. I may now inform the hon. Gentleman that I have communicated with Dublin on the subject.

Resolutions agreed to.

House adjourned at Four o'clock
in the morning

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Friday, 17th September, 1886.

MINUTES.]—SUPPLY—considered in Committee

—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES—CLASS III.—LAW AND JUSTICE, Vote 30; CLASS IV.—EDUCATION, SCIENCE, AND ART, Votes 4 & 5, 10 to 18; CLASS V.—FOREIGN AND COLONIAL SERVICES, Votes 1 to 8; CLASS VI.—NON-EFFECTIVE AND CHARITABLE SERVICES, Votes 1 to 9; CLASS VII.—MISCELLANEOUS, Votes 1 & 2; REVENUE DEPARTMENTS, Votes 1 to V.; CLASS III.—LAW AND JUSTICE, Vote 7 and Vote for Crofters Commission; CLASS IV.—EDUCATION, SCIENCE, AND ART, Vote 18; CLASS VII.—MISCELLANEOUS, Vote 2.

Resolutions [September 16] reported.

WAYS AND MEANS—considered in Committee—£20,089,689, Consolidated Fund.

QUESTIONS.

WAR OFFICE—ORDNANCE DEPARTMENT—THE STOREKEEPERS AT PURFLEET.

MAJOR RASCH (Essex, S.E.): asked the Surveyor General of the Ordnance, Whether the men employed in charge of stores at the Government Magazine, Purfleet, are entitled to a pension after twenty years' service, taking into consideration the risk incurred in their work, and the fact that their pay has been reduced?

THE SURVEYOR GENERAL (Mr. NORTHCOTE) (Exeter): The men employed at Purfleet serve on the same conditions as men employed elsewhere under the Ordnance Store Department. Unless their employment commenced before the 19th of April, 1859, they are not entitled to pensions. In the event of their being injured while on duty, through no fault of their own, they would be entitled to compensation. Their pay has not been reduced.

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—KIL-
RUSH PETTY SESSIONS—ILLEGAL
FISHING—CASE OF MR. SIMON
M'AULIFFE.

MR. COX (Clare, E.): asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If it is a fact that, at a Court of Petty Sessions held recently at Kilrush, in the county of Clare, an extensive stake net proprietor named Simon M'Auliffe, who is also a member of the Limerick Board of Conservators, was prosecuted for illegally fishing his weirs in the tidal waters during the weekly close time; whether, though the case was clearly proved against him, the magistrates inflicted only the minimum penalty of £10, the maximum penalty being £50; whether M'Auliffe will be permitted to retain his seat at the Board of Conservators; whether proprietors of salmon weirs and seine and drift nets are allowed to act in the capacity of Conservators; whether a strict and impartial inquiry will be held into the question of illegal net fishing in the estuary; and, whether any, and what, steps will be taken to prevent wholesale poaching in the lower, middle, and upper waters of the Shannon?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. HOLMES) (Dublin University) (who replied) said: The facts are as stated in the first and second paragraphs of the Question of the hon. Member. There is no power to deprive Mr. M'Auliffe of his seat at the Board of Conservators. Proprietors of several fisheries, valued at £100 a-year, are by statute constituted *ex officio* conservators, and such proprietors may use salmon weirs or seine or drift nets. Inquiries have been held—one of them very lately—into the question of illegal net fishing in the estuary of the Shannon, and a bye-law is being prepared with a view of meeting some of the evils now existing. The Conservators are the body charged with the enforcement of the laws to prevent poaching.

WAR OFFICE—CAMPAIGN IN THE
SOUDAN—SUPPLY OF ARMS
AND STORES.

MR. DE LISLE (Leicestershire, Mid) asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether Lord Wolseley, either before, during, or after the Soudan Campaign, made any complaints or representations

to the Secretary of State for War concerning the arms and stores supplied during that Campaign, or concerning the organization and management of the Ordnance Department; and, if he did, whether Her Majesty's Government will lay such document or documents upon the Table of the House?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): In reply to my hon. Friend, I have to say, in reference to any representation made by Lord Wolseley during the campaign in the Soudan, that I can only refer him to the answer which I gave in this House on the 20th of August to a Question of a similar character to the hon. and gallant Member for Rochester (Colonel Hughes-Hallett). As regards any representation made by Lord Wolseley before or since the campaign, my hon. Friend is aware that Lord Wolseley has been and is Adjutant General, and in that position Minutes of a confidential character have, no doubt, been communicated by him to the Secretary of State; but it would be entirely without precedent, and contrary to the public interest, that such Minutes should be made public. I have already said that all complaints which have reached the War Office during the past five years would be submitted to the Commission of Inquiry already appointed.

MR. DE LISLE asked if the evidence given by the Commission would be laid before the House?

MR. W. H. SMITH: The evidence as well as the Report will be presented to the House.

POST OFFICE (IRELAND)—THE SUB-
POSTMASTER OF STRADBALLY,
CO. WATERFORD.

MR. P. J. POWER (Waterford, E.) asked the Postmaster General, Whether he has been officially informed of the death of the Sub-Postmaster of Stradbally, county Waterford; has a memorial, influentially signed by the residents of Stradbally and district, been received by him requesting the appointment of Miss Finn to the position of Postmistress; and, in filling this position, he intends acceding to the wishes of the memorialists?

THE POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. RAIKES) (Cambridge University): The nomination to the situation of Sub-Postmaster in Stradbally rests with the

Lords of the Treasury, and the Memorial to which the hon. Member refers has been forwarded by the Post Office to their Lordships.

THE IRISH LAND COMMISSION—
ADVANCES TO TENANTS FOR PUR-
CHASE OF HOLDINGS.

MR. MAHONY (Meath, N.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the Land Commission has lately refused to advance money to the tenants for the purchase of their holdings on the estates of the Marquis of Lansdowne, Mr. S. M. Hussey, and Mr. Taaffe; and, if so, whether he can state the number of years' purchase which the tenants in each case had agreed to pay, and the grounds on which the Commissioners refused to make the advances asked for?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH) (Bristol, W.): It is quite true that the Land Commissioners have declined to sanction the loans applied for in the case of four holdings out of several on the estate of Mr. Hussey, and that they have refused the proposed terms in the case of two tenants on the estate of the Marquess of Lansdowne. They have also been unable to agree to the terms proposed for the purchase of the Taaffe estate, and they have communicated their reasons for doing so to the solicitors acting for the tenants. In taking these steps the Land Commissioners have exercised the discretion vested in them by Act of Parliament, and I cannot state their reasons.

LABOURERS (IRELAND) ACT — THE
SCHEME FOR THE OLDCASTLE
UNION—THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT
BOARD INQUIRY UNDER THE ACT.

MR. MAHONY (Meath, N.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he can state why the Local Government Board for Ireland have not as yet issued the Provisional Orders for the Oldcastle Union, under the Labourers (Ireland) Act, although the local inquiry was held as far back as the 16th of April last?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH (Bristol, W.): The scheme in this case is a very extensive one, relating to the erection of 215

houses; and the inspection of the sites proposed, and the correspondence subsequent to the inquiry, has necessarily occupied considerable time. The order is now in the hands of the Board's solicitor, who has been instructed to prepare it as soon as possible.

LABOURERS (IRELAND) ACT—SCHEMES
IN THE ARDEE UNION—THE LOCAL
GOVERNMENT BOARD INQUIRY
UNDER THE ACT.

MR. T. P. GILL (Louth, S.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, What is the cause of the delay in the holding of the Local Government Board inquiry in the Ardee Union, which has been expected for several months?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH) (Bristol, W.): Ardee Union is waiting its turn until the services of an Inspector are available to hold the inquiry; it will be held as soon as possible. The Inspector's hands are quite full at present, the schemes submitted being very numerous.

PRISONS (IRELAND)—KILKENNY GAOL
—RELIGIOUS PROVISION FOR PRES-
BYTERIAN PRISONERS.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If his attention has been called to a letter in *The Northern Whig* of the 10th instant, signed by the Rev. Dr. Whigham, ex-Moderator of the General Assembly, and from which the following is an extract:—

“A few months ago eight Presbyterian prisoners were removed to the gaol in Kilkenny. It was expected by those who knew the circumstances that some provision would be made for their spiritual oversight and care by a minister of their own Church. Accordingly, the Rev. Mr. Cooke, Presbyterian minister of Kilkenny, applied to the General Prisons Board for an appointment as chaplain to fulfil that duty, but he met with a blunt refusal. The Moderator made application to the Lord Lieutenant, and Sir Robert Hamilton, Under Secretary, was solicited to interpose, in the interests of decency and justice, but all to no purpose. The decree went forth that the Presbyterian prisoners should be denied the ministrations of their own Church. Mr. Cooke was refused permission even to see them. He was informed, however, that by a byelaw he might be allowed to see a prisoner, on leave being asked and obtained from the Prisons Board, but that the visit could not be repeated without similar permission asked and received. Mr.

Cooke very properly would not submit to such degrading conditions. It was strongly urged upon the authorities that these unhappy men ought in all propriety to be provided with the means of such moral and religious instruction as would be most likely to touch their hearts, and lead them to repentance and a better life; but such considerations seemed to have no weight with the members of the Board. No concession would be made;”

and, whether the facts are as stated; and if so, whether care will in future be taken to see that Presbyterian prisoners are not deprived of the ministrations of their own clergy?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH) (Bristol, W.): The facts of this case are as follows:—Early in June, owing to the recent riots in Belfast, it became necessary, as a temporary measure, to remove some of the prisoners from the prison to make room for persons committed for rioting, and eight prisoners of the Presbyterian persuasion were transferred to Kilkenny, where previously there had hardly ever been any prisoners of that faith. A local Presbyterian clergyman, Mr. Cooke, thereupon applied to be made a chaplain to the prison, when he was informed of the temporary nature of the arrangement, and was referred to a Prison Rule which provided for ministration to prisoners in such circumstances. He then asked for the names of the eight prisoners; but it appeared, on inquiry, that six out of the eight expressed themselves satisfied with the ministrations of the Protestant chaplain. The names of the other two were sent to Mr. Cooke, with an intimation that he was at liberty to attend them; but he does not appear to have done so. I may, perhaps, add that the full circumstances of the case were laid before the Earl of Aberdeen in person, and that the decision in the matter was his.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL: In view of the dissatisfaction existing on this question in the Presbyterian Church, will the right hon. Gentleman consider the propriety of giving that Church one representative on the General Prisons Board?

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: I do not think the circumstances of this case warrant the suggestion that the interests of the Presbyterian Church are not fairly considered on the Prisons Board. I think it might have been

better to have sent Presbyterian prisoners to a prison where there was a Presbyterian chaplain; but that, perhaps, could not be arranged.

POST OFFICE — POSTMASTERS AND MASTERS OF SUB-OFFICES— SALARIES.

MR. BEADEL (Essex, Chelmsford) asked the Postmaster General, Whether, having regard to the increased and responsible duties attaching to postmasters and masters of sub-offices in respect of Savings Bank Deposits, Postal Orders, &c., he will take into consideration the salaries paid with a view to increase the same?

THE POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. RAIKES) (Cambridge University): I am glad to have this opportunity, in reply to the Question of the hon. Member, of explaining a matter which appears to be very little understood by hon. Members. The Question of the hon. Member may be divided into two portions, one relating to the pay of Postmasters and the other to the pay of Sub-Postmasters. It is necessary, however, to explain the meaning of these terms. There are two classes of Postmasters—(1) those in the large offices appointed by the Postmaster General, who are regularly established officers, give their whole time to the Public Service, and are paid by adequate salaries; (2) Postmasters appointed by the Treasury who do not give their whole time to the public, but who manage offices of a smaller character than those in the gift of the Postmaster General, and yet larger and of more importance than sub-offices. In computing the salary of both classes of Postmasters, all branches of the work are taken into consideration, and their salaries are adjusted from time to time as the business develops and the circumstances justify. The 16,000 sub-offices come into a different category, as I explained to the House on the 10th instant. All Sub-Postmasters are paid according to results, so that if the pay is little the work is little also. The practice is to appoint as Sub-Postmaster a man having some trade or private occupation, and whose whole time is not required for the Public Service. A small annual retaining fee is given to him; and in addition

to this he receives commission at authorized rates for letters, money order business, savings bank business, postal order business, insurance and annuity business, parcels, telegraph business, &c. &c. The advantage of this system is that it adjusts itself; and that if the work develops the Sub-Postmaster knows that the pay will develop. The hon. Member will therefore see that all the points he mentions have been taken into consideration, and are part of the Postal system.

POST OFFICE (IRELAND) (NORTHERN DIVISION)—ALLOWANCES TO POSTMASTERS, &c., AT HEAD POST OFFICES.

MR. SHEEHAN (Kerry, E.) asked the Postmaster General, Whether complaints have reached him that, in the majority of the head post offices in the Northern Division of Ireland, Postmasters do not expend the allowances granted to them for properly heating and providing their offices with stationery for official purposes; whether, as a consequence, members of the respective staffs of these offices are frequently incapacitated during the Winter Season by colds contracted in discharge of their duties; whether the Surveyor, Mr. Walter Ahern, and his numerous assistants frequently visit such offices when members of the staff are incapacitated from illness and their places supplied by substitutes, and whether they have taken cognisance of the alleged failure on the part of Postmasters to carry out the intentions of the Department in the expending of their allowances; whether the clerks in these offices are also obliged to provide themselves at their own expense with the stationery necessary for the due discharge of their official duties; and, whether he will recommend a change in the present system, and require Postmasters of provincial offices to furnish receipts for all expenses incurred in the working of their offices?

THE POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. RAIKES) (Cambridge University): In reply to the hon. Member, I have to say that I shall be glad if he will furnish me with the names of the Postmasters who it is alleged are guilty of these practices. They are bound to show

how the allowances are expended, and to furnish receipts.

POST OFFICE (IRELAND) — MR. W. AHERN, POSTAL SURVEYOR OF THE NORTHERN DIVISION.

MR. SHEEHAN (Kerry, E.) asked the Postmaster General, Under what circumstances is Mr. W. Ahern, Postal Surveyor of the Northern Division of Ireland, privileged to have his stationery office in Dublin, which is 40 miles beyond the limit of his district, instead of, as in the Southern Division, having it at some central town within his division; whether he is aware that all official correspondence from postmasters and other officials in the Northern District intended for Mr. Ahern, or any member of his numerous staff, has first to be forwarded to Dublin, and thence re-directed to them wherever they may at the time be located in the division; whether great delay, amounting in some instances to several days, accrues to important communications from the present arrangement; whether, Mr. Ahern and his staff of five or six clerks are each absent from Dublin in the aggregate at least nine months of the year, and during all this time draw expenses at the maximum rate of their *per diem* allowance; and, whether, in view of the inconvenience to which this practice gives rise, and the expense that it entails, he will consider the advisability of having the head-quarters of Mr. W. Ahern transferred from Dublin to Enniskillen or Armagh, or some other town equally central within the district?

THE POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. RAIKES) (Cambridge University): Mr. Ahern's head-quarters were fixed in Dublin by order of the Postmaster General, who at the time considered Dublin the most convenient point, and as possessing an exceptionally good railway service. In the matter of correspondence there is no additional delay in consequence. On the occurrence of the next vacancy, the question of head-quarters shall be further considered. He is not absent from Dublin more often than he would be from Armagh or any other place, and, during his absence can only draw the *per diem* allowance which the Regulations prescribe.

Mr. Raikes

MERCANTILE MARINE FUND— FINANCIAL POSITION.

MR. DONKIN (Tynemouth) asked the Secretary to the Board of Trade, If he will give the House any information as to the present financial position of the Mercantile Marine Fund?

THE SECRETARY (Baron HENRY DE WORMS) (Liverpool, East Toxteth): The statutory light dues leviable on ships had, since the passing of the Merchant Shipping Act, 1854, been reduced to the extent of 60 per cent, irrespective of some minor exemptions granted to certain over-sea traders. In addition, certain fees payable on the engagement and discharge of seamen, and borne in part by owners and in part by seamen, amounting to £70,000 per annum, had also been remitted. On April 1, 1884, a balance of more than £400,000 had been accumulated, and the surplus was still growing. The light dues at that time receivable amounted to £470,000 per annum, and a further reduction was made of 10 per cent, equal to an estimated decrease of revenue of one-fourth of the light dues leviable, or about £120,000. The result of this reduction, together with the non-revival of trade and the necessary expenditure on new works for lighthouses, has been to reduce the available balance to about £30,000. In the present state of trade the Board of Trade are unwilling to increase light dues, and they have made arrangements with the Admiralty for a loan from Greenwich Hospital moneys of £250,000. They have also agreed to consider at an early date the condition of the Mercantile Marine Fund, with a view to placing its income on a more satisfactory footing.

ARMY (ORDNANCE DEPARTMENT)— PURCHASE OF 100-TON GUNS.

COLONEL HUGHES-HALLET (Rochester) asked the Surveyor General of the Ordnance, If he will state to the House how many 100-ton guns, if any, have been purchased by the War Department for the Army, and when; the position of these guns, and where; the place of their manufacture; and at what cost they were supplied?

THE SURVEYOR GENERAL (Mr. NORTHCOTE) (Exeter), in reply, said, four 100-ton guns, manufactured at Elswick, were purchased, in 1878, by the War

Department for the Army at a cost of £16,500 each.

ARMY (AUXILIARY FORCES)—ARMS OF THE ARTILLERY VOLUNTEERS.

MR. MALLOCK (Devon, Torquay) asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether, in view of the recent War Office Circular ordering the arms of the Artillery Volunteers in several military divisions to be returned to the Royal Small Arms Factory for examination and repair, he will order the issue to them of the Martini-Henry carbine in place of the old Sniders; and, if an immediate issue cannot take place, if he can give an approximate date when the Artillery Volunteers will be armed with the Martini-Henry carbine?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): The reserve of Artillery carbines is not at present sufficient to allow of the issue of the Martini-Henry pattern to the Artillery Volunteers, nor can I now fix a date for such issue, as it must depend upon the progress made in arming the Royal Artillery with the new rifle.

ARMY (IRELAND)—THE RIOTS IN BEL- FAST—SPECIAL ALLOWANCES TO TROOPS EMPLOYED.

CAPTAIN M'CALMONT (Antrim, E.) asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether he will be prepared to recommend that special allowances be made to Her Majesty's Troops employed during the recent disturbances in Belfast, to meet the serious damage done to their clothing and accoutrements, owing to the severe and peculiar nature of the work that devolved upon them, extra pay for similar service being on all occasions granted to the Royal Irish Constabulary?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): I have received no application on the subject. If any application is made I shall take care to give it careful consideration.

POST OFFICE (IRELAND) (TELEGRAPH DEPARTMENT)—CHARLESTOWN, CO. MAYO.

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.) asked the Postmaster General, Whether Charlestown, county Mayo, has applied for telegraphic communication; whether, in re-

gard to population and to trade, it is a much more important town than many to which the telegraph has been extended; and, whether he will favourably consider the claims of Charlestown?

THE POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. RAIKES) (Cambridge University): It is the fact that an application has been received for the extension of telegraphic communication to Charlestown, County Mayo. The applicants were informed, in November, 1883, that as the amount of telegraph business which it was estimated would be dealt with at the proposed office would not be sufficient to meet the working expenses, a guarantee would, as in other similar cases, be required. In April, 1884, an undertaking was given by certain of the inhabitants to provide the guarantee, and the necessary deed was forwarded for signature; but up to the present time it has not been returned, though applications were made on three separate occasions, and consequently the extension has not been made. As it is estimated that an extension of the telegraph system to Charlestown would not be remunerative, I regret that I am precluded from carrying out the extension except under a guarantee.

LUNATIC ASYLUMS (IRELAND)—
CENTRAL LUNATIC ASYLUM, DUN-
DRUM—ADVERTISEMENT FOR
A KITCHENMAID.

MR. DONAL SULLIVAN (Westmeath, S.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been called to the following advertisement which appeared in *The General Advertiser*, Dublin, on Saturday last, the 11th instant:—

"The Central Lunatic Asylum at Dundrum. A Kitchenmaid (Protestant) is required for the above Asylum;"

and, whether the Lunatic Asylum at Dundrum is chiefly maintained by Irish Catholic taxpayers; and, if so, on what grounds a Catholic is not as eligible as a Protestant for the appointment referred to in the advertisement?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH) (Bristol, W.): The advertisement in question was inserted by the Resident Medical Superintendent of the asylum, who, in making the stipulation as to religion, appears to have been influenced by the considerations that there is only one Protestant among the entire female staff of the

Mr. Dillon

asylum; that in her absence there would be no person to take the female patients to the Protestant service; and that unless this arrangement were made one of the Catholic nurses would have to absent herself from Mass in the morning in order to take charge of the refractory patients.

MR. W. J. CORBET (Wicklow, E.) asked the right hon. Baronet, If this Resident Medical Superintendent was the same with regard to whose conduct a Commission of Inquiry was held some little while ago, and in respect of which the Commissioners were not unanimous, and reported separately; and he wished to ask him also, if a portion of that inquiry—

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! I do not think that that arises in any way out of the Question on the Paper.

COAL MINES—THE DEAN LANE
COLLIERY EXPLOSION.

MR. BURT (Morpeth) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, If his attention has been called to certain statements of the workmen of the Dean Lane Colliery, near Bristol, alleging that the air-ways of the said mine were in a bad condition prior to the explosion which has resulted in the death of 10 persons and the serious injury of others; and, whether he can state what steps he will take to ensure a searching investigation into the cause of the explosion?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): Yes, Sir, my attention has been called to these statements. I have directed that counsel shall attend the inquest which is to be resumed on Monday next; and, if necessary, I shall direct an inquiry into the cause of the explosion when the inquest is concluded.

PUBLIC HEALTH—GIPSY-VAN AND
TRAVELLING CHILDREN.

MR. BURT (Morpeth) asked the Vice President of the Committee of Council, Whether his attention has been called to a letter from Mr. George Smith, of Coalville, relating to the sad condition of the gipsy van and other travelling children, published in *The Daily Chronicle*, *Morning Post*, and other papers on the 30th of August; and, whether the Government intend taking any steps for

bringing the gipsy van and other travelling children under educational and sanitary influences?

THE VICE PRESIDENT (SIR HENRY HOLLAND) (Hampstead): My attention has been called to the letter referred to. The Education Department, in concert with the Local Government Board, have devised Regulations under the Canal Boats Act, the effect of which is now being tested in the neighbourhood of Birmingham; but the question of gipsy-van children is much more difficult, and the hon. Member will recollect that the Select Committee of which he was a Member considered the subject very carefully two years ago, and did not see their way to recommend any special legislation, and that the clause in the draft Bill referred to that Committee relating to gipsy-van children was omitted in the Act.

RIGHT HON. JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN, M.P.—POLICE PROTECTION.

MR. H. CAMPBELL (Fermanagh, S.) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether his attention has been called to a paragraph in *The Times*, stating that the Member for West Birmingham has made arrangements with the Chief of the Birmingham Police to be accompanied by a police inspector during a lengthened tour on the Continent; whether a local police rate can be so employed; and, whether he has any reason to believe that the Member for West Birmingham is in any danger of attack whilst visiting the Continent; and, if so, from where?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (MR. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): My attention was first called to the paragraph in *The Times* by the Question of the hon. Gentleman. The Birmingham police are in no way under my control; but I have made inquiries, and by the courtesy of the Chief Constable I have learnt that the statements of fact in the Question are not correct. As to the latter part of the Question, I decline, on public grounds, to give any answer.

IRELAND—THE BREHON LAW—RE-CONSTITUTION OF THE COMMISSION.

MR. T. P. GILL (Louth, S.) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, If he could state in what year did it become

impossible to form a quorum of the Brehon Law Commission through decrease of its members; in what year was the Commission re-constituted; who are its present Members; and, what Reports has the Commission issued since its re-constitution?

THE SECRETARY (MR. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.): I have not the information to answer the first Question put by the hon. Member. The Commission was re-constituted in 1884. Its present Members are the Lord Chancellor, the Master of the Rolls, Dr. Graves, the Bishop of Limerick, and Mr. Justice O'Brien. I cannot find that the Commission has issued any Report since it was re-constituted.

MR. M. J. KENNY (Tyrone, Mid): I would like to ask the hon. Gentleman if he is aware how many Members of the re-constituted Commission understand the Irish language?

MR. JACKSON: I am afraid that is a Question I cannot answer.

INLAND NAVIGATION AND DRAINAGE (IRELAND)—THE LOWER BANN.

MR. PINKERTON (Galway) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, If he is aware that Memorials have been presented, at different periods, from five Boards of Guardians and three Grand Juries, asking for the removal of the navigation works from the Lower Bann; is he aware that a Royal Commission has reported against the maintenance of these works, that 30,000 acres are annually flooded, and a tax of £1,200 is levied off the distressed farmers to maintain the works, which are inflicting serious injury upon them; is he aware that for 13 years there has not been the slightest attempt at navigation between Coleraine and Lough Neagh; and, is he prepared to lay upon the Table of the House the different Memorials and Petitions relating to this question?

THE SECRETARY (MR. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.): I am informed that various Memorials have been addressed to the Irish Government on this subject, and that a Royal Commission recommended that the river should be maintained for purposes of drainage only. But the Government has no power to initiate any proceedings in the matter. The latter part of the Question should have been addressed to the Chief Secretary for Ireland.

THE CURRENCY, &c. — CONSTITUTION
OF THE COMMISSION.

MR. J. M. MACLEAN (Oldham) asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, If his attention has been called to a statement in *The Times* Money Article of September 14th, that—

“One member of the Currency Commission, at least, whose practical experience and sound views will be likely to exercise considerable influence upon his colleagues, does not hesitate to let it be known that he intends to put his foot down at an early stage of the proceedings and to stifle any attempt to discuss the question of tampering with the currency system under which this country has reached unrivalled prosperity and economical development;”

if this expression of opinion is consistent with the terms of reference to the Currency Commission, which expressly provide for the full discussion of the question; what bearing the recent changes in the relative values of gold and silver have had, not only upon the Foreign trade, but also upon “the internal trade and industry” of the United Kingdom; and, if the Government will cause inquiries to be made in order to ascertain the name of the Commissioner who has pledged himself to this foregone conclusion, and will consider the expediency of removing his name from the Commission?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL) (Paddington, S.): The hon. Member is, perhaps, not aware that my right hon. Friend the Secretary for Scotland, who is Chairman of the Gold and Silver Commission, answered this Question very fully the other day replying to the hon. Member for Greenock (Mr. T. Sutherland). I have nothing to add to the answer which my right hon. Friend then gave, except that the result of further inquiries which I have made privately is to confirm his view that the statement in the article was unauthenticated and unworthy of credence.

EGYPT—RE-ORGANIZATION, &c.—SIR
H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND (Fermanagh, N.) asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether Sir Drummond Wolff is still employed by the Government in Egypt; if so, what particular work he is doing there; whether it is true that he is receiving £5,000 a-year; and, whether the Government will recall

Sir Drummond Wolff and let the Egyptians manage and save the £5,000 a-year for some other purpose?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL) (Paddington, S.): Sir Henry Drummond Wolff is still employed by Her Majesty's Government in Egypt. He is engaged with the Turkish Commissioner, Moukhtar Pasha, in carrying out the general re-organization of Egyptian administration contemplated by the Convention of 1885, and important proposals made by him, with a view to ulterior arrangements, are now under the consideration of the Government. He is being remunerated at the rate of £5,000 a-year by the British Government, and not by the Egyptian Government, as the hon. Member supposes. The Government do not intend to recall Sir Henry Drummond Wolff before his duties have been discharged, and are of opinion that his continued presence in Egypt is highly desirable, on the ground both of British and Egyptian interests, which his diplomatic skill and experience and extensive knowledge of Eastern affairs have already done much to harmonize and promote.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.): May I ask the noble Lord whether Moukhtar Pasha has associated himself with Sir Henry Drummond Wolff with any other object than that of military re-organization?

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Yes, Sir. The hon. Member has only to look to the terms of the Convention to satisfy himself on that point.

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.) asked, whether the Government would consult the House of Commons before committing itself to any proposals on the subject of Egypt?

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Of course, the Government must always bear in mind, in the course of any arrangements they may make in the exercise of the prerogative of the Crown with Foreign Powers, that their action will be eventually controlled by the House of Commons.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND explained that in regard to the salary of Sir Henry Drummond Wolff, he did not intend by the wording of his Question to imply that it was paid by the Egyptian Treasury; but that this payment out of the funds of the British taxpayer was

objected to by large numbers of people, who felt that he was doing nothing at all for it. ["Order!"]

POST OFFICE (IRELAND)—CASE OF
— MOLONEY, POSTMASTER OF
KILDYSART.

MR. JORDAN (Clare, W.) asked the Postmaster General, If he has yet obtained the information sought from — Moloney, Postmaster, Kildysart, county Clare, in reference to the disposal of £9 2s. 6d. granted for letter carrier; if he can now say whether Moloney, out of his allowance of £10 per annum as Sub-Postmaster, to secure the services of letter carrier, is compelled to supplement, by £5 yearly, the £9 2s. 6d., making in all £14 2s. 6d.; if the duties of the letter carrier are performed in an hour and a half daily; if Moloney, out of his allowance of 6s. per week, pays 1d. for the delivery of each telegraphic message within the limits of the town postal delivery, thereby wiping out his allowance on this head, should 72 messages weekly be delivered; if the telegraph messenger is a different person from the letter carrier; if some one of Moloney's family or *employés* is not in constant daily attendance at the post office from 7 a.m. till 9 p.m., and if, at certain busy times, other members of his household have to assist; if Moloney, at his own cost, fitted up the postal and telegraphic offices; if he still considers that £5 per annum, or 3½d. per day, for the post office, and 6s. per week as telegraphist, diminished by 1d. delivery, are sufficient remuneration for outlay of capital, free house, and such services; and, if he will take Moloney's case into consideration?

THE POSTMASTER GENERAL (MR. RAIKES) (Cambridge University): On inquiring into this matter, I find that there has been serious ground for dissatisfaction with the conduct of Moloney, the Sub-Postmaster of Kildysart. In April last it was discovered that he was in the habit of putting into his own pocket a portion of the money given him to pay a messenger. He was made to refund the sum he had pocketed, and received a severe reprimand. Should he be again reported he will be dismissed. As regards his emoluments, they are calculated on the principle which I have just described, and he can ascertain for himself whether he receives the authorized sums.

NAVY—H.M.S. "BELLEISLE."

SIR THOMAS ESMONDE (Dublin Co., S.) asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, Why H.M.S. *Belleisle* is not left permanently at her station at Kingstown; if it is a fact that she has been away from there nearly the whole summer, and is now under orders for the North of Ireland; and, if so, for what reasons; and, if the Admiralty will allow her to remain in Kingstown under the circumstances, or, if not, send another ship to take her place?

LORD CHARLES BERESFORD (A LORD of the ADMIRALTY) (Marylebone, E.) (who replied) said: The absence of Her Majesty's ship *Belleisle* from Kingstown has been caused by the requirements of the Naval Service, as she, with other first reserve ships, had to take part in the necessary annual cruise and exercises of the Fleet. Her absence was also caused by the necessity for undergoing the annual re-fit. Kingstown is the headquarters of the first reserve ships; but the district extends over the whole East Coast of Ireland, from Moville on the North to Crookhaven on the South. The Admiralty do not consider it desirable to keep any first reserve ship permanently at her moorings, or to replace her by another ship during the period her services are required elsewhere. It is usual for the first reserve ships in question to visit Carrickfergus and Lough Foyle, both places being within her district. The *Belleisle* will leave Kingstown about the 18th instant, and remain at Carrickfergus till about the 3rd of October, then proceed to Moville, where she will remain until the 27th of October. She will then return to her headquarters at Kingstown.

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND) — SESSIONAL CROWN SOLICITOR, CO.
FERMANAGH.

MR. JORDAN (Clare, W.) asked Mr. Attorney General for Ireland, If any and what appointment to the office of Sessional Crown Solicitor for the county Fermanagh, Ireland, has been made; if not, when will it be made?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (MR. HOLMES) (Dublin University), in reply, said, that no appointment had yet been made, but would be made in a few days.

INDIA—NATIVE STATES—THE GAEKWAR OF BARODA.

DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid) asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether it is a fact that the British Government promoted the election of the present Gaekwar to the throne of Baroda; whether it is true that he was adopted by the widow of Khanderao, the late Gaekwar; whether the present Gaekwar is legitimately or illegitimately descended from Pilaprao, the founder of the race of Gaekwars; whether it is a fact that in India adopted heirs are elected only in the case of failure of lineal, direct, and natural descendants; whether the present reigning Gaekwar has a father, an elder brother, and two uncles alive; whether the prior claims of other members of his family were taken into account; whether his father is descended from a Hindoo class known as Lakeali; and, whether a Commission of Inquiry into the rights of sovereignty of the present ruler will be instituted, as happened in the case of the succession to the Tanjore throne in 1798?

THE UNDER SECRETARY (Sir JOHN GORST) (Chatham): I regret the impossibility of discussing the pedigree of the reigning Gaekwar of Baroda within the limits of an answer to a Question. The selection of the present Gaekwar took place more than 11 years ago, as an act of State, after full consideration by the Government of India. The right of the Gaekwar depends upon that selection, and no dispute or question of that right for any reasons whatever will be permitted by Her Majesty's Government.

ARMY (INDIA)—MEDICAL DEPARTMENT—SURGEONS.

DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid) asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether the Surgeons in the Army Medical Department, in accordance with the Indian Army Regulations, although wearing the badges of Captain, only rank with a Lieutenant for the first five or six years of his service, and draw the allowance granted to the lower grade; whether their pay amounts, for the stated period, to 317 rupees per month, and whether this amount is 132 rupees less than the pay of a regimental Captain; whether, after serving five years at home, the pay of a Sur-

geon is increased by £50 per annum, equivalent to 58 rupees per month, and whether it is a fact that, while in India, he only receives a corresponding addition of 18 rupees per month; and, what steps will be taken to redress these grievances, which are popularly spoken of as tending to make the Army Medical Department unpopular?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Sir JOHN GORST) (Chatham) (who replied) said: The uniform of the Army Medical Department is not prescribed by Indian Regulations. Surgeons rank with Captains in India, as elsewhere. They draw in India a higher rate of pay and allowances than Lieutenants. To the second and third Questions I answer Yes. But after six years a Surgeon's pay is increased by 116 rupees a month, and is more than a Captain's. The Secretary of State does not consider that there is any necessity for changing the present rates of Indian pay of the Army Medical Department.

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—THE REV. MR. FAHY.

MR. HAYDEN (Leitrim, S.) (for Colonel NOLAN) (Galway, N.) asked Mr. Attorney General for Ireland, If he can now state if the Reverend Mr. Fahy has been committed to prison under the Act 31 of *Eduard III.* c. 1?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. HOLMES) (Dublin University): The Rev. W. Fahy was committed to prison for not finding sureties to keep the peace, which he was ordered to do by the magistrates, under the jurisdiction vested in them by their Commission, which forms part of the Common Law.

MR. TUIE (Westmeath, N.): Arising out of this Question, I should like to ask the right hon. and learned Gentleman if the information stated that Mr. Lewis apprehended violence?

MR. HOLMES: The evidence was given in Court *vide* *coram*. I have no doubt whatever that sufficient evidence was given to justify the magistrates in making the order.

POST OFFICE—THE GENERAL POST OFFICE—VACANCIES IN THE SORTING OFFICES.

MR. CRILLY (Mayo, N.) asked the Postmaster General, Whether it is the fact that since 1884 three examinations

have been held amongst the minor establishment, of the General Post Office for clerkship vacancies in the chief offices of the Metropolitan sorting offices; if, under this arrangement, 17 officers of the minor establishment have been promoted to the major establishment, and if these gentlemen have not given every satisfaction in the positions to which they have attained, thus justifying the system which secured them their promotion; and whether, if these are the facts of the case, it is the intention of the Department to continue these examinations; and, if so, when will the next be held, more than 12 months having elapsed since the last one was held?

THE POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. RAIKES) (Cambridge University): The hon. Member alludes, no doubt, to the regulations prescribed for recruiting certain situations in the Sorting Office. The character of the work in these situations is such that experience in sorting and other duties is of advantage to those who fill the places. The intention is to continue the present method of recruiting the situations referred to; but it is of no use to have examinations when there are no vacancies.

METROPOLITAN POLICE—THE PROPOSED COMMITTEE.

MR. C. E. HAMILTON (Southwark, Rotherhithe) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, If the Committee his Predecessor stated on February 25th he proposed to appoint to inquire into the organisation of the Metropolitan Police has yet been assembled; and, in such case, how often it met; how many witnesses were called; if any radical defects in the organisation were found to exist; and what recommendations, if any, were made; and, whether the Report of the Committee will be laid upon the Table in accordance with the promise given?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): Yes, Sir. This Committee held a series of meetings, and made their Report last July. No formal evidence was taken; but various officers of police—including Sir Charles Warren, who was a member of the Committee—stated their views. The chief defect found to exist was an insufficiency of superior officers. This has now been remedied by the appointment of two additional Superintendents

of Districts. Various other recommendations were made, and are now under consideration. I shall be happy to lay a copy of the Report upon the Table of the House.

ARMY (ORDNANCE DEPARTMENT)— DEFECTIVE GUNS.

SIR GUYER HUNTER (Hackney, Central) asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether he can state how many guns have burst during the past five years, after being issued for service?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): Sir, the guns which have actually burst have been five, besides which two have been rendered unserviceable for the time being by cracking their tubes. If the hon. Member will move for it, I shall be happy to give him a Return showing the calibre, endurance, and other particulars of the guns which thus failed.

POST OFFICE—POSTAGE RATES AND CHARGES TO THE AUSTRALIAN COLONIES.

SIR SAMUEL WILSON (Portsmouth) (for Lord HENRY BRUCE) (Wilts, Chippenham) asked the Postmaster General, Whether it is a fact that the German and French Governments, with such small interests, so manage for their subjects that letters from those Countries to our Australian Colonies only cost 2½d. postage, whilst from England the charge is 6d.; and, whether it is also the case that the Germans and French can send a postcard out for 1d., whereas none at any price are issued in England for despatch to Australia?

THE POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. RAIKES) (Cambridge University): I am in a position to assure the hon. Baronet it is not the case that letters can be sent from France and Germany to the Australian Colonies for a postage of 2½d. The charge is 60 centimes in France and 60 pfennigs in Germany, sums which are respectively about equivalent to 6d. and 7d. British. Post-cards cannot be sent to the Colonies in question either from France or from Germany.

SOUTH EASTERN EUROPE—THE ÆGEAN SEA—RUMOURS OF BRITISH ANNEXATION.

MR. HOWARD VINCENT (Sheffield, Central) asked the Under Secre-

tary of State for Foreign Affairs a Question of which he had given him private Notice—namely, Whether the reports quoted in the English papers from French sources that England intends establishing a coaling station at Phasos, in the *Ægean Sea*, and collecting provisions there, and also contemplates the occupation of certain Islands in the *Dardanelles*, are true?

THE UNDER SECRETARY (Sir JAMES FERGUSSON) (Manchester, N.E.): I am much obliged to my hon. Friend for having given me this opportunity of saying that the only foundation upon which these reports rest is pure invention.

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—MINISTERIAL STATEMENT—TENANTS' RELIEF (IRELAND) BILL.

MR. JOHN MORLEY (Newcastle-upon-Tyne): I think it will be convenient if the noble Lord the Chancellor of the Exchequer will communicate to the House the intentions of the Government with regard to the course of Public Business.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL) (Paddington, S.): I cannot, of course, say, with anything approaching to certainty, whether it is possible or not for the House to conclude this evening the work in connection with the Estimates. That is a matter which rests entirely with the House, and over which the Government have no control. If that was done, then the Government would ask the House to meet to-morrow for the purpose of receiving Report of Supply, Report of Ways and Means, and of allowing the Appropriation Bill to be introduced and read a first time. In that event, we should propose to set aside Monday for the discussion of the Bill of the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell). In the event of Supply not being concluded to-night, we shall be compelled, much against our will, to ask the House to submit to the somewhat disagreeable necessity of proceeding with Supply to-morrow, and of making some extra special efforts to close the Committee of Supply to-morrow. In the event of Committee of Supply not closing to-night, but closing to-morrow, we shall take Report of Supply as the first Order on Monday, Report of Ways and Means as the

second Order, the introduction and first reading of the Appropriation Bill as the third Order, and we shall place on the Order Paper the Bill of the hon. Member for the City of Cork. That is, as far as the Government can sketch, the course of Public Business, and I hope it will be agreeable to the House.

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton) asked whether, in the event of the first reading of the Appropriation Bill being taken to-morrow, and Monday being given to the hon. Member for the City of Cork, the Appropriation Bill would also be put down for second reading on Monday?

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Yes.

In reply to Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL,

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL said, that the hon. Member would be able to raise on Report to-morrow the questions that he did not consider adequately dealt with that night.

CRIME AND OUTRAGE (IRELAND)—RIOT AT GALWAY—ALLEGED CASUALTY.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrona, S.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he could give the House any information as to the reported death of a woman caused during the course of the riot at Galway?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH) (Bristol, W.) in reply, said, he had received no Report as to any such death.

PARLIAMENT—DEBATE ON THE ADDRESS.—PERSONAL EXPLANATION.

MR. MAHONY (Meath, N.) said, he desired to make a brief personal explanation. In his speech in the debate on the Address, in reply to the Speech from the Throne, he had quoted certain agricultural statistics which he had taken from *The Irish Farmers' Gazette*, and had made certain calculations to show the percentage of the fall in prices in 1885. In one of these items he yesterday discovered that he had made a serious arithmetical blunder; and as he should be very sorry to mislead the House in any way, he took the earliest opportunity of making it known. He had stated that the price of two-year-old stock had fallen 42 per cent, instead of which he found it had only fallen 20 per cent.

Mr. Howard Vincent

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

—o—

SUPPLY—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES.

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

CLASS III.—LAW AND JUSTICE.

(1.) £542,153, to complete the sum for the Constabulary, Ireland.

MR. GILHOOLY (Cork, W.): I wish to make an appeal to Her Majesty's Government to take some steps to discourage harsh and cruel evictions on the part of the Irish landlords during the coming winter, and I should like to read to the Committee an opinion which has been expressed in regard to the cruelty of evictions of this kind by an old and respected Member of this House—Sir Eardley Wilmot. He says—

“As an old and staunch Conservative, as a cordial supporter of Lord Salisbury's Administration, as an earnest well-wisher to its success, and last, but not least, in the cause of peace and prosperity in Ireland, I hope that the Government will see its way to accept, subject to modifications, the 3rd clause of Mr. Parnell's Bill, dealing with evictions. Among rational and calmly judging men in Ireland there is but one opinion—namely, that evictions should be temporarily suspended, subject, of course, to investigation by the local Court as to the capability of the tenant; and because the proposal emanates from a Home Ruler whose political doctrines we abhor, if it is a good proposal, in God's name, why should we reject it?”

I trust that such an appeal from an esteemed Member of the Conservative Party will have some effect in inducing the Government to discourage evictions in Ireland during the coming winter. I will not be so unreasonable as to suggest that, in cases where the tenants are able to pay the rent, the Government should refuse the assistance of the forces of the Crown, in order to see that the law is carried out; but we know how advantage can be taken from the employment of the forces of the Crown for the extermination of Irish tenants, and where there is no rent to be derived from evicting poor people, I think it is the duty of any Government having the slightest consideration for the lives and well-being of the population, not to be so cruel or so harsh as to employ the Constabulary in driving these unfortunate people from their humble, though happy, homes. I would further urge

upon the Government the danger of putting too severe a strain upon the Royal Irish Constabulary. I would ask them to consider whether the time may not come when, rising to the level of the occasion, the Royal Irish Constabulary will refuse to aid grinding and oppressive landlords in exterminating the Irish peasantry, who are their own kith and kin? I warn the Government that a time may come when the Constabulary will refuse to be instruments in the hands of the Executive for carrying out the cruel and oppressive procedure of the exterminating landlords of inflicting ruin upon the people, and of bringing about destitution and possibly murder. We have every reason to expect that thousands of the Irish people will be driven from their homes during the coming winter. Both the Government in this House and the Prime Minister in “another place” have declared that it is their intention to see the law carried out in Ireland without regard to the cruelty or oppressiveness of evictions, and if they propose to lend the assistance of the Constabulary Force to carry out this nefarious work, it is to be feared that the condition of social order in Ireland will not be in a very healthy condition in the coming winter. I would also call the attention of the Government to the uselessness and absurdity of spending money on the protection of men who seek the protection of the Government without really requiring it. In my own neighbourhood there is a man who obtained police protection some time ago, and the duties performed were to convey this gentleman from one public-house to another. At length they became so tired of that duty that one of the constables, acting with the escort, actually arrested the man, and brought him before the stipendiary magistrate for drunkenness. It was not until then that the police escort was dispensed with. I know of another man in my neighbourhood who has police protection, but who, nevertheless, frequently goes round transacting his ordinary business without requiring the assistance of the police at all. This very person is, in point of fact, receiving pay for conveying his own police escort about with him on cars. In another case—that of a man who was escorted by two policemen—Inspector Maguire, the late County Inspector for the Division of West Cork, came to the

amounts to £10,000. The Vote last year was £40,000 in excess of the Vote for the previous year; but that may be reasonably accounted for by the passing of a Bill when Mr. Trevelyan was Chief Secretary to increase the pay and pensions of the Force. I should have thought, however, that it was almost impossible for that Bill to have produced so large an increase in the pensions as £10,000. This is a matter upon which I think the Committee ought to receive an explanation. Then, again, I notice in Sub-head R, at page 317, that the Constabulary Transport Service last year cost only £1,500, but this year the sum put down is £5,000. That is a very large increase indeed, and I should like to have an explanation from the Chief Secretary as to the reason of the increase which has taken place in that item. There is another question I should like to put to the right hon. Gentleman—namely, to ask him to explain to the Committee the conditions under which the police are deputed to give personal special protection. The police are sent to escort persons in Ireland who make allegations that their lives are in danger, and I want to know whether, in any case, the persons who ask for this police protection pay any portion of the expense? There are many cases in which it is a public abuse to have the police following persons ostensibly for the purpose of protecting their lives when their lives are in no danger at all. Mention has already been made of a case in which a man rode on a horse in front of a car of his own, for which the two policemen told off to protect him had to pay. I have been informed that this man, as the owner of the car, gets 18s. a-day for car hire, in addition to which the two policemen placed at his disposal will throw, at the very least, a charge of £200 a-year upon the ratepayers of this country. I should like, therefore, to know whether there are any instances of persons so protected who do not really require protection, or, if they do ask for it, should be called upon to pay a portion of the cost? There is the further question as to the distribution of the Police Force throughout Ireland. There is scarcely a county in the South and West of Ireland which is not called on annually to pay a considerable sum for the cost of extra police. Some time ago I had an opportunity of raising that question in

this House, and I should be glad if the right hon. Gentleman can give the Committee some information as to the number of extra men stationed in the different counties, and as to the cost thrown on the local rates of such counties for the maintenance of the men? I should also like to know what ground there is for drafting a large extra force of constables into counties where there has been no outbreak of crime whatever, and practically no outrages? For instance, the county of Waterford has, in recent times, been very badly treated in this respect. The ratepayers of Waterford have been taxed to a very considerable amount for extra police, and yet there has been no such thing as an outbreak of crime, and peace could be preserved by one or two constables stationed in each village as easily as in England. I hope the right hon. Gentleman will be able to give some information upon the points which I have placed before him.

MR. DEASY (Mayo, W.): I am glad that my hon. Friend (Mr. M. J. Kenny) has raised the question of the employment, in various counties in Ireland, of an extra police force, the cost of which is thrown partly upon the Consolidated Fund and partly upon the county. My hon. Friend has mentioned the fact that successive Governments have been in the habit of sending out in Ireland large detachments of extra police under the 12th or 13th section of an Act of William IV., which authorizes the cost to be levied on the rates and Consolidated Fund. So far as I am able to make out at the present time there is no justification whatever for the maintenance of this extra police force in any part of Ireland. As to the county of Mayo, although I have been unable to see the last Return of the state of crime, I gather from the charges of the Judges at the Assizes, and the speeches which have been delivered by the Chairmen of Quarter Sessions, that the county has been in a most favourable condition for a long time past. And here let me complain of the very inadequate means placed at the disposal of Members for obtaining satisfactory information with reference to the position of the Police Force in Ireland. I have searched the Library from end to end for a Return which ought to have been supplied to the House, stating what has taken place under the Constabulary Redistribution

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Act of August, 1885. It will be in the recollection of the right hon. Gentlemen the Chief Secretary that in consequence of a very long and important debate which took place in this House on the Motion of my hon. Friend the Member for Cork (Mr. Parnell), the Government of the day were compelled to bring in a Bill authorizing the Lord Lieutenant to redistribute the Police Force in Ireland, and to reorganize the position of the force in each county. I have endeavoured to find out what alterations have been made in the numbers of the Constabulary stationed in various districts in Ireland; but I have been unable to obtain any information on the subject, owing, I believe, to the fact that the Police Authorities in Ireland steadily set their faces against making any Return of their doings to the House of Commons. I hope that when this question is next brought before the House we may have some better *data* to go upon. We ought to know exactly where we stand, and not be compelled to bother the right hon. Gentleman night after night for information as to the number of policemen in different parts of the country. In North Mayo there is an extra force of police, under the 12th or 13th section of the Act of William IV., at a cost of £1,530.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH) (Bristol, W.): The section is the 12th.

MR. DEASY: And, roughly speaking, £1,500 is the sum which the ratepayers of the county are mulcted for the enjoyment of this luxury. The right hon. Gentleman has informed me that the extra police are sent down under the 12th section of the Act of William IV. That section empowers the magistrates, sitting in Petty Sessions, to petition the Lord Lieutenant to send down an extra force to any particular division of the county, and there is no authority in the Act enabling them to present also a petition for the withdrawal of such force. How long this extra police force may have been stationed in the county of Mayo, or elsewhere, I cannot tell. We endeavoured to extract information from Mr. Trevelyan, two years ago, but without success; and no Chief Secretary seems to be able to inform us how long these men have been quartered upon this part of Ireland under Section 12 of the Act of William IV.

The inference is that for 12, 15, or 20 years this county has been burdened with a heavy expense, wholly uncalled for, and without having the power to petition for a removal of the grievance. I would ask the Chief Secretary to find out who the magistrates were who petitioned the Government to send down this extra force, and then to ascertain if they are still of the same opinion as they were when they presented the Memorial to the Lord Lieutenant. There might have been some necessity for extreme precautions under the Crimes Act; but this force was not sent down under the Crimes Act, and be it remembered that the Crimes Act authorized the Lord Lieutenant to send down any number of men, of his own free will, to any disturbed district, and to charge the cost to the locality. Therefore, there can be no excuse for retaining this extra force in the county of Mayo, or, indeed, from anything I can learn, in any other part of Ireland. I have carefully looked into the Police Returns of crime for the present year as far as they go, and I do not think there is any justification for the continued retention of this force. The ordinary force at the disposal of the Lord Lieutenants of counties ought to be quite sufficient to preserve order. I find that in Mayo there have been 100 men, under the direction of a County Inspector and Sub-Inspectors, sent out to enforce evictions. I think it is high time the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary should take the practice of utilizing the Royal Irish Constabulary for the purpose of carrying out evictions into his serious consideration. A hundred men have been sent where five or six constables are quite enough to preserve order, and I fail to see why the taxpayers of the country should be annually robbed of a very large sum of money which might well be disposed of in another way. On the West Coast of Ireland the poverty and destitution of the people is notorious, and they are at present altogether unable to pay rent. I trust that the right hon. Gentleman will give these matters the attention they deserve. I would also point out to him that some of the evictions now taking place are being carried out in cases where the unfortunate tenants have actually been obliged to receive relief from the Guardians. Therefore, I ask the

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right hon. Gentleman, in the case of the county of Mayo, to withdraw the extra police, and to refuse to lend the assistance of the ordinary police to the landlords in carrying out these cruel evictions, leaving them where it is apparent that the victim is unable to pay to carry them out as best they can. There is a widespread fear that in the coming winter the destitution of the people will be far more severe than it has ever been before, and that they will be obliged, in many cases, to enter the workhouse in order to prevent themselves and their families from being actually starved. Another matter to which I wish to direct the attention of the right hon. Gentleman is the appointment of medical officer to the Constabulary at Castlebar. The usual practice, when a vacancy has arisen, has been for the police authorities to appoint the dispensary medical officer. In this case, the dispensary medical officer was Dr. Jordan. That gentleman applied for the appointment, but, being a Nationalist, he was passed over. There is no other reason, as far as I am able to make out, that the Government can have for refusing to make the appointment. I understand that the excuse made by the Police Authorities is that Dr. Jordan is a very young man, and has not had sufficient experience to undertake the responsible duty of looking after 20, 30, or 40 persons; whereas the Local Government Board consider him quite competent to take charge of the dispensary district of Castlebar. If he is qualified for that duty, surely he is a proper person to look after the health of this police establishment. This is a matter which has given rise to a good deal of irritation in Castlebar, and the general impression is that a Nationalist has not the least chance of being promoted or preferred. I trust the right hon. Gentleman will, in this case, adopt the example set by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Stirling (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) in the last Parliament. The attention of the right hon. Member for Stirling was directed to a case which was exactly similar to the present, in the county of Cork, and the gentleman who was appointed over the head of another actually filled the office for some months. But as soon as representations were made to the Chief Secretary, he ordered the County Inspector to have the gentleman

who then held the appointment dismissed, and appointed the medical officer of the dispensary. In Castlebar, the appointment to which I refer has only been made within the last few weeks, and the right hon. Gentleman opposite will find it an easy matter to rectify the mistake which has been made, and to give the appointment to the man who has the best right to it. In conclusion, I will only say that I have found it most difficult and, in some instances, altogether impossible, to obtain reliable information as to the police arrangements. The payment of the extra police falls upon the county rate, and the magistrates who are the means of bringing them into the county care very little what sum the unfortunate local ratepayers and the county are called upon to pay. I sincerely hope that the matter will receive full consideration at the hands of the right hon. Gentleman, that he will direct the withdrawal of the extra police in the county of Mayo, and that he will secure the appointment of Dr. Jordan as medical officer to the Constabulary at Castlebar.

MR. P. J. POWER (Waterford, E.): The county of Waterford has been remarkable, for many years, for its peaceful attitude. Both the Judges of Assize and the Chairmen of Quarter Sessions have constantly congratulated the county on its satisfactory condition. Nevertheless, we are taxed very heavily for the maintenance of extra police; and what makes the position more intolerable is that until the last few months the county did not possess the actual number of police which was fixed for it by Act of Parliament. Nevertheless, at the same time, it was required to maintain an extra police force without any allowance being made for the fact that the regular police force in the county was less than it ought to have been. If they really had the interests of the people at heart, I maintain that the magistrates ought to bring pressure upon the Government to withdraw the extra police. But, as has been shown by my hon. Friend the Member for West Mayo (Mr. Deasy), the Grand Jury, as a class, do not pay the rates out of which this extra police force is maintained. They are paid out of the county rate, which is not levied on property, but upon the occupying tenants. I believe the magistrates would

Mr. Deasy

be very chary as to the steps they take for the introduction of an extra police force into an Irish county if the expense of maintaining it was levied upon them instead of the holdings of the tenants. In consequence of the mode in which the expense is met the landlords are quite indifferent to it, and are perfectly willing that we should be called upon to pay a large annual sum for the maintenance of these extra police. With regard to the Constabulary Force itself, as a rule we make no complaint of the men, as far as individuals go; but we complain strongly of the system under which they are governed. We maintain that it is a system which is calculated to degrade the men, and one under which any man who holds views which do not accord with those of the powers that be is immediately "Boycotted." We had an instance of that in the treatment which Sub-Inspector Murphy received at the hands of the authorities. At the Presentment Sessions for the County Waterford attention was called to the charge for the extra police, and a unanimous protest was made against it. But the Grand Jury have not taken up the same position, and the only way in which the ratepayers can rid themselves of this intolerable burden is to make a strike against the payment. I fully recognize that that would be an extreme step; but I think that such a peaceful community would be justified, at any rate, in taking some step in that direction. In speaking upon the Vote for the Local Government Board the other day I was told by you, Mr. Courtney, that any question in relation to the working of the Explosives Act would come more directly under the present Vote. At present the appointment of Inspectors under that Act is in the hands of the magistrates, who are accustomed to appoint civilians; but we are of opinion that, owing to the nature of the duties, they would be better discharged by members of the Constabulary. At present the appointments are made at the different Courts of Petty Sessions, and in due course a charge is presented to the local Boards of Guardians for payment of the Inspector's salary, and the Boards of Guardians have no alternative but to pay it. In fact, they must pay it, whether they like it or not. There is a strong feeling that the Constabulary would be a

far better means of inquiring where these explosives are kept and how they are kept; and I maintain that the Executive Government of Ireland ought to make it the duty of the Constabulary to perform the work. I do not say that a heavy taxation is imposed upon the Boards of Guardians in connection with this matter; but where the Board of Guardians comprises six or seven petty sessional districts the tax amounts in some cases to £60 or £70 a-year. When I raised the question on the Vote for the Local Government Board, the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary made no reply. I have now called his attention again to the matter, and I hope he will see the reasonableness of our complaint, and that he will be able to give us some satisfactory assurance. I am glad to say that the treatment which the Royal Irish Constabulary have received in the last few months in the North of Ireland has had some good effect upon them, and that they now see that the system under which they are governed is radically wrong. They have found out that the Orangemen in the North may break the law with impunity as far as the Constabulary are concerned; while, in the South, such conduct would not be tolerated for a moment. Some of the constables have told me, since they returned from Belfast, that if anything like the same disturbances as have happened in that city had occurred in Cork or Waterford, the police would not have been 20 minutes in quelling them; but that in Belfast they were made the tools of the Orange magistracy, and exposed to fire and insult that was downright degrading to them. I am sorry to say that the Head Constable, who lost his life in those deplorable riots, came from my own county; and his death has created a strong feeling among the local Constabulary, together with the treatment which the Constabulary themselves received at the hands of the Belfast Orange magistracy. I may also mention that, in connection with this matter, they draw a contrast between the treatment they received at the hands of the Coroner's jury at Belfast and that which they received at the hands of a Coroner's jury in Kilkenny some years ago, when a verdict of a Catholic jury against them was altogether set at naught by the authorities. We trust that we may receive some satis-

selves, and I am only surprised that the men are as good as they are. The police are exposed to temptations which might be supposed to have a demoralizing effect upon them; they are well clothed, well-found, and with money in their pockets; but I am bound to say I do not think these things have had that effect upon them. They are a well-conducted body of men; and if they were taken away from the evil influences by which they are now surrounded, they might become better and more efficient than they now are. With regard to the increase of the police, I would also bring this matter under the notice of the right hon. Gentleman, and I have pleasure in appealing to him on this subject, because he is always ready to give his best attention to representations put forward by hon. Members on these Benches. I wish to point out that the decrease of crime in Ireland is more apparent than real. Before the Land League was established in 1878 agrarian crime had begun to manifest itself in the county of Cork, and it went on to such an extent that there was a tax of 10*s.* in the pound put upon the people for extra police. I went to the first meeting ever held in connection with the Land League, and there was a police hut upon the road then. I say that it is a mistake to suppose that agrarian crime arises from political causes. I believe that investigation would show that it arises entirely on agrarian grounds. At the time I speak of the Land League was not in existence, and yet the people of Cork had to pay 10*s.* in the pound as a tax for the extra police. After that agrarian crime travelled over the county; it permeated the agricultural classes; the police were increased in such quantity until there were 150 policemen in the town, and agrarian crime reached a higher point than it has ever reached since. These are very important matters for consideration when you are trying to preserve peace and harmony in Ireland; and I say that at the head of the police throughout Ireland there should be an impartial, fair-minded, and good man, having no favour or bias towards one person or another. The subject is one on which very much might be said; but as there is a disinclination on these Benches to protract the discussion I shall not now trouble the Committee with any more remarks.

Harris

MR. W. ABRAHAM (Limerick, W.): We all know that during the coming winter the Irish Representatives, when they return to their country and constituencies, will have before them a very serious task. While Gentlemen who sit on other Benches in this House will be able to return to their various employments, we shall have to go to Ireland, to stand by our people, and advise them as much as possible to keep within legal bounds, and endeavour to meet what we believe to be the pressure of the coming winter in a proper manner. That being so, great care should be had by the Police Authorities not to interfere with our people, who, within the limits of the Irish National League, should be allowed to take counsel together and form their plans for the future. I have received a letter from the Secretary of a local branch of the National League, to say that at one of their meetings in the neighbourhood there were three policemen armed with rifles, and that policemen were engaged in taking down the names of the members who attended the meeting. Now, I can inform the Committee that if that course is to be pursued, and if the people get it into their heads that they are to be prevented by the police from meeting in a legal way, there is reason to suppose that they will enter into those illegal organizations which we, the Irish Representatives, have no power to prevent. I trust, now that I have called attention to this matter, that the Police Authorities will instruct their Inspectors throughout Ireland that the people are not to be intimidated or prevented from meeting for the purpose of taking counsel under the National League with the view of meeting the difficulties which are coming upon them during the winter. In the years 1881 and 1882 there were private Circulars issued to the Constabulary, instructing them how they were to deal with the matter of the detection of crime. I trust there will be no attempt made to introduce again into the Irish Constabulary a system of police espionage, a system which would be disgraceful to any despotism in Europe. Perhaps I may call the attention of the Committee to the nature of some of the Circulars which have been issued during the White Terror of 1881 and 1882. In that period Circulars were issued to the Irish Constabulary to this effect—that every

effort should be made by constables in charge of stations to get some person, on consideration of a substantial reward, to give private information of outrages about to be committed; that if such constable should succeed in making arrests the reward would be paid by the constable, and no mention made of the fact, and that the reward would be proportionate to the seriousness of the offence. It went on to say that the most likely persons to give such information were those in the confidence of the rioters; the Sub-Inspectors were to communicate with the police force in the district, with the view to carrying out this order; persons were to be told that they would not be required to prosecute, and that no mention would be made of names, and the reward for the discovery of felony would be from £20 to £100. I do not know whether this Circular is authentic; but it appeared in *The Freeman's Journal* at the time I refer to, and was not contradicted. However, we trust that during the coming winter there will be no such attempts made to procure testimony by unworthy means. We all recognize that it is necessary for the police to be present at evictions for the purpose of protecting the bailiffs. It is clearly the duty of the authorities, if they believe that protection is required, to take care that police are present on these occasions; but we do insist that the police should not be demoralized, but used for the purposes for which they were ever intended—namely, for the preservation of law and order. I cannot refrain from expressing my sense of the courteousness and fairness which has characterized the answers of the right hon. Baronet the Chief Secretary for Ireland; and I believe that if he will get himself free from the permanent officials who control these matters in Ireland, and look at the question in an impartial way, there will be no reason to complain of the way the Constabulary are used in the coming winter.

MR. E. HARRINGTON: I wish to add my testimony to the fair and sympathetic manner in which the right hon. Baronet has dealt with this subject. If the Government will inquire into the existing abuses connected with the extra police system I believe that much good will result. I confess that in Kerry there is need of extra police at the present time, and I heartily regret it;

nevertheless, I hope that the causes of the present state of things will be removed. I must also point out that, much as this extra police force is required in Kerry, there is considerable abuse in the way in which these men are distributed. There is the notable instance of a lady in Kerry who has nine policemen in her house. The representative of *The Morning Post*, who went down to the neighbourhood the other day, described the superior get-up and smartness of these men, to whom he properly applied the term "Herculean." It appears that this lady is continually making use of the policemen in various ways. I do not know whether she uses them in the capacity of shoeblacks; but they are used in various ways about the establishment. They have bicycles, and are most adept cyclists; and it is only a few days ago that this lady took it into her head to go boating, when she was accompanied by two of these policemen, with the result that when they were a short distance from the shore the boat was upset and the lady went into the water. Now, is it not perfectly absurd that the police should be used in this manner—that they should conduct this lady about the streets carrying band-boxes? It is absolutely ridiculous to say that this lady requires eight or nine policemen for her protection at, perhaps, the cost of £1,000. Then, again, on one portion of her property, a stretch of meadow and swamp, she has actually five police huts, and these have been there ever since 1879, at an enormous cost to the country. Why do you not say to this lady—If you require these police you can have them; but, of course, you must pay for them? Then, on another part of her property there are six policemen similarly occupied, making on all her property in the county a total of 50 policemen. I do not at all object to there being protection of human life; that is absolutely necessary, and I admit that it is too true that many persons in Ireland require police protection; but I say that the Government ought to move on the lines indicated by those who say that, as far as possible, the police should be reduced within economical limits. There are 300 extra police in the county of Kerry at the present time, besides the normal force. We contend that the police should not be used except for the

been invoked 99 have had a direct connection with the Land Question in Ireland. Therefore, in protesting against this Vote, we protest not merely against the Constabulary itself, but also against the land system, which, in the opinion of the Government, renders such a force necessary in Ireland. Now, Sir, we do not at all adopt either the language or the action towards the Constabulary which the Orangemen in the North of Ireland have adopted. In the chief Orange quarters of Belfast, at the recent riots, when the Constabulary were engaged in quelling the disturbances they were assaulted, shot down, and attacked in every conceivable way in the exercise of their duty. We have no wish to pursue the same course. We have nothing to say against the force collectively, although, no doubt, it is composed, like any other force, of bad men as well as good men. I know there have been numerous cases where members of the Constabulary, from their over-eagerness for promotion, or from some other cause, have acted in a barbarous manner towards the people. In many places where the police have come into contact with the people of Ireland they have used violence that was altogether uncalled for; but, at the same time, I believe that there are a great many men in the Royal Irish Constabulary who are fair-minded men, and in protesting against the system I protest collectively against the force, and not individually against the members of it. I have spoken of a Return I should like to see laid on the Table of the House, showing what the Constabulary have done, and what this sum of more than £1,300,000 is paid for. I do not know whether it is practicable to lay such a Return upon the Table; but there is one thing which the Chief Secretary, when he rises to reply, may tell me. Under the letter F. I find a sum of £3,000 charged as extra for election disturbances, in addition to a sum of £29,000 for transport. Now, I want the right hon. Gentleman to say how much of the £29,000 is spent every year in Ireland in conveying large forces of police to and from the scenes where unfortunate tenants are being cast out on the road-side, because they cannot pay the rents demanded from them. Although the Government have carefully put down in the Estimates a sum of £3,000 for election disturbances, I do not find

any item to show how much money it has cost the country in travelling expenses for the police in connection with evictions in Ireland. I think the right hon. Gentleman should give that information. It would go far to prove what I stated at the commencement of my remarks, that the Royal Irish Constabulary is nothing more nor less than an Army of Occupation in Ireland, and that its sole duty is to protect the landlords in their unjust proceedings against the people. I sincerely hope that the day is close at hand when it will be unnecessary to apply to a Committee of this House, or of any House, to ask for a Vote so large as £1,300,000 for the maintenance of an Army of soldiers in Ireland for the purpose of protecting the landlords. Let us have an adequate force of police by all means. We shall not protest against that; but we are prepared to acquiesce in such a demand. But let us not be asked, under the name of police, to vote such a large sum of money for an Army for the protection of the Irish landlords. I protest altogether against the Constabulary Institution in Ireland. I believe that the police have very little genuine work to do. What they do is in the interests of the landlords, and is detrimental to the good of the country; and for that reason I object to the Vote, and I ask the right hon. Gentleman to say whether it is the intention of the Government, during the coming winter, unreservedly to place the police in the hands of the landlords? The hon. and gallant Member for North Armagh (Colonel Saunderson) stated some time ago, in one of his speeches, that he had as good a right to get his rent as the butcher has to get the money due to him for beef; but would the Government place at the disposal of the butcher, or of any other person, an armed body of men to enforce the payment of the debt? What we ask is that the landlords shall not be given what is not given to any other debtor in the country—namely, an Army of men to prosecute his claim for an unjust debt; and we shall be thankful to the right hon. Gentleman if he will state that it is the intention of Her Majesty's Government not to allow the police to be placed at the disposal of the landlords during the coming winter. That is a most important point. The evictions which now take place in Ire-

land are strongly deprecated by us; and I do not suppose that there is any right hon. Gentleman on the Front Bench who is so lost to all the instincts of humanity as not, also, to feel regret at their frequency, and the mode in which they are carried out. What I wish them to understand is that the number of evictions in the coming winter will be largely regulated by the fact whether they give facilities for carrying out wanton evictions or not. If the landlords are made clearly to understand, before the winter comes on, that they will not be allowed to order the Constabulary and the soldiers about here, there, and everywhere—that they will not have the forces of the Crown unreservedly at their disposal, but that they will only be employed in extreme cases—if the Government make that clearly understood by the landlords, the Government may depend upon it that much will be done towards checking evictions. But if, on the other hand, you give the landlords in Ireland the idea that whenever and wherever they want to carry out an eviction they have only to scribble a line to the County Inspector in order to secure the services of a small army of men to assist them in driving the people out of their homes these cruel evictions will continue. If you allow the landlords to retain the idea that the forces of the Crown will still be unreservedly at their disposal you will simply encourage evictions. I ask the right hon. Gentleman, in the name of common humanity, and on behalf of these extremely unfortunate people, for the peace not only of Ireland, but of this country also, to state in his reply that the landlords of Ireland must not expect to have complete power over the police for the purpose of carrying out evictions. I make this appeal to the right hon. Gentlemen most earnestly and most sincerely, because I know very well what has occurred in Ireland in the past. I know the distress which has occurred through placing the police at the disposal of the landlord in cases where the evictions were notoriously unjust; and it is because I desire to see all these things avoided in the coming winter that I beseech the right hon. Gentleman to say something now which will have the effect of moderating the action of the landlords, and showing them that they can no longer use the soldiers of the British Crown and the citizens of

Ireland as instruments for working out their wicked will.

MR. COX (Clare, E.): Before the right hon. Gentleman replies there is just one question I wish to put to him, and that is, whether he will take into consideration the propriety of fulfilling a promise given by his Predecessor, that a certain police hut in the county of Clare should be removed? The hut in question was erected there four or five years ago, and there are four policemen there to protect four acres of land—one policeman for each acre. What business the police can have in the place at all I fail to understand; and I can assure the right hon. Gentleman that the continuance of the police in that hut is not calculated to get rid of the feeling of irritation which exists among the tenants against their landlord, Mr. O'Brien, a brother of Mr. Serjeant O'Brien, a prominent gentleman in Irish politics. All I ask of the right hon. Gentleman is that he should fulfil the pledge and promise made by his Predecessor in the last Tory Government to my hon. Friend the Member for Mid Tyrone (Mr. M. J. Kenny).

MR. P. O'BRIEN (Monaghan, N.): I would also press upon the right hon. Gentleman the advisability of withdrawing the extra police force now stationed in the Northern Division of Tipperary. As far back as 1874, when the right hon. Gentleman filled the same position he now occupies, evictions were carried out with great cruelty in that part of the county, and scenes of disorder were of frequent occurrence. Happily that state of things has long passed away, and an entirely different state of things now prevails. I may add that the Grand Jury have been pressed, although without avail, not once, but frequently, to bring under the notice of the Government the great abuse which prevails in North Tipperary by the retention of an extra police force which is entirely unnecessary. I trust that the right hon. Gentleman will take steps to get rid of the grievance.

MR. BIGGAR (Cavan, W.): I wish to say a word in favour of a gentleman whose case has been recommended to the notice of the Government by hon. Members on both sides of the House—namely, District Inspector Tilly, who is now stationed in the county of Cavan. I have no personal acquaintance with him; but I know that, by some means

or other, he has made himself extremely popular with all classes. I have received representations from many of my constituents, and hon. Members opposite have also spoken in his favour. I believe that Mr. Tilly suffers from a slight impediment in his speech; but I am told that if he were promoted to the office of County Inspector it would be of much less consequence than it is in the position which he now occupies. At present he has to drill the police and give the word of command to them; and, in addition, he has to appear in the Petty Sessions Court, and, in his official capacity, to address the magistrates. If he were promoted to the position of County Inspector he would not be required to speak at all, but would carry on all his business in writing. Under those circumstances, it could do no possible harm if the right hon. Gentleman would call the attention of Mr. Tilly's superior officers to his merits—some of them having already given him a high character.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH) (Bristol, W.): The hon. Member for North Fermanagh (Mr. W. Redmond) seems to think that the Government, in dealing with evictions in Ireland, are in the habit of placing the Constabulary unreservedly under the control of the landlords, and that their only function in that country is to protect the property of the landlords. Nothing can be further from the truth. All that the present or any other Government have done in the matter of evictions has been, as I have already stated to the House, to afford adequate protection to the Sheriff's officers, when engaged in carrying the law into effect. It must be remembered that cases of eviction frequently have nothing whatever to do with the relations between landlords and tenants, and may be due to debts, owing to a money-lender or tradesman, to whom reference has been made; but if, in any case, the Sheriff has difficulties imposed in his way, he is entitled to protection as an officer of the law engaged in the execution of his duty, and the Constabulary Force is sent, not for the purpose of evicting the tenants, but of protecting the Sheriff in the discharge of the duty which the law imposes upon him. There is no foundation whatever for the supposition that the Government would

act in such a matter with unfairness towards any particular class.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: Will the right hon. Gentleman allow me to make it perfectly clear what it was that I meant? I say that in the cases of eviction which take place in Ireland it is a notorious fact that the Constabulary have frequently been employed, not merely for the protection of Sheriffs' officers, but that large forces of constables, altogether beyond the necessities of the case, have been employed really for the purpose of intimidating and overawing the people, and driving them to desperation and despair.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: If that has been done in any case, it must have been done by the Predecessors in Office of the Government. The only case which occurs to me recently where a large force of police was employed to protect the Sheriff's officers was that of Woodford.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: I want an assurance from the right hon. Gentleman that the Constabulary will not be used for that purpose in the future.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: Then I can give the hon. Member no assurance that an efficient force of Constabulary will not be always sent to protect the Sheriff and his officers in the execution of their duties. Hon. Members opposite have referred to various matters connected with the Irish Constabulary, and I will endeavour to deal with them as well as I can, and I hope that I shall omit nothing. If I do, I trust that my attention will be called to the omission. The first matter that has been referred to by several hon. Members is the charge for extra police in certain counties in Ireland. No doubt, as time goes on, it is possible that the necessity for an extra police force may diminish in certain counties; and in that case such extra police force, although very much required when they were sent down, may be no longer required, and ought to be withdrawn. Any Government is bound to look into this subject at frequent intervals, in order to see whether such extra police force is maintained in any county for a longer time than it is absolutely necessary to maintain them. The force of extra police in the county of Mayo which has been referred to was sent there some years ago; I do not know the circum-

stances under which they were sent, but in that and in many other cases in which extra police have been employed my first duty, after I am freed from the necessity of attending in my place in this House, will be to examine into the circumstances of Mayo, Westmeath, Waterford, and North Tipperary, which have been referred to, with the object of withdrawing the extra police force from those districts where it is not necessary to maintain it. I am pretty certain that each of those counties have benefited in this matter by the alteration which has been made in the amount of free force allocated to each county by the Act of 1885, and are now charged with fewer extra men than they were before. It does not follow that in no case is it possible to still further reduce the extra number of men charged; but it is only fair to say that the force charged is less, in each case, than it was two or three years ago. At the same time I do not think it is an infallible test of the condition of a county and the possibility of withdrawing the extra police that there is at present no large record of crime and outrage. In those cases where a large extra police force has been maintained, and in which it is alleged that but few outrages have taken place, it may fairly be assumed that the presence of such extra force has, in a large degree, tended to check outrages. An hon. Member has referred to the large increase in the Vote for Pensions to the Constabulary. That, no doubt, is a very formidable question. The expenditure for pensions in 1882-3 was, I find, £239,000, and it has sprung up in the Estimate of the present year to £280,000. I am not aware that there has been any large increase in the number of men who have retired; but the increase in the amount of expenditure is due to recent legislation in favour of the Constabulary, and therefore I cannot hold out any hope to the Committee that this item of expenditure will be reduced. The increase under the head of "transport" is due to extra travelling expenses occasioned by two Elections having been held during the last 12 months, and to the difficulty of procuring transport cars for the Constabulary, owing to the intimidation of the owners of such cars, and their consequent unwillingness to allow them to be used for Constabulary pur-

poses. The last 12 months may be specially regarded as a year of Elections, and I hope we may not soon have such a year again. No doubt, a large portion of the expenditure has been incurred in conveying the Constabulary to the North of Ireland, where Party feeling was strong and disturbances were apprehended. With regard to the increase in the Estimates due to the practice of affording special protection to individuals in certain cases, that is, no doubt, a very expensive matter. The number of men so employed is considerable, and I will undertake to make very careful inquiries into the matter with the view of guarding against abuse. As the hon. Member for West Cork (Mr. Gilhooly) has pointed out, there is temptation in such cases for those to whom special protection is afforded to make a profit out of the circumstance. I will, however, have the matter carefully sifted, and will do my best to secure that those who receive protection shall not be able to put anything in their pockets, but, on the contrary, shall be called upon to make a small contribution towards the cost. At the same time, however, the Government are bound to protect the lives of persons who are in danger. The hon. Member for East Clare (Mr. Cox) referred to the Constabulary huts. This point has not been specially brought under my notice; but, no doubt, it is also a subject which it is incumbent upon the Government to review frequently, and I will undertake that the necessary inquiries shall be made. My hon. Friend the Member for Mid Armagh (Sir James Corry) has asked me to give some promise—I do not know of what nature—with regard to the consequences likely to follow upon the evidence which may be given by members of the Constabulary before the Belfast Commission. I should hope that the members of the Constabulary would give their evidence in this important inquiry completely and fully; and although it is impossible for me to say that no person will suffer on account of that inquiry, yet I should not wish to see any person suffer on account of evidence given by himself before the Commission. Several hon. Members have referred to the case of District Inspector Tilly. It is pleasant to find that there is an Irish official who is approved of by hon. Members behind me, and not less warmly by hon. Mem-

bers opposite, and whom my hon. and gallant Friend the Member for North Armagh (Colonel Saunderson) and the hon. Member for West Cavan (Mr. Biggar) cordially unite to praise. The only allegation against Mr. Tilly, appears to be that he suffers under some impediment of speech, but I should have thought that would rather enhance his capacity for filling some posts in Ireland. Of course, there may be positions in which a Constabulary officer could not do his duty unless he was able to speak rapidly and intelligently; but I am told that, with the exception of this unfortunate impediment of speech, Mr. Tilly is an excellent officer. I do not think that a physical defect which does not prevent an officer from remaining in the force should interfere with his merited promotion. I have no desire to prejudice the case. I find that the decision against the promotion of District Inspector Tilly was taken by the Government of Lord Carnarvon, and that it was ratified by their Successors. Therefore I can only say that I will carefully keep in mind all that has been said in regard to the good qualities of District Inspector Tilly; and I will be glad indeed if I can, consistently with the public interest, secure his promotion. With regard to the question raised by the hon. Member for West Mayo (Mr. Deasy), as to the recent appointment of a Constabulary Medical Officer in the district of Castlebar and the passing over of the Dispensary Officer, it appears to me that the reason given by the Inspector General of Constabulary which I have stated in answer to questions put in this House, is quite satisfactory. There is no rule requiring the Dispensary Surgeon to be appointed, and the Executive, in the exercise of their discretion, appointed the person whom they considered to be most eligible. The whole matter must be one of choice, and that choice must be exercised in reference to the medical qualifications of the practitioner. No facts have ever been brought under my notice to justify the assertion of the hon. Member that Catholics are debarred from obtaining these appointments. I believe that there are in Ireland quite as many Catholics appointed to the post of Medical Officer to the Constabulary as Protestants. [Mr. DEASY: I said "Nationalists," not "Catholics."] I

was rather thinking of my previous experience in Ireland; and in those days the present Nationalist Party did not exist. I can only repeat that the desire of the Inspector General is to obtain the services of the best medical practitioner. I have been asked by the hon. Member for East Waterford (Mr. P. J. Power) whether it is proposed to make any change in the working of the Explosives Act, so as to place the local inspection in the hands of the Constabulary. For my own part, it would give me much pleasure to see the duty of inspection entrusted to the Constabulary. The late Government sent out a Circular on the subject to the Local Authorities—the magistrates who make the appointments. I have made inquiry as to the result of that Circular. I should be glad to further the appointment of the Constabulary by every means in my power; but in Ireland, as in England, I have no power to interfere with the discretion of the Local Authorities, who are perfectly free to appoint whom they choose. I hope, after the practical discussion which we have had, the Committee may now be disposed to agree to the Vote.

MR. SHEEHY (Galway, S.): The right hon. Gentleman says that the duty of the police at evictions has been confined to affording protection to the Sheriff's officers in the execution of their duty. I think the right hon. Gentleman is very much deceived, and that, instead of confining themselves to that duty, there have been many instances in which they have taken upon themselves the duties of the Sheriff's officers, and have broken in doors and evicted the tenants. I have heard of one case where the police violently ran down a poor woman, and the result of the treatment she received was that she was confined for some time to her bed. It is not the fact that they confine themselves simply to the protection of Sheriff's officers in the performance of their duties; and I want the right hon. Gentleman to give a promise that their future employment at evictions shall be really confined to the protection of the Sheriff's officers, and that they shall not become Sheriff's officers themselves.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: My answer to that question is to ask what happened at Woodford? In that case the houses were regularly garrisoned; the doors and windows were

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built up, holes were made in the roof, and persons were stationed at them to pour boiling water upon the heads of the bailiffs, who were assaulted in every way, and seriously injured. The Constabulary only did their duty in defending them; and it must be borne in mind that the persons by whom the bailiffs were assaulted were not only the occupying tenants, but persons who had been brought in to garrison the houses, and do their best to hinder the officers in the execution of their duty.

MR. SHEEHY: How about the woman who was injured, and confined to her bed?

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: I never heard of that case before.

MR. SHEEHY: Attention has been called to it on more than one occasion. The right hon. Gentleman says that the amount of the Estimate is large this year in consequence of the employment of the police at elections, and I presume that it will be large also in the next Estimate from the same cause; because I am afraid that unless something is done to prevent them evictions will continue to be carried out on the same costly scale as hitherto to the British taxpayer. At the Galway eviction referred to there were something like 1,000 men collected for a week; and in the end six poor farmers were evicted at a cost to the Crown of something like £6,000. If, during the winter, evictions throughout Ireland are to be carried out on the same costly scale, costing £1,000 for every poor person evicted, I think the British taxpayer will have an ugly bill furnished to him by the innocent Tory Government now in power—a Government elected mainly for the purpose of saving the pockets of the taxpayer. Economy was made one of the points of the Election, and this is a method by which it is proposed that a saving shall be effected. There is another point to which I wish to draw the particular attention of the right hon. Gentleman; and that is the manner in which the bailiffs, evicting agents, and evicting landlords contrive to draw a profit out of the police protection afforded. I am myself acquainted with a gentleman who has a large establishment of cars, not merely for his own use and for the conveyance of his bailiffs when engaged in the business of eviction, but for the conveyance of the police; and I believe that instructions have been

given to the Inspector of Constabulary to employ the cars of this agent on every possible occasion, and especially, of course, when the work in hand is eviction. The result is that this gentleman will try to carry on the campaign as actively as he can, and he will drive the police over the country as much as possible, in order that he may do a roaring trade. Having called the attention of the right hon. Gentleman to the case, it is only right that I should give the name. The gentleman who has a regular establishment for this purpose is Mr. Hargreave, of Thurles.

MR. BIGGAR: I should like to say one word in regard to the appeal which has been made by my hon. Friend the Member for North Mayo (Mr. Crilly) in reference to the employment of the police in the execution of decrees for the recovery of debt by tradesmen. No doubt he is perfectly right in theory, that the two cases are the same; but in practice they are entirely different. What occurs in the case of the recovery of a small debt is this—the Sheriff sends one or two of his bailiffs to levy the decree, and in a considerable number of cases the bailiffs act in collusion with the debtor, and receive a small bribe from him, to induce them to declare that there are no goods upon which the decree can be levied. That is a very common state of things; and even if the creditor succeeds ultimately in recovering his money it is handed over to the Sub-Sheriff, and the unfortunate creditor has as much trouble to get it from the Sub-Sheriff as he has from the ordinary debtor. That is the original mode by which debts are collected in Ireland; but if the landlord desires to evict a tenant the case is very different, and for this reason—the Sub-Sheriff is an *employé* of the High Sheriff, and as the latter is one of the landlord party he gives the assistance of the police to the landlord to carry out any business the landlord may have in hand. So far as the recovery of small debts in Ireland is concerned, I can assure the House that I have had very painful experience of not being able to get the amount of a debt after I had obtained a decree against a debtor. The collusion which exists between the debtor and the Sub-Sheriff renders it practically impossible to recover the money at all. Unless the creditor is a person in the favour of the Sub-Sheriff his task is a hopeless one.

The landlords, however, are in a very different position; they are hand and glove with the High Sheriff, who takes good care that they are backed up by the Constabulary in enforcing evictions.

MR. DEASY: The expectation of the right hon. Gentleman that the debate upon this Vote will be a short one will certainly be realized so far as hon. Gentlemen who sit on these Benches are concerned. We have no desire whatever to prolong it. I have only risen now to call attention to an error which he has made as to the number of men employed in carrying out evictions. Since the commencement of the Sitting in this Parliament there were, in several instances, more than 100 men employed in evicting tenants in the county of Mayo and other counties, and the only people who have not received protection are those unfortunate persons who have suffered at the hands of the police. In a case which occurred recently at Castlebar, in the county of Mayo, more than 100 policemen were employed to carry out evictions, and they made a savage attack upon defenceless people, and the Medical Officers of the district had to attend both women and children who had suffered from ill-usage at the hands of the police. In order that something may be done to prevent similar occurrences in the future, I would ask the right hon. Gentleman and the Government to put a stop to evictions, or, at any rate, take steps to prevent brutal assaults being made by the police upon women and children. I entirely dissent from the opinion the right hon. Gentleman has expressed in regard to the non-appointment of Dr. Jordan as Medical Officer to the Constabulary at the Castlebar Police Barracks. I do not propose to enter into a controversy with the right hon. Gentleman upon the matter, because he cannot be expected to be acquainted with it now; but unless it is set right between this and next Session I shall certainly avail myself of every opportunity of bringing this and kindred subjects under the notice of the House. The right hon. Gentleman spoke of the grievance as a Catholic one, and when I informed him that it was a Nationalist grievance, and not a Catholic one, he replied that Nationalists were unknown when he last filled the Office of Chief Secretary. No doubt; but I can assure the right hon. Gentleman that we have made con-

siderable advances in Ireland since he occupied the position of Chief Secretary some years ago. Religious differences are not so strongly marked as they were formerly, and so far as I am personally concerned I have never regarded a man's religion as a bar to his preferment. No matter what may have been the case in the past, the people of Ireland nowadays never take into account what a man's religion is. The only thing we inquire is, whether a man is a Nationalist or not; and I maintain that Dr. Jordan was not appointed to the position of Medical Officer of the Constabulary at Castlebar simply because his politics were not looked upon with favour by the Police Authorities at Dublin Castle. There is one other matter upon which I do not expect to get an answer, because I know that it has not been under the attention of the right hon. Gentleman before. I will, however, furnish him with full particulars of the case, so that he may consider it between this and the re-assembling of Parliament. I am afraid he has had no personal knowledge of it until this moment. I refer to the appointments of Medical Officers to the Constabulary in the city of Cork. Some years ago the position of Constabulary Medical Officer in that city became vacant owing to a death, and Dr. O'Callaghan got the appointment; but Inspector Barry, who was in charge of the division, recommended the appointment of a second medical gentleman, and the division of the city into two parts. This recommendation was adopted, and Dr. Curtis was appointed. The two medical men agreed that the salaries and emoluments should be equally divided between them, and this arrangement was actually carried out for a month. Inspector Barry then suggested that Dr. O'Callaghan, who lived in the southern part of the city, should take charge of the north district, while Dr. Curtis, who lived in the north, should take charge of the south. Anything more absurd I cannot conceive. The more reasonable course would have been to have allowed Dr. O'Callaghan to take charge of the district in which he resided, and Dr. Curtis to have charge of the other; but the Inspector had his own reasons for the suggestion, seeing that the emoluments of Dr. Curtis would be about £240 a-year, while those of Dr. O'Callaghan would not amount to

more than £85 or £90. In addition to that fact, the extra police who went to the Cork Assizes for the purpose of giving evidence, &c., were stationed in the south district, and the fees and emoluments Dr. Curtis would receive from attending them would raise his salary to £300 a-year, whereas Dr. O'Callaghan would not get a single shilling for the quartering of any extra constables in his district. I wish to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether, if he is furnished with full particulars, he will take them into consideration, so that Dr. O'Callaghan shall not be placed in an inferior position to Dr. Curtis? I may add that Dr. O'Callaghan has been for 40 years in practice, and is recognized as a most able and efficient Medical Officer.

Mr. HARRIS (Galway, E.): In a former debate I alluded to some local matters in connection with the employment of the police, and I propose now to allude to some further local questions in connection with the same subject. I hope that the right hon. Gentleman will not, as he did on a former occasion, censure my conduct in alluding to local matters, because I can assure him that, although they may be of very little importance to him, they are of the highest interest to my constituents. The condition of the poor in Ballinasloe is a matter of vital importance to my constituents, because it is by the poorer class of the constituency that I have been sent here. The right hon. Gentleman may not be aware, in reference to the police force in Ballinasloe and the neighbourhood, that if you take a circle of six miles round the town you will find no less than 11 police barracks included within that circle. In one direction—towards Shannonbridge—including the Ballinasloe and Shannonbridge Barracks, there are four police barracks. What I wish to call the particular attention of the right hon. Gentleman to is the fact that, in addition, there has now been a temporary police barracks erected for the protection of Mr. St. George, a law agent, who was intimately connected with the Woodford evictions. I am pleased to hear that the right hon. Gentleman proposes to place a portion of the expense incurred in giving police protection upon the persons who ask for such protection. This Mr. St. George receives a large amount of business as a law agent mainly on account of the

severity with which he is in the habit of treating the tenants; and if he demands police protection it is most desirable that he should devote a portion of his ill-gotten gains to the payment of it. His residence is situated little more than half-a-mile from the Ballinasloe Police Barracks. Ballinasloe Barracks are the head-quarters of the County Inspector; there is a considerable force of police stationed there; and it does seem absurd that, with another police barracks on the other side of him, Mr. St. George should require the protection of a temporary barracks. The result of the arrangement, however, is that Mr. St. George gets all the advantage of a police force of his own. It is a strange thing that any landlord can have a police barracks erected near to his own house; and I would suggest to the right hon. Gentleman that, above all things, it is necessary in Ireland that the men appointed to control the Constabulary should be men entirely free from landlord influence and prejudice. The landlord, no doubt, is a strong man; he may be the Lord Lieutenant of the county, and where that is the case the police are altogether in his hands; and if a man receives the enmity of these gentlemen, as I do, because I have denounced the action of most of them in the county of Galway, he is soon made to feel it. Of course, I expected their hostility, and I have not been disappointed in my expectations. I have not, however, acted from any vindictive motive, but simply by a desire to promote the public interests. But what did these men do? They gave "the tip" to the sergeant of police or Sub-Inspector, and the consequence is that whenever I show myself I have two men on my track. [*A laugh.*] Hon. Members may laugh; but I can assure them that I have had two policemen constantly following me for two years. It is a notorious fact that in Ireland the road to promotion for the police is not by doing their duty properly, as men ought to do; it is simply by acting strongly, energetically, and very often criminally, against the people. I have known policemen who were reprimanded by the Judges themselves, and yet, notwithstanding that, they were promoted; and it may be said that a policeman is sure of promotion in Ireland if he acts against the law. This is not a proper system for the police them-

selves, and I am only surprised that the men are as good as they are. The police are exposed to temptations which might be supposed to have a demoralizing effect upon them; they are well clothed, well-found, and with money in their pockets; but I am bound to say I do not think these things have had that effect upon them. They are a well-conducted body of men; and if they were taken away from the evil influences by which they are now surrounded, they might become better and more efficient than they now are. With regard to the increase of the police, I would also bring this matter under the notice of the right hon. Gentleman, and I have pleasure in appealing to him on this subject, because he is always ready to give his best attention to representations put forward by hon. Members on these Benches. I wish to point out that the decrease of crime in Ireland is more apparent than real. Before the Land League was established in 1878 agrarian crime had begun to manifest itself in the county of Cork, and it went on to such an extent that there was a tax of 10s. in the pound put upon the people for extra police. I went to the first meeting ever held in connection with the Land League, and there was a police hut upon the road then. I say that it is a mistake to suppose that agrarian crime arises from political causes. I believe that investigation would show that it arises entirely on agrarian grounds. At the time I speak of the Land League was not in existence, and yet the people of Cork had to pay 10s. in the pound as a tax for the extra police. After that agrarian crime travelled over the county; it permeated the agricultural classes; the police were increased in such quantity until there were 150 policemen in the town, and agrarian crime reached a higher point then than it has ever reached since. These are very important matters for consideration when you are trying to preserve peace and harmony in Ireland; and I say that at the head of the police throughout Ireland there should be an impartial, fair-minded, and good man, having no favour or bias towards one person or another. The subject is one on which very much might be said; but as there is a disinclination on these Benches to protract the discussion I shall not now trouble the Committee with any more remarks.

Mr. Harris

Mr. W. ABRAHAM (Limerick, W.): We all know that during the coming winter the Irish Representatives, when they return to their country and constituencies, will have before them a very serious task. While Gentlemen who sit on other Benches in this House will be able to return to their various employments, we shall have to go to Ireland, to stand by our people, and advise them as much as possible to keep within legal bounds, and endeavour to meet what we believe to be the pressure of the coming winter in a proper manner. That being so, great care should be had by the Police Authorities not to interfere with our people, who, within the limits of the Irish National League, should be allowed to take counsel together and form their plans for the future. I have received a letter from the Secretary of a local branch of the National League, to say that at one of their meetings in the neighbourhood there were three policemen armed with rifles, and that policemen were engaged in taking down the names of the members who attended the meeting. Now, I can inform the Committee that if that course is to be pursued, and if the people get it into their heads that they are to be prevented by the police from meeting in a legal way, there is reason to suppose that they will enter into those illegal organizations which we, the Irish Representatives, have no power to prevent. I trust, now that I have called attention to this matter, that the Police Authorities will instruct their Inspectors throughout Ireland that the people are not to be intimidated or prevented from meeting for the purpose of taking counsel under the National League with the view of meeting the difficulties which are coming upon them during the winter. In the years 1881 and 1882 there were private Circulars issued to the Constabulary, instructing them how they were to deal with the matter of the detection of crime. I trust there will be no attempt made to introduce again into the Irish Constabulary a system of police espionage, a system which would be disgraceful to any despotism in Europe. Perhaps I may call the attention of the Committee to the nature of some of the Circulars which have been issued during the White Terror of 1881 and 1882. In that period Circulars were issued to the Irish Constabulary to this effect—that every

Standard V. it is entirely free of the school board, and all that the board can insist on is accommodation for the time during which the child may reasonably be in school, and for the time the school board could equip him and send him out of school. You will find the same sort of fallacy here as you have fallen into before—namely, that having compulsory powers with regard to children between the ages of five and 13 years, you assume that every child between those ages must be in school. One of the fallacies of the Scotch Education Department is that they imagine that the number of children on the roll is evidence of great educational work, whereas that may be evidence of neglect of work—of the school board keeping children longer at school than they ought to do. What has been the result as regard the different schools in Scotland? We find that whilst in 1872 half the schools were State-aided, in 1885 we find that five-sevenths of the whole number of schools in Scotland are under school board management, and one-seventh under other management, as State-aided schools. There is only one-seventh of the whole population of Scotland who belong to the upper class who do not send their children to these schools; so that, practically, six-sevenths of the whole education of Scotland is under the thumb of the Education Department. Well, Sir, what is the result of all this? You simply deprive Scotland of one of the most important advantages—that is to say, the advantage of private competition. We are told that in Glasgow only 7 per cent of those on the roll are under six years of age, while the percentage of children in Scotland under six years of age is 9; and when you come to England you will find that the proportion is larger. It is said in Glasgow that Scotch parents have a prejudice against sending their children early to school; but that is no answer—for this reason, because we find in 1874 that, under the old Code, 15·64 per cent of the children on the roll were under six years of age. And then there are the Roman Catholic schools in Glasgow; they have probably the worst part of the population to deal with, and yet we find that the Roman Catholic schools in Glasgow have 14·7 per cent on the roll under six years of age, or double the percentage that there is on the books of the Glasgow School Board.

The answer will be—"Oh, but then the Roman Catholics take an interest in the children, and in the working up of their schools." Exactly so; but then that is the best evidence we can have that private schools ought to be encouraged, because they introduce some additional and special interest in the children on the part of the school management. Again, it will be said, perhaps, that, having established public schools in Scotland, we shall be burdening the rates by allowing the establishment of private schools. Now, that is a very great fallacy. It has been found, where private schools have been started and the work of the board schools rendered less, that the managers have been able proportionately to reduce the staff in the board schools, so that, with reduced numbers, they have been conducted at less expense than before the private schools were established. As a matter of fact, the private schools are the cause of a saving of the rates, and this is noticeable particularly in the case of Lancashire, where the average school attendance is 10,000 above the attendance in all Scotland; and where, in Lancashire, owing to the greater prevalence of private schools, the amount paid by the rating authorities is only £127,366, as against £443,684 for all Scotland. Take the case of Glasgow, where there are 14,000 children in the Roman Catholic schools, the existence of these schools saves £10,000 per annum to the ratepayers of Glasgow; because if you shut up the Roman Catholic schools you would have to saddle the rates with the amount. Now, let us look at the educational results, having spoken about the expense of the system. I would not attempt a comparison between the present system and the old system of Scotland, or say which is best; but I think I am entitled to say that I will point out the defect of your school board system, without reference to the question of the balance between the two systems. I want to point out defects which you ought to be able to remedy. Now, the school board system is based on a fallacious principle. It aims at uniformity—it expects equal results from all children of the same age, no matter what difference there may be in the feeding, clothing, or housing of the children. You have to make your school standard so low as not to bear harshly

legitimate purpose of protection. I mentioned a case the other day where two heifers were missed from a certain farm in charge of the police, who really act as caretakers in Ireland. It was reported as an outrage. These heifers were missed, it is true; but where were they found? They were found in the custody of the police and the bailiffs—and the police were protecting this stolen property. These are matters which I say should be inquired into, for it is preposterous that the police should be used for such purposes as I have described. I shall not dwell upon this subject longer. I feel that in dealing with it, and in trying to prove that there is no need of such an abnormal force in the county, I am handicapped by the state of a particular portion of the county; but there is an immense number of police in the county, most of whom are simply engaged in taking care of farms, and for whom we have had to pay for the last six or seven years.

MR. J. NOLAN (Louth, N.): I wish to allude to a case which occurred in my county, of the forcible entrance of a chapel by the police in the neighbourhood. I fully recognize the fact that matters like this are hardly such as should be brought before the Committee; but that points to the fact that the sooner the Irish people get the control of their own affairs the better it will be for Ireland and for the dignity of this Imperial Assembly. I want to show, however, that the action of the police in my county might possibly have led to a very serious riot. The peasantry there are not very excitable; but when their feelings are outraged they are not easily quieted. If anything would excite them, it would be the violation of their places of worship. I feel with my hon. Friends around me that this debate has gone on long enough, otherwise I should like to direct further attention to the Constabulary Force in Ireland, and to show how absurd it is to suppose that the people of Ireland could ever be satisfied with such a system as the present. I am bound to say that I believe that the people in this country would not submit to such a system for six months; and certainly, if the people of Ireland had the control of their own affairs, one of the first things they would do would be to effect a sweeping reform in the Constabulary Force. [*Laughter.*]

Mr. E. Harrington

Hon. Gentlemen opposite laugh at this. In this country, when a murder is committed, the Local Authorities communicate with the Home Secretary, and some experienced officers are sent down to investigate the case and endeavour to collect evidence. But what takes place in Ireland? A whole body of police are sent down to the locality. I remember that in my native place a gentleman was murdered; the authorities at Dublin Castle were communicated with, and they sent down a large force of police to patrol the district. No one can say anything against these police as men. They are fine specimens of humanity, strong, broad-shouldered, deep-chested, sinewy fellows; but let the Committee imagine the absurdity of these men sneaking up and down the country roads at night during a period of six months. While the authorities were doing their very best to hang innocent men who had a very narrow escape the police were patrolling the district. I hope the time may come when it may not be necessary to introduce matters of this kind into the House of Commons.

Vote agreed to.

CLASS IV.—EDUCATION, SCIENCE, AND ART.

(2.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £3,607, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1887, for the Salaries and Expenses of the National Gallery."

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.): I am afraid I shall be liable to the imputation of want of taste if I move the reduction of this Vote for the National Gallery. The reason why I do not like to pass the Vote without a protest is that when we were proposing to pay an enormous sum for the Blenheim pictures we had not seen them. An hon. Member of this House made, I think, what was a very sensible suggestion, when he requested that the articles should be placed in the Tea Room. Now, I believe that if we had had those pictures before us we should never have bought them; but having to pay for them I do not think we should pass the Vote without some sort of protest. It is universally agreed that the country has given considerably too

much for those pictures; but it is not only on that ground that I wish to raise the question. If I believed that in the market these pictures were worth the money we gave for them, which I do not think they were, I should still think it was a wicked and wasteful thing to buy them, especially at a time when we have not too much money to spare. Such a thing might have been done on the other side of the Atlantic, where they have more money than they know what to do with. But the fact remains that the people of America were not such fools as to buy the pictures. In my opinion, the price paid was enormous. I went to see the picture which cost £70,000; and, so far from its being to the taste of the British public, it is not, in my judgment, worth 70,000 pence. I have watched the demeanour of the British public in regard to that picture. It was not put on the wall like the other pictures, but was enthroned in the centre of a great room. The attention of the British public was invited to it; they were given to understand that it was a picture of enormous value. I watched their demeanour for a long time; I found that it did not fetch them at all; that they did not care a fig for it; nor, as a matter of fact, is there anything about it to lead the uninstructed mind to take pleasure in it. I do not think there is any more especial value in this picture than there is in a piece of old china or an old book. Indeed, in such hard times as the present, it seems to me absolutely wicked to pay such a price as £70,000 for a picture, especially when, as I say, the public scarcely appreciate it at all. I believe it was the most expensive picture ever bought, and that two or three times its real value was paid for it. But this picture, although I think that too much was given for it, and although I am convinced that it does not give any pleasure to the British public, is, after all, an innocuous, an inoffensive picture. I regard it with a negative sort of objection; but what are we to say of the other picture—the Vandyck—which was purchased at a cost of £15,000? It is an atrocious production—a repulsive picture. It principally consists of a horse—and such a horse! I ask hon. Members who are acquainted with the picture whether they ever saw such a horse in all their

lives, whether they really believe there ever was such a horse in existence? If any Member of the Committee had such a horse it would be at once sent to the knacker. In short, the opinion must be universal that this horse was as badly a painted horse as it was possible to have, and as unlike a real, decent horse as one could conceive. The horse is the greatest part of the picture; but on that horse there is a man, and that man is Charles I. Well, I do not think anyone wants to perpetuate his memory. Connoisseurs say that these pictures are very valuable, and that the people can be educated up to appreciating them. God forbid that we should educate the people up to such a pitch that they cannot appreciate pictures unless they have cost tens of thousands of pounds! I have no special knowledge of Art myself, except as one of the public; but we all like pictures, and we like to buy them when they are cheap; but we do not want to give enormous sums for pictures which can only give pleasure to a limited clique, to connoisseurs, and so forth, particularly when they are pictures of horses out of drawing and badly painted. I beg to move the reduction of the Vote which stands in my name.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

“That a sum, not exceeding £3,307, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st of March 1887, for the Salaries and Expenses of the National Gallery.”—(*Sir George Campbell.*)

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL) (Paddington, S.): I am of opinion—and I think most of the Committee will agree with me—that neither the present occasion nor the present tribunal are suited for an Art criticism, and that this Committee is not suited to pronounce at all adequately on the merits or market value of the Old Masters. I would add to that opinion this—that of all the misleading teachers or preachers which this tribunal could possibly follow, it is obvious that the hon. Gentleman opposite (*Sir George Campbell*) would be the greatest, because he has admitted in his observations and by his argument that he is absolutely without knowledge of the subject with which he deals. However, what I have to say on the subject under discussion is this—that just as we

protested against certain issues which were raised by the Irish Members last night and the night before, attacking the conduct of the present Government for that for which we cannot be responsible, so a great deal more do we protest against the conduct of hon. Members in raising, as it were, this question of the purchase of pictures against the present Government. He talks about a waste of public money having taken place. Why did he not say that in the last Parliament? [Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL: I did say it.] But I am perfectly convinced that the hon. Member never ventured, in the presence of the late Prime Minister, to accuse him of "wicked and sinful waste of public money." I would the return of the late Prime Minister from Bavaria could have been accelerated, so that he could have listened to these accusations against him—to this charge which is brought against him, for the first time in his public career, of having been guilty of a wicked and sinful waste of public money. That is the accusation which the hon. Member is really bringing against the late Government, and I have no doubt he would be extremely glad if by his remarks he could throw odium on the present Government in a matter for which they cannot have the smallest possible responsibility. I would invite the hon. Member, on a future occasion, when he accuses persons whom he may think guilty of malversation of the public funds, to do so at the time when he thinks them guilty of it, and when they can be held responsible, and not to bring charges of this kind against persons who are absent. To impute by a side-wind charges against persons whom the hon. Member must know cannot be held in any way responsible is a proceeding utterly unworthy of the Committee.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL: The noble Lord the Chancellor of the Exchequer cannot have looked at the terms of my Motion, and I am sorry now I did not read them. My object was not to censure any Government, but to move a reduction of the Vote. I am not a Party man. I am not accustomed to regard questions in this House from a Party point of view, or to regulate my remarks by considerations of who is in power. I did denounce this Vote when it first appeared as a waste of public money. It was challenged, and I voted against it. But we had not then seen

the pictures. It is only since we have seen them that I have thought it necessary a second time to protest against what I still consider to be a wicked and sinful waste of public money.

Mr. MOLLOY (King's Co., Birr): I am sorry to have to disagree with my hon. Friend (Sir George Campbell) on the present occasion; but I do most certainly disagree with him. I will not go into the whole question of the merits of the pictures which have been purchased for this large sum of money; but I think that the Government are bound to make the collection of Art treasures worthy of the country. Whether these pictures are worth £85,000, or £10,000, or a less sum, I do not know, nor do I think there are three men in the Committee who are able to decide what they are worth; and what my hon. Friend says, that the public should be called upon to decide what pictures are worth before they are purchased, should be looked upon as childish. In the first place, the public do not see the pictures before they are purchased; and, in the next place, they would not be in a position to offer advice on the question of value. I agree with the Government in what they did, and I hope they will continue to raise up the standard of the Art Collections in the country. I was unable to touch on the question of the British Museum last night; but I would appeal to the noble Lord the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who supported me on a former occasion when I dealt with that Institution, and will make an appeal to him in regard to it, indirectly on the question of the National Gallery, to the effect that greater facilities shall be given to the working classes to visit the British Museum and the National Gallery in the evening. On the former occasion I refer to a Liberal Government was in power, and a promise was made that an estimate should be obtained for the lighting of these Institutions, more especially the British Museum, by the electric light, the lighting being one of the difficulties of the question of opening in the evenings. The promise was made that if it were possible to be done it should be done, and that these Institutions should be opened to the working classes at night. As I say, I think, if I am not mistaken, when I formerly moved in the matter, the Chancellor of the Exchequer gave me his support.

Lord Randolph Churchill

But if that were so or not, I ask those who are responsible for this Vote to make some effort to open these Institutions at night in order to enable the masses of the working population—who are the taxpayers, and out of whose pockets a large part of the money necessary to support them comes—to visit them. I ask that these people may have the same chance and opportunity of visiting these Institutions that we have. I believe that the opening of these Institutions at night would confer a very great moral advantage upon the working classes of the country. Wherever such places have been opened at night large numbers of people have attended them; and, if not all, certainly a large proportion of the people who have thus availed themselves of the facilities given to them would, if it had not been for this night opening, have spent their time in much less respectable occupations. I do not wish to press the matter further than to ask the noble Lord if he will do what lies in him to bring about the opening of these Institutions at night for the benefit of the working classes?

MR. HARRIS (Galway, E.): I do not object to the amount given for the pictures which have been referred to. I think it is desirable that if we are to have a National Gallery at all we should have one that will compare favourably with the Galleries of other countries. But I must say that I think that so long as the money for these National Collections comes out of the public revenues the pictures we have bought ought to be divided so as to give a fair share to Ireland, Scotland, and Wales. I think the word "National" is as applicable to Ireland as it is to England, and I certainly think that some of the pictures should be given to the National Gallery of that country. With reference to what has just fallen from my hon. Friend (Mr. Molloy), I do not think that the opening of the Museums or Galleries in the evenings would be of much benefit to the working classes. I think, however, that it would be a very great benefit indeed to them if these Institutions were open on Sundays. Sunday is the only day of freedom they have, and I think it is a very hard thing that such places as the National Gallery, the Zoological Gardens, and the British Museum, should be closed to the working man on

the very day on which he has an opportunity of visiting them. As to the picture the hon. Member Sir George Campbell has referred to as having cost £70,000, I must say that if the working man stands before it and looks upon the figures attentively, particularly upon that of St. John the Baptist, he will go away with the impression that he has seen something that he is likely to remember for the rest of his life.

SIR HERBERT MAXWELL (A Lord of the Treasury) (Wigton): I can assure the hon. Gentleman who so eloquently advocated the opening of Public Galleries at night that the subject has engaged the earnest and, I may say, the sympathetic attention not only of the present Government, but of the late Government, and the first consideration which has deterred the authorities from moving in the matter has been the enormous expense. I may tell the hon. Member that tenders for lighting the Natural History Museum at South Kensington with electric light amounted, in addition to the prime cost of £15,000, to £1,000 for one night per annum—that is to say, if the Museum were open for three nights in the week the cost would be £3,000 per annum, and if it were open for six nights the cost would be £6,000. So far the Government have not felt justified in incurring that enormous expense. The same argument applies in a less degree to the opening of Public Galleries on Sundays. [Mr. Molloy dissented.] The hon. Member shakes his head; but, of course, there will be an expense involved in opening the various Public Galleries on Sundays. But there are other questions which excite a great amount of interest in the public mind, inseparable from the question of the Sunday opening of Museums. Not only have the public to be considered, but the interests of attendants and public officials must, of course, be borne in mind before a determination is formed to effect the change. Although Resolutions in favour of the opening of Museums on Sundays have, I think, on more than one occasion been carried in the House of Lords, hon. Members will recollect that the last occasion on which a decision was taken in this House a Motion in favour of Sunday opening was rejected by a considerable majority. There, therefore, the matter must rest

until another decision is arrived out by this House.

MR. MOLLOY: The hon. Baronet has stated that it would cost £6,000 per annum to enable one of these Institutions to be opened to the working classes six nights per week. I hope he does not wish it to go forth that the working classes, who pay for these Institutions, are to be refused facilities for visiting them, because such a small sum of money as £6,000 per annum will be required to be spent.

SIR ROPER LETHBRIDGE (Kensington, N.): As a Metropolitan Member I rise to support the appeal of the hon. Member opposite for the opening of these Institutions during week evenings. I do not go into the question of Sunday opening, for that is a much more debateable question; but I do appeal to the Government and the Committee to consider whether they do not think that an annual expenditure of £3,000 would be admirably laid out on the instruction and entertainment which would be afforded to the working classes by opening the National Museums and Galleries on at least three evenings in each week.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.): As most of the Radicals and economists who would have supported me are absent, I will ask leave to withdraw my Amendment. But before I do so, I wish to say that I very much support the view of the hon. Member who says that if we keep up this Gallery at all, we ought to have it lighted up at night, when people can go to see the pictures it contains. There are very few people who visit the National Gallery during the day; therefore, if we wish to render these places more popular, we should adopt the suggestion of the hon. Member.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*.

Original Question again proposed.

MR. HOWELL (Bethnal Green, N.E.): I wish to say a word in support of the suggestion which has been made that these Institutions should be lighted up at night. I do not ask the Government to give an answer to night; but I would ask them to consider during the Recess whether by some means or other they cannot save this sum of £3,000 or £6,000, said to be required for the purpose, out of the Navy or Military Esti-

mates for the sake of popularizing these public Institutions, which are already costing the nation a great deal of money? We know very well how very popular the Exhibitions which are being held have become. We wish to develop this popularity, and we desire to see these Institutions, which are of a National character, compete successfully with the drinking saloons and music halls of the Metropolis.

MR. HARRIS (Galway, E.): The hon. Baronet opposite has not answered my question as to giving Ireland and Scotland a share of these valuable pictures, which are bought at the expense of the public.

SIR HERBERT MAXWELL (A Lord of the Treasury) (Wigton): I believe the Institutions in Dublin and Edinburgh are conducted under the same Regulations as those in London, with this exception—that I believe that some of the Galleries in Dublin are open on Sundays.

DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid): Will the hon. Gentleman give us any encouragement to hope that these Institutions will be open on Sunday? The public take a great interest in the question; and, certainly, if these Institutions are to be supported by public funds, the public, as a body, ought to be admitted to them upon the day when they are most at liberty, and are not engaged upon their ordinary employments. I think it would be most desirable indeed to open these places on the day on which the working classes have most freedom. I sincerely hope that hon. Gentlemen will pay attention to the fact that the public are longing to be able to make use of these Institutions.

MR. ISAACS (Newington, Walworth): I think the observations of the hon. Member who has just sat down should not be allowed to go without remark or comment. I would remind the Committee that it is the expressed opinion of Trades Unions and Societies representing the great mass of the working class of this country that the Sunday opening of Museums should not be permitted. This opinion has been pronounced over and over again. I very much sympathize with hon. Gentlemen who have endeavoured to get a pledge from the Government that the subject of the opening of these Institutions on

Sir Herbert Maxwell

week evenings will be considered. When we find that the cost will only be some £3,000 or £4,000 a-year, I trust that there will be perfect readiness on the part of the country to vote such a small sum for the education of the people.

Original Question put, and *agreed to*.

(3.) £1,161, to complete the sum for the National Portrait Gallery.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.): Once bit twice shy. I hope we shall have some information about the picture which it is proposed to purchase from the Blenheim Gallery. No doubt the picture is a much cheaper one than the others to which I have referred; but if we are to have a National Portrait Gallery, it seems to me that we should place in it portraits of distinguished celebrities. But who is this John Duke of Bedford, whose portrait it is intended to purchase? If the picture is one which it is really desirable to have, I shall offer no objection; but, at the same time, I should like to have some information with regard to it.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Mr. E. STANHOPE) (Lincolnshire, Horncastle): The picture in question is one of the finest pictures which could be obtained for the National Portrait Gallery. It is by Gainsborough.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL: May I ask who John Duke of Bedford was?

MR. E. STANHOPE: I cannot undertake to teach the hon. Member the history of England.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL: I take such little interest in this John Duke of Bedford, whom I do not know, that I shall not even divide the Committee against him.

DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid): Will the right hon. Gentleman tell me whether this picture was really bought on account of the intrinsic merit of the picture and the value that is attached to it, or whether it was in order to relieve the impecuniosity of a certain noble Member of the other House of Parliament?

MR. E. STANHOPE: The picture was bought at an auction, because the Trustees of the Gallery believed that it would be of inestimable value in the National Collection.

MR. HARRIS (Galway, E.): Who John Duke of Bedford was I do not know; but I certainly do know that

Gainsborough was a great artist, and that a work of his should find a place in a National Collection.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL: By way of protest I would merely say that the answer given by the right hon. Gentleman would lead us to believe that what has been done is an abuse of the National Portrait Gallery. The object of that Gallery, as I understand it, is to perpetuate the memory of great men; but it appears that the picture in question is the portrait of a man of whom we have heard nothing that is good, and of whom the right hon. Gentleman opposite is plainly unable to tell us any good. John Duke of Bedford was not a great man; and, therefore, I do not see what we want with his portrait in the National Portrait Gallery.

Vote agreed to.

(4.) £184,263, to complete the sum for Public Education, Scotland.

MR. CALDWELL (Glasgow, St. Rollox): I am very sorry to take up the time of the Committee when they are anxious to get through with the Votes; but I think I can say that no one can justly accuse the Scotch Members of obstructing the Business of the House. Education is one of the most important questions in Scotland. It was not found necessary to debate at length matters connected with public education in England, because you have a Royal Commission sitting to inquire into the subject. So far, however, as Scotland is concerned there is no Commission sitting, and the only way in which we can ventilate the grievances of Scotland in the matter of education is by initiating discussions upon Votes referring to education. There is another reason why I bring the matter of education forward on the present occasion, and it is this—that as there is a change of Government, and as there is a new official at the head of the Education Department, it is very important that we should put matters thoroughly before him. Now, in Scotland there exists a very great amount of dissatisfaction on the part of parents and teachers, and also on the part of school boards and ratepayers. This dissatisfaction has not yet assumed the position of a formulated grievance owing to two causes; first, that the subject is of so technical a character—it is surrounded with Codes, Standards, Time

Tables, and Inspectors; and, secondly, because the Education Department have given such illustrations of the working of the Education Act in Scotland as to keep down any appearance that the work is not being satisfactorily conducted. The object of the Education Act of 1872 was the sending of children to school who would not otherwise be at school. So far as the old Scotch education system was concerned, there was no difference of opinion in this House with regard to the value and superiority of Scotch education under the old system; the main object of the reform was rather to compel children to go to school who would not otherwise be at school, and to make local provision for the supply of school accommodation wherever school accommodation did not exist. The principal object of the Act, therefore, was the compulsory attendance of children at school. Now, so far as regards the working of the Scotch Education Act, it is just the Compulsory Clauses which have been least attended to. We have got statistics regarding the working of the Scotch Education Act so far as regards the intelligence departments; but so far as regards the compulsory department we have no very clear or definite information. The duty imposed on every school board in Scotland was to see that every child was attending school, therefore it became the duty of the school board to ascertain what schools existed in their parish, and what children were attending schools. Now, we search in vain through the Scotch Education Reports to find what number of schools exist in Scotland, and what number of children attend these schools. I mean not State-aided schools alone, but all the schools taken together. The statistics furnished refer only to State-aided schools. Now, I will show the Committee what fallacious impressions are produced by the limited statistics which the Scotch Education Department have published. They tell us, for instance, going back to 1872, that there was an average attendance in the public schools of Scotland of 213,549; and then they tell us that there are now, 1885, in attendance in the same schools 455,665. The impression thus conveyed to the minds of the public is, that the number of children receiving education in Scotland has doubled since 1872. That statement is utterly misleading, because it so happens

that the statistics which are given here relate simply to State-aided schools, and the fact is not made patent to the public that the State-aided schools in 1872 only gave accommodation and instruction to one-half of the whole of the children of Scotland. While there was an average attendance in the State-aided schools of Scotland in 1872 of only about 213,549 children, we find by the Second Annual Report of the Board of Education of Scotland that in 1872 there were 461,086 children on the rolls of the schools in 753 parishes and burghs—a part only of Scotland. It is, therefore, important to observe that the impression conveyed by the Scotch Education Department's Report, that the number of children receiving instruction in Scotland has more than doubled since 1872, is utterly erroneous. Then we search in vain the Education Reports to ascertain what the actual increase has been; but, very fortunately, we are not without some other means of information on this point. We refer to the Census Returns of Scotland; and it so happens that the Census Returns of Scotland give us what the Census Returns of England do not, the number of children receiving education in Scotland at the time the Census was taken. We therefore find that in 1871 the number of children in Scotland between five and 15 years of age receiving instruction was 541,995, or 69·77 of the population between these ages; and when we come to 1881, we find the number to be 675,314, or 78·98 of the population, an increase of 9·21 per cent, so that while the public are under the belief that the effect of the operation of the Education Act in Scotland has been to more than double the number of children receiving education in Scotland, in point of fact the amount of the increase does not represent more than 9·21 per cent. But then this 9·21 per cent is not due to the working of the Compulsory Clauses of the Education Act, and for this reason. Prior to the Education Act of 1872 the average school curriculum in Scotland would be about five years. The parent in Scotland considered his children received a fair amount of education if they attended school for about five years. Under the Education Act a system has been introduced whereby you prevent clever children from getting on, and you endeavour to

keep the children to one rate of progress, requiring them all to pass together at the end of the year. You thereby have lengthened your curriculum to six years, and by lengthening your curriculum you naturally produce a larger amount of school attendance than formerly. So we have no evidence whatever, from perusing the Scotch Education Department's Reports, that the Compulsory Clauses of the Act have been enforced, as we are told they have. The object, therefore, which I have in view, in the first place, is to point out to the Scotch Education Department, and to the Head of that Department, that the statistics given us are no criterion whatever of the progress of education in Scotland; that, in point of fact, we have no evidence of the working of the Compulsory Clauses in Scotland; and that we ought to have some more clear and decisive evidence that these clauses are being worked out. We ought to have Inspectors to see that school boards are carrying out the Compulsory Clauses, and not to leave the matter entirely at the mercy of school boards, because we find, from the Reports of the Inspectors, complaints over and over again of school boards in all parts of Scotland neglecting this duty. Well, we have complaints of neglect of duty; but we have nobody to supervise the school boards to see whether they carry out the compulsory provisions of the Act; and I maintain that, as the compulsory powers were the main objects of the Education Act, we ought to see that they are really carried out, and that, no matter what expense may be incurred, we ought to appoint proper Inspectors to investigate the matter in the case of each school board, to test the working of every school board, and the result should be formulated and tabulated for all Scotland every year along with the other educational statistics. Now, as far as regards the City of Glasgow, I dare say that many English Members will say that Glasgow has been quoted as an example of how education is being carried on in Scotland. It so happens that Glasgow has received visits from the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Mundella), who was Vice President of the Council in the last Liberal Administration but one, and that that right hon. Gentleman gave a very glowing description of the great educational work

which was going on in Glasgow. Now, the fact is that the statistics upon which the right hon. Gentleman's glowing statement was founded were utterly fallacious. So far as regards the City of Glasgow, you will be astonished to find that there are 91,000 children between the ages of five and 13 in Glasgow, and there are only 51,000 children in daily attendance at school; leaving 40,000 daily absent. No one who had listened to or read the glowing description of the work of education which was going on in Glasgow, given by the right hon. Gentleman the former Vice President of the Council (Mr. Mundella), would imagine that such a statement as mine was possible. Now, it is but right that I should point out the fallacies upon which the late Vice President's statistics are founded. In the first place, the Glasgow School Board make up statistics for the year. Now, we all know how statistics for the year should be made up in a school board. We take the average attendance for the year; I suppose no one would ever think of statistics being made up on any other principle than that. But no; the Glasgow School Board do not make up statistics on these lines. They take the month of October, when the school attendance is highest—the best month in the year. They take a certain day in that month, the 7th day of October; they have their officers bringing out every child to school on that day. Every child who is able to come to school at all, although he may be absent every other day in the year, has certainly to be present on that day, and the statistics of that day are quoted as the statistics for the year. The late Vice President of the Council (Mr. Mundella) took these statistics, and used them as if they were the real statistics for the year. What is the result? The result is that the statistics are 11·2 per cent higher than they ought to be—than they should be if they related to the year. Then there is another fallacy in the statistics, and it is this—that outside Glasgow there are many children in reformatories; but the Glasgow School Board include the attendance of these children in schools outside the boundaries of Glasgow as if they were attending schools in the City of Glasgow. In this way 1,746 children are added to the numbers supposed to be attending the schools in the City of Glasgow.

Then we have to take into consideration this third point—the number attending school includes those under five years of age and those above 13 years. There ought to be deducted 2 per cent for children under five years of age, and 8·1 per cent for children above 13 years of age. And there is a fourth deduction which has to be made, and that is of the excess of children coming in from the surrounding districts to school in Glasgow over Glasgow children attending schools outside the municipal boundary an excess of upwards of 2,000 children. The result is that when you make these deductions you find, as I have stated, that out of 91,000 children between five and 13 years of age in the City of Glasgow 40,000 are daily absent from school. Now, let us see what proportion that bears as regards the whole of Scotland. That is 56 per cent only of the children between five and 13 years of age who attend school in Glasgow, as against 66 per cent in all Scotland; and yet you find the Glasgow School Board held up as a model, as having, as the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Mundella) speaking in Glasgow said, the best attendance in all Scotland—namely, 85 per cent. Then another point complained of is that members of the Scotch Education Department should come down and give erroneous impressions regarding the work of education in Scotland even in other matters. For instance, we are told about the superiority of the Glasgow School Board education. It would not be a matter to be surprised at if the education given by the Glasgow School Board were better than that supplied by the whole of Scotland, because if the Glasgow School Board neglect their compulsory powers, and allow the lower class of children to run about wild, and if they have so high a percentage as we are told they have—namely, 85 per cent—that shows that their schools are attended by the better class children, or by the children whose parents take an interest in their education. We certainly would not find that the educational results of the Glasgow School Board are superior to those in the whole of Scotland if all classes of children were included in their schools. We find that in Glasgow there are 20,000 children of the lower class who are not in the school board schools at all, but are

in the free and charitable schools, in the Roman Catholic schools, and in the reformatories and industrial schools. We likewise find that the Glasgow board schools are the best-equipped schools in Scotland. They have the highest-paid teachers, and they have a teacher for every Standard. Now, in the whole of Scotland we find that one-third of the schools have an average attendance of under 60 children, and, therefore, only require to have one teacher. There is, therefore, no comparison to be drawn between the schools with only one teacher and the schools with one teacher to every Standard. Even granting all these advantages to Glasgow, Glasgow is behind all Scotland. Now, that is most remarkable. If we take Standards IV., V., VI. and Ex. VI., it is found that in every one the percentage of children presented is less in Glasgow than it is in all Scotland. Standard IV. in Glasgow has a percentage of 17·2, against 18 for all Scotland; Standard V. for Glasgow 12·5, all Scotland 14; Standard VI. for Glasgow 5·0, all Scotland 6·1; and Ex. VI. for Glasgow 1·6, all Scotland 2·4; a total of 36·3 for Glasgow, and 40·5 for Scotland. So that whilst Glasgow was held up as a model for all Scotland, and as a model for England, in point of fact it was inferior to Scotland; and what we complain of is that members of the Scotch Education Department, who know nothing about the matter, should come down to Glasgow, walk through the schools for a day, and then say they have seen the great educational work going on in Glasgow, as if anyone could see it simply by walking through the schools. Again, it so happens that the grant for standard work in Glasgow is actually less than for all Scotland. Glasgow has the advantage of Scotland in the matter of specific subjects, and it is there where the difference arises whereby Glasgow actually, in the grand result, gets to the top. But what are these specific subjects? In the Glasgow schools, where there is a teacher for every Standard, you have plenty of opportunity for specific subjects. But it is only in the elementary specific subjects that Glasgow takes up her money. Dr. Wilson, one of the Inspectors of the Southern Division of Scotland, in the Report for 1884, says—

“The first stage of mathematics, or of physical geography, or animal physiology, for in-

stance, can be easily got up in a fortnight by a boy of not more than average ability."

It is simple specific subjects like these in which Glasgow gets a large grant. Glasgow's attendance is one-tenth of all Scotland, and we should expect Glasgow to have one-tenth of the presentation of Scotland in the higher specific subjects. But we find, in the third stages of Latin, Glasgow stands as 35 to Scotland 738; Greek, Glasgow 4 to 33 for Scotland; mathematics, Glasgow 5 to 152 for Scotland. I am quite well aware that someone will challenge my statistics, and say—"But you do not include the High School of Glasgow, which is under the School Board." My explanation is this—that one-half of the children attending the High School of Glasgow do not belong to Glasgow at all. My next reason is that the High School of Glasgow is a secondary school, not in receipt of Government grant, and compares with the secondary schools of Scotland, being attended by a class of children who do not attend the public State-aided schools at all. Now, there is no doubt whatever that there is a very great amount of educational work going on in Glasgow. The ratepayers are perfectly well aware of this, if only on account of the enormous rates which they have to pay. But what is that educational work? It has not been undertaken with a view of bringing out the children for whose benefit the Education Act was passed. One great object of the Board has been to supplant private schools, with the view of giving school board education to those children who belong to the middle and upper classes of Glasgow. For instance, we find that since 1873 there has been a reduction of no less than 5,000 children in the number which were attending the higher-class schools in Glasgow paying over 9d. per week, and that at the present time there are only 1,255 children in attendance at private schools paying over 9d. per week. It would be interesting to ascertain how it is that the Glasgow School Board have managed to attract the middle and upper classes. They have done it upon the principle of grading their schools socially. If you take a certain locality you will find three different classes of schools within a stone's throw of each other. You have one school where the children pay a small fee, another school where a higher

fee is paid, and a third school where a still higher fee is paid, all for the same standard of education. The result is that the upper classes are able to send their children to a comparatively select school which receives the benefit of the local and Imperial grants. Now, this is entirely contrary to the spirit of the Education Act. According to that Act, a parent who, on the score of poverty, has the school fees paid for him by the Parochial Board, is placed on an equal footing with the parent of plenty of means, and can select any State-aided school he pleases. His poverty is no bar to his choice of school—the intention of the Act of Parliament being that there should be no social distinctions introduced into the schools, and that the poor man's child should have equal education, and side by side, with the rich man's child. And, indeed, under the old parochial system of Scotland the son of the landed proprietor or of the Peer attending the same parish school received education on the same form as the peasant's son. Now, the Glasgow School Board are introducing social distinctions in their schools, with the view of encouraging the middle and upper classes to reap the advantage of the school board education; and they are doing that by saddling the ratepayers, both local and Imperial, with a great deal of the cost. Then there is another thing which tends to entice children of the upper and middle classes into the Glasgow board schools. There are £700,000 left as charitable endowments for the benefit of the poor in the City of Glasgow. These endowments have been taken possession of under the Education Act, and a great part of them have been allocated to board schools without any restriction whatever as to the ability of the parents to provide education for their children. Part of the endowments, I admit, is devoted to the assistance of those who are in circumstances requiring aid; but the greater part of the endowments is not so allocated, and the result is that monies left entirely for the benefit of the poor are dispensed for the benefit of those members of the wealthy classes who are attracted to the board schools, and who compete with the poor children (who are not in a position to receive assistance in their home lessons), thus succeeding in carrying off the bursaries and other prizes. These educational en-

dowments have been put into the board schools on the footing that board schools are representative of a certain class of people—the working class; but in Glasgow they have got the upper classes into the schools, and these classes are reaping the benefits intended for the poorer children. Now, look at the position of the working man in Glasgow, and compare him with the man of the middle or upper classes. Before the Education Act came into operation the fee for working men's children in all Scotland was, I think, about 10s. per head on the average attendance; but the average fee in the Glasgow board schools just now is 16s. 5d. The working man, therefore, notwithstanding the enormous sums paid by the ratepayers and by the Government, has to pay 16s. 5d. instead of 10s. for the education of a child. Then there is the cost of books, as well as his share of the education tax to be borne by the working man, who has to keep his child at school till he has passed Standard V. We find in the case of the middle class that nearly three-fourths of the education is paid out of the local rates and Government grant, and that they get their share of educational endowments, bursaries, &c.; whilst, as we have seen, the working man in Glasgow has now to pay 16s. 5d. in school fees, where in 1873 he paid only 10s. It is the middle and upper classes, and not the working classes, who thus truly reap the pecuniary benefit of assisted education in the board schools. Now, I ask, how long do you expect that such a state of affairs will go on in Glasgow if once the people wake up to the true state of the matter? I would also point out that the working of the Education Act by the Department has been entirely at variance with the Act of Parliament. The intention of the Act of 1872 was that school board education should be supplementary, and entirely supplementary, to the then existing system. So far as the Scotch Act is concerned there is no question about that. As regards the powers of the Department in the matter of school accommodation, there might be a question in the English Act; but so far as regards the Scotch Act it states distinctly that no school board, either now or at a future time, shall erect a school without the consent of the Department. I may mention that one

point which the late Vice President of the Council stood upon was that the Preamble of the Act said that education was to be provided for all classes of the people of Scotland. There is no question whatever that the meaning of the Act is that the school board is to see that every child, rich or poor, is educated. The Preamble simply says you are to see that every child is educated; but the Department interpreted that as meaning that school board education was to be provided for every child. That, as I have said, was not the meaning of the Act; it simply meant that every child was to be educated, and the Act itself afterwards described how. It provided that all the schools, public and private, were to be taken into consideration, and that you are to find out whether there is any deficiency of accommodation, and, if so, that the school board shall supply that deficiency. It was absolutely necessary that if children were to go to school there should be a room in which to receive them, and this must be provided by the ratepayers. As I have shown, the real meaning of the Act was that the school board should supply the deficiency; but before any action could take place the Act provided that the consent of the Department must be obtained. I find that the school accommodation in Scotland amounts to 683,360 places. Well, the average attendance is only 471,175, showing that there is a surplus accommodation of over 212,185 places. Now, perhaps the Scotch Education Department may tell us that there is an increase going on in the population, and that it is necessary to keep up with it. But I wish to point out that the accommodation is increasing in greater ratio than the attendance, and the surplus is increasing year by year; and I may say that in the counties of Inverness and Sutherland, and in the Highland parishes generally, the accommodation is double what the actual attendance is. You are saddling the ratepayers there with heavy taxation, and then you have to come to Parliament for extra grants. What is the reading which the Scotch Education Department take of their duty as regards school accommodation? They take the number of the children between five and 13 years of age, and provide accommodation for these. Can there be anything more absurd? In Scotland if once a child passes

Standard V. it is entirely free of the school board, and all that the board can insist on is accommodation for the time during which the child may reasonably be in school, and for the time the school board could equip him and send him out of school. You will find the same sort of fallacy here as you have fallen into before—namely, that having compulsory powers with regard to children between the ages of five and 13 years, you assume that every child between those ages must be in school. One of the fallacies of the Scotch Education Department is that they imagine that the number of children on the roll is evidence of great educational work, whereas that may be evidence of neglect of work—of the school board keeping children longer at school than they ought to do. What has been the result as regard the different schools in Scotland? We find that whilst in 1872 half the schools were State-aided, in 1885 we find that five-sevenths of the whole number of schools in Scotland are under school board management, and one-seventh under other management, as State-aided schools. There is only one-seventh of the whole population of Scotland who belong to the upper class who do not send their children to these schools; so that, practically, six-sevenths of the whole education of Scotland is under the thumb of the Education Department. Well, Sir, what is the result of all this? You simply deprive Scotland of one of the most important advantages—that is to say, the advantage of private competition. We are told that in Glasgow only 7 per cent of those on the roll are under six years of age, while the percentage of children in Scotland under six years of age is 9; and when you come to England you will find that the proportion is larger. It is said in Glasgow that Scotch parents have a prejudice against sending their children early to school; but that is no answer—for this reason, because we find in 1874 that, under the old Code, 15·64 per cent of the children on the roll were under six years of age. And then there are the Roman Catholic schools in Glasgow; they have probably the worst part of the population to deal with, and yet we find that the Roman Catholic schools in Glasgow have 14·7 per cent on the roll under six years of age, or double the percentage that there is on the books of the Glasgow School Board.

The answer will be—"Oh, but then the Roman Catholics take an interest in the children, and in the working up of their schools." Exactly so; but then that is the best evidence we can have that private schools ought to be encouraged, because they introduce some additional and special interest in the children on the part of the school management. Again, it will be said, perhaps, that, having established public schools in Scotland, we shall be burdening the rates by allowing the establishment of private schools. Now, that is a very great fallacy. It has been found, where private schools have been started and the work of the board schools rendered less, that the managers have been able proportionately to reduce the staff in the board schools, so that, with reduced numbers, they have been conducted at less expense than before the private schools were established. As a matter of fact, the private schools are the cause of a saving of the rates, and this is noticeable particularly in the case of Lancashire, where the average school attendance is 10,000 above the attendance in all Scotland; and where, in Lancashire, owing to the greater prevalence of private schools, the amount paid by the rating authorities is only £127,366, as against £443,684 for all Scotland. Take the case of Glasgow, where there are 14,000 children in the Roman Catholic schools, the existence of these schools saves £10,000 per annum to the ratepayers of Glasgow; because if you shut up the Roman Catholic schools you would have to saddle the rates with the amount. Now, let us look at the educational results, having spoken about the expense of the system. I would not attempt a comparison between the present system and the old system of Scotland, or say which is best; but I think I am entitled to say that I will point out the defect of your school board system, without reference to the question of the balance between the two systems. I want to point out defects which you ought to be able to remedy. Now, the school board system is based on a fallacious principle. It aims at uniformity—it expects equal results from all children of the same age, no matter what difference there may be in the feeding, clothing, or housing of the children. You have to make your school standard so low as not to bear harshly

on children of feeble ability. What is the result of that? We have in Glasgow those children who attend school one day and work the next day, and yet in these half-time schools the passes average 96 per cent. Take Lancashire, again, and you will find with regard to the half-time schools a similar result. Why is this? Because, although only attending school every second day, you have discipline in the case of these boys; they are systematically at work. And it is systematic work which produces this result. What is the result under the full-time school-attendance system? We know that the thing which can be done at any time is never done at all; and the clever boy, who finds the lessons easy, is taught simply habits of laziness, because he has to wait for the other boys, so that they may all pass the Standard at the same time. In this way you destroy those habits of progress which ought to be instilled into every boy; and that is what is being done in Scotland. There is another disadvantage of the school board system, which is that the child must attend 250 times at one school before he can be presented to the Inspector for examination to earn his grant and pass his Standard. Take the case of Glasgow, where a great many schools are inspected between December and March. We find that if a parent removes to another part of the city, the child, although attending school constantly, will be kept back at the new school one year in his education, because he has not attended 250 times in that school prior to the examination. This is because the teacher will not get any grant for passing him at once, and so he keeps the child till the next year. At the same time, you compel the parents to pay school fees for the time the child is kept back. In Scotland, where there are so many removals, this is a serious grievance. Then another most important matter is that, so far as Scotland is concerned, you have changed altogether the motive of the teaching. In Scotland, no doubt, under the old parochial system, the salaries were very small, and the teachers, on the average, had only £50 a-year, with free house. But the teacher then had a position in the parish, and teaching was a profession; but now you have lowered it to a matter of pounds, shillings, and pence, and the result is that a teacher does not now look so much

to the advantage of the children under his care, his only thought being as to how much money he is to have for the work he does—he looks forward to the pecuniary result only. If he passes a child he gets the grant, but otherwise he gets nothing; and so he neglects the clever children who are sure to pass, in order to concentrate his attention on those who will have a difficulty in passing. So far as Scotland is concerned the board schools are lowering education. In Scotland we had formerly secondary education as an essential part of elementary school teaching. In Scotland, no matter where you resided—supposing you resided in the most out-of-the-way parish—you found a school with a teacher competent to prepare children for the Universities; and the result was that the Highlands of Scotland were equal to any other part of the country in the matter of education, and you found that pupils were turned out capable of entering the Scotch Universities, and of eventually occupying distinguished positions in the world. But what is the state of things now? In the board schools in Scotland, in 1880, there were 596 pupils in the third stage of Latin; in 1884 the number was reduced to 532, a reduction of 11 per cent; there was also a reduction in the third stage, of 50 per cent in mechanics; 26 per cent in animal physiology; 9 per cent in domestic economy; and 7 per cent in magnetism and electricity. All this reduction has been going on, while in the last four years the attendance in the board schools has increased by 44,000. So that the higher education will be found to be going down year by year. It would be a gross mistake to imagine that in a country like Scotland, where the population is so much scattered, that you can meet the wants of the people by secondary schools. In secondary schools you lack the enthusiasm of the teacher in the early training of his pupils, whereby he is led to single out the clever children, and to inspire in them the desire for secondary education, at the same time directing their elementary training towards that goal. In England the school fees average 9s. 4d., as against 16s. 5d. in Glasgow and 13s. for all Scotland; and we find school attendance, and the attendance of the younger or infant children, increase as the school fees get

less—the attendance being highest in England, second highest in all Scotland, and lowest in Glasgow. To sum up, the great evil of the school board system is that in Scotland you do not develop the faculties of the child, and do not give him an opportunity of continuous progress. You fix a standard, and send all the children into that standard at once, and keep them moving together, instead of adopting the old parochial system of allowing the child to progress according to his individual ability. I think I have given sufficient reasons to satisfy this Committee that as in England you have a Commission sitting to inquire into the working of the English Education Act, so we ought to have a similar Commission appointed for Scotland. I think it will be seen that the Scotch educational system has been worked from England, and that, therefore, of course, the same evil results as you have in England have taken place in Scotland. The only difference is that, unlike Scotland, in England you had no educational system to spoil. I think this is an opportune moment for bringing these matters before the Scotch Education Department. I ask the Committee to understand that I have put forward this question in no hostile spirit, but simply with the view of urging upon the Government the necessity of seriously considering whether the time has not arrived for causing a thorough investigation to be made into the working of the Scotch Education Act.

MR. E. ROBERTSON (Dundee): I would not trouble the Committee with any observations only that we are about to begin a long Vacation, and the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary for Scotland (Mr. A. J. Balfour) will have during that time ample opportunity of considering any suggestions that may now be made; and if there are any suggestion that he approves of, and upon which he can take action, we shall have saved a whole Session by bringing them forward. I have not had the advantage of hearing my hon. Friend who preceded me, except in his concluding remarks; but if I understood my hon. Friend rightly, he attacked a good many features of the present school system in Scotland on various grounds, and charged the responsibility for the whole upon the fact that for many years past Scottish education has been dominated, not by native,

but by English ideas. On that point I agree with my hon. Friend; and I wish to carry forward the argument, and call the attention of the Secretary for Scotland to one or two points which I think are well worthy of his consideration. First of all, I wish to say a word or two about the Training Colleges. These Training Colleges cost the Government £27,000 a-year. What they cost the owners I have no means of knowing; but they cost the State and Imperial system £27,000 a-year. Now, my first objection—and here I cannot expect to have any expression of sympathy from the right hon. Gentleman—is that they are denominational and sectarian. I have listened during the last week to praises of sectarianism in education from hon. Members below the Gangway on both sides of the House. This is about the only point now on which the Tories and the Parnellites are in agreement. I, therefore, cannot expect any sympathy for my views from either of these sections of the House; but I assure the right hon. Gentleman that, so far as I have been able to judge, the public opinion of Scotland on this question is with those who object to the denominational system, though, now that I remember them, I think my hon. Friend's remarks rather tended to support it. But, apart from the objection to sectarianism, the sectarianism of the Training Colleges has this extra absurdity—that the Colleges are meant to supply with teachers a system that is becoming more and more undenominational every day. The sectarian schools in Scotland are dying out. The native religious denominations—the Presbyterian denominations—are gradually giving up their hold upon the schools. There are, in fact, comparatively few Established Church and Free Church schools left. The only sectarian schools which are growing in numbers are the Episcopalian and Roman Catholic schools; and in Presbyterian Scotland, of course, these denominations do not count. It is an additional absurdity that you should attempt to man an unsectarian system with teachers in sectarian seminaries; and—to recur to what I started with—this denominationalism in the training of schoolmasters is one of the evil results which we owe to our educational system having been changed to the backward and Conservative and prejudiced public

school system of England. My next objection to the training seminaries is that they are not doing their work well. The work they are doing is work which ought to be done by the Universities, which the Universities would do very much better, and which they are anxious to do. Aberdeen and St. Andrew's, which are so situated that they command peculiar advantage for the training of schoolmasters, are particularly anxious to take in hand this great public work, and we interfere with their laudable ambition on account of being bound to take this sectarian training school system that I have spoken of. I have to express my disappointment that this very important subject of the extent to which the training of public schoolmasters can be undertaken by the Universities has been dealt with in a most meagre, imperfect, and inadequate manner in the last Report of the Council of Education in Scotland. All you have in that Report is a bare allusion of the most grudging character, which promises the usual official consideration to the question, and, smiling, puts it by. In the body of the Report you have from the Chief Inspector of Training Schools, Dr. Wilson, an allusion to the subject which illustrates the backward spirit which prevails in regard to this question in official quarters. Dr. Wilson advocates, not that schoolmasters should be trained as members of other learned Professions in Scotland are trained at the Universities, but that a select few of them should attend a few classes; and let the Committee mark the reasons. He said—

"If you send a few of these schoolmaster students to the Universities they will have the great advantage of mixing with the students following the learned Professions who are going to follow a far different career from their own."

That is where the difference comes in. The career of students who attend the Scottish Universities are very much the same, in many instances, as those of the students who attend the Training Colleges. Do you suppose that the village doctor, the parish minister, the Dissenting minister, in the very neighbourhood, or in the intimacy of whom your schoolmaster is going to pass his life, are the beings of a superior social order to whom Dr. Wilson alludes in his Report? I think Dr. Wilson has got

hold of the wrong end of the argument. I think that, instead of selecting a few students, and sending them to the Universities to see how these superior beings conduct themselves, the whole body of these schoolmasters should be turned over to, and the training of them undertaken by, those who have charge of the education of the higher Professions in Scotland. The only argument I have ever heard advanced against the transference of the Training College students to the Universities is that the Universities have no practising schools. Well, it is a very curious thing that those who make this objection never seem to recognize that practising schools are not a necessity of the training for the higher schools in England and Scotland. You never hear of a practising school for the training of schoolmasters who are going to Eton or Harrow. You trust the students to pick up the faculty of teaching partly from being successful students, and partly from the advice and guidance of the masters under whom they are trained; and, for my own part, I have always thought that you may rely very much on the same thing in regard to the elementary schoolmaster. But even if that were not so, you may, I believe, command in all the University towns, not, perhaps, a special practising school such as you have in Edinburgh, but the ordinary public State-supported schools of the town, and you can make them practising schools. At all events, you have in two, if not three, of the Universities special Chairs of Education, the incumbents of which are, I believe, well qualified, and only too anxious, to take in charge this great public matter of the training of the public schoolmasters of Scotland. Let me, in leaving this subject, point to one hallucination which still seems to hang about the Education Office, which had charge of English and Scottish education. The old idea of the Committee of Council on Education was that there was so little in the Profession of a National schoolmaster to tempt the young men to undertake it that they had to be bribed to undertake it; and, moreover, that they had to be mutilated for it in order to be incapable of following other Professions. If that were true it certainly is no longer so. The Profession of the National schoolmaster is certainly self-supporting. Salaries are increasing every day; the posi-

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tion is becoming better every day; and I think it is time we should allow this Profession to look after itself, and allow those who wish training for it to take their chance with men who are training for other Professions. I believe that Free Trade in the training of your National teachers will give you at least as good and, I verily believe, better men than you can possibly have now. Well, Sir, what I have said about Training Colleges is only one part of a much larger subject which I am certain, whoever happens to be Secretary for Scotland, will very soon have to direct his attention to. What we want in Scotland is more decentralization in educational affairs. We want Home Rule in Scottish education. There has been growing of late years a feeling to which my hon. Friend has given partial expression to-night—a feeling of dissatisfaction with the red-tape system under which Scottish education has laboured for so many years. My hon. Friend gives us a remarkable instance, from which I do not know that he drew the same inference that I draw; but he told us that the half-timers in Glasgow pass better examinations than the full-timers in Glasgow or anywhere else. I do not know whether the hon. Gentleman wanted to draw the inference that we ought to resort to half-time universally; but the conclusion I came to is that the routine examination of percentages by Inspectors and Examiners is a mistake, and is no real test whatever of the value of the education which is being conferred on the children of Scotch parents. We have deposits in Scotland from that which was an excellent model for educational management. For centuries Scottish education was managed by a local area—the area of Presbytery. That, in itself, at one time was an excellent system. In course of time it became a sectarian system; but you passed away from the government of the Presbytery—the government of the clergy—which was a mild and a gentle, and, I believe, an effective rule, and you have handed over your system to West End clerks in London, who never in their lives knew anything about it. Now, you have got to reverse your system. You are not, of course, going back to the Presbytery. Denominationalism is past praying for in Scotland; but you can go back to the local area, on which our old Scotch sys-

tem was based, and if we have that we can have an effective Board in Edinburgh to which we can hand over the control of any funds granted by the State for the purpose of education, instead of to clerks at Dover House, and this Board would manage them better. There is just one other matter of detail to which I would like to draw the attention of the Committee. I think it is high time the right hon. Gentleman revised, in the way I have endeavoured to indicate, the Inspectorship system at present prevailing in Scotland. I dare say a good many Members of the Committee have seen the evidence that Mr. Arnold gave before the Commission now inquiring into National Education in England. He was asked as to the Inspectors appointed in England—I am only quoting from memory, but this was the substance of the question put to him—whether the men appointed as Inspectors were appointed on account of any supposed qualification for the office? The reply was to the effect that that was the last thing that was thought of, and that the Inspectors were appointed, not because they had any special fitness, or because they knew anything about the work, but because they were young University men with good testimonials, or, what was the same thing, with considerable influence. You will have to drop all that sort of thing in Scotland when once you hand over the management of school affairs to the people. You may depend upon it that they will be as much alive to it as the Committee of Council on Education in England; in fact, I do not know that the latter have ever adopted a single reform that has not been forced upon them. Once you hand over the management of the public school system to the people themselves in their local areas, whether counties or towns, rely upon it that you will see that the standard of public education is kept up, and it may also be relied on that the people will not select, as judges of the efficiency of that system, young gentlemen from Oxford or Cambridge, who have probably never entered an elementary school in their lives, and would probably manage nothing worse than one of these schools if they were set to manage it. The people will utilize the Inspectorships as fair prizes for the men who have worked under the system, and will set men to test the system who have

had experience of its working. I sympathize with the spirit which prompts these suggestions—which are not mine, but are universally made outside. I would suggest that, instead of having a few assistant Scotch Inspectors to help the supervising Inspectors appointed from the English Universities, we should take the bull by the horns, and whilst keeping the present Inspectors in office—you could not well do otherwise with them—take care, in all new appointments, to select men who know the system they are to deal with. I think that is all I have to say to the Committee on this very important subject. I will only conclude by saying that I am perfectly certain that no person has held the Office that the right hon. Gentleman holds now, and I believe that no person will hold it, who is better qualified than he is to deal with educational matters in Scotland. I am sure he will receive the suggestions made to him in the spirit in which they are offered. He has not, of course, the advantage of representing a Scotch constituency; but I believe he has the advantage of being a Scotchman. I trust the right hon. Gentleman will take into consideration, as a whole, this matter of public education in Scotland, and more particularly that he will take it in hand in connection with that other question he is bound also to take up—namely, the question of University reform in Scotland. [Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: Hear, hear!] I am glad to hear the right hon. Gentleman cheer that remark, because my firm conviction is that there is no use attempting reform in Scottish Universities unless it is made part and parcel of a general educational reform which will take in hand the whole National school system in Scotland, and, more particularly, with that portion which deals with the training of schoolmasters for the service of the State.

THE SECRETARY FOR SCOTLAND (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.): I have no right to complain of the length of the speeches which have been delivered if I consider the importance of the subject with which they deal; but I think the Committee will agree with me that it is not a consideration of that kind alone that we must consult now, and you will therefore forgive me if, in replying to the two able and exhaustive speeches we had heard, I condense my

remarks into the briefest possible limits. The hon. Gentleman who has just sat down looks forward to a possible decentralization which shall substitute for the existing Body at Dover House a Board of Education in Scotland. I confess I find it rather difficult, in my capacity as Scottish Secretary, to meet all the wishes in regard to Scottish Government that I come across, when I recollect that when we were discussing other Estimates only a few days ago the complaint against the Office of Scottish Secretary was that I had not sufficient control over the Boards in Edinburgh in the conduct of other Scottish affairs. Yet, as I understand the hon. Gentleman, he desires to institute in Edinburgh a Board precisely as independent of the Scottish Secretary in regard to education as at the present moment are the Board of Supervision and the Fishery Board; so that, in that respect, he will be found to differ from some of his Liberal Friends who sit near him. The hon. Gentleman who initiated this debate made a general attack upon the whole system of school boards in Scotland, and he told us that they entirely failed in that which was their primary object of compelling a larger attendance of the children of the poor in the elementary schools. In order to support that contention he produced a large body of statistics, which I confess I am unable to look upon as other than inconsistent with the results which might be broadly arrived at from a consideration of the present system. As to this question of attendance, the hon. Gentleman says we did not give statistics enough; but I will give him one piece of statistics that ought to convince him. According to the information of the Educational Commission of 1865, I find that the number of attendances in inspected schools at that time was 105,000. The hon. Gentleman said it would not be fair to take inspected schools alone, and wanted to take uninspected schools as well, so as to make the comparison fair. I add to that figure 122,000 for non-inspected schools and 29,000 attending private adventure schools, giving a total of 256,000. The attendance now in inspected schools is not 256,000, but over 455,000. Now, whatever deductions you may be able to make from that, surely the broad result remains that the effect of the Act of 1872, and the subsequent modifications which have

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been introduced into it, have been enormously to increase the attendance of children at inspected schools in Scotland. The hon. Gentleman in general attacked the school board system, and especially that embodiment of the system which exists in Glasgow; and part of his able speech was devoted to an attack on the Glasgow School Board and upon one of my Predecessors (Mr. Mundella), who appears in this House to have committed himself to some eulogy of the Glasgow School Board which greatly raised the wrath of the hon. Gentleman. I am not responsible for the statement of the right hon. Member for Sheffield (Mr. Mundella); but I am bound to say that all I have heard of the Glasgow School Board induces me to believe that it is a Body which exercises its functions with great ability, zeal, and discretion. When the hon. Gentleman tells us that the Glasgow School Board so manage their affairs that the poor have their interests sacrificed to the benefit of the rich, I would remind him that, after all, the Glasgow School Board is an elected Body; that the working classes of Glasgow have the entire control of that Board; that the Scottish Office, centralized though it is at Dover House, has no power of control whatever over that Board; and that for its offences, if offences it has, it alone is responsible. Then the hon. Gentlemen went on to state that under the present system we have compelled Scotland to over-build itself in the matter of schools. If Scotland is over-built, the people responsible for it are not either the English Education Department as it was constituted before, or the present Scottish Education Department. The people responsible for it were a Board of the kind which the hon. Gentleman wishes to see started in Edinburgh—namely, the Scottish Education Board. ["No!"] Yes; they, and they alone, are responsible, if over-building there is. But I must rather take exception to the reasoning by which the hon. Gentleman proved there was over-building. He compared the accommodation in Highland schools with the number of attendances, and he proved easily enough that on that principle of comparison there is a great deal more school accommodation than is required. But what you ought to compare is not the accommodation in the Highland counties with the actual attendances,

but the attendances that there ought to be in those counties, because, as the hon. Gentleman is perfectly aware, the Highland counties have lagged far behind the rest of Scotland in this respect — so far behind that we have been obliged to give, at the cost of the taxpayers, great additional stimulus to attendance, in these schools, in order, if possible, to bring them up to the level which obtains in the rest of the United Kingdom. Then the hon. Gentleman told us that State-aided schools are cutting out private enterprise. I admit the fact; but I do not understand that the hon. Gentleman suggested any remedy. I do not know whether the hon. Member means that board schools are cutting out private enterprise, or that State-aided schools are doing so.

MR. CALDWELL (Glasgow, St. Rollox): Board schools.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The action of the Department is strictly limited by law in that matter. In England, I understand, where a school board already provides sufficient accommodation, it is not possible to erect a denominational school. That is not the case in Scotland. In Scotland any denomination which has an adequate number of members in a school board district may, if it pleases, erect a school and will get from the Public Funds a grant for that school. That does not appear to satisfy the hon. Gentleman, and he wants the Government to sanction the erection of schools which are not denominational schools, but which shall receive a public grant, and shall be rivals to the board schools. If that is the hon. Gentleman's object there are two objections to it. The first is that we cannot do it as the law at present stands. The second objection would be that you would indeed, if you did carry it out, produce that over-building of schools in Scotland which the hon. Gentleman in another part of his speech so strongly objected to. If the hon. Gentleman's plan were carried into effect, you might then have in every parish a board school and another school not being a denominational school, which would receive a public grant, and which would attract scholars from the board schools. Whatever merit that scheme would have it would undoubtedly have the demerit of greatly and purposelessly augmenting the school accommodation in Scotland. Then—and this is the last

observation I shall have to make—the hon. Gentleman mourned the old parochial system. I also mourn some of the things we have lost in the old parochial system. I recognize the enormous debt which Scotland owes to that system. I quite grant the elasticity which exists in the old parochial schools, and that the teaching which, in country districts, was given under that system, which in England we should call the secondary branch of education, is admirable. I grant all that; but if you are to drag into your educational net the whole population of the labouring class in Scotland, it is inevitable that that system should vanish, and that for it you should substitute some system like the present, and I would remind the hon. Gentleman that though in country districts I admit there may be some loss in the teaching of these higher subjects, if we are to look to Scottish education as a whole, so far from there being a falling-off in the teaching of these higher subjects in the elementary schools, the teaching in them is greatly augmented. I find that in the higher subjects 2,000 out of 3,000 inspected schools took some of these subjects up; that over 60,000 scholars were presented in one or other of the subjects, instead of 4,400 when the system was initiated in 1873; and that the number presented last year in Latin was 6,037, and in mathematics 3,800. In the face of these statistics we may drop a tear over the parochial system; but I think we cannot truly maintain that, taking the length and breadth of Scotland, education in the higher subjects has really seriously suffered. The hon. Member for Dundee (Mr. E. Robertson) has referred to Training Colleges. Though I do not agree with the hon. Member's views on secondary education—and I should like to say a word or two about that if there were time—I feel that the subject of Training Colleges requires consideration. I have been asked, both by him and the other hon. Member who spoke, whether I will appoint a Commission to inquire into Scottish education on the same lines as the English Commission? I think it highly inexpedient that there should be two Commissions at the same time.

Mr. E. ROBERTSON (Dundee): I did not make that suggestion. I am content to leave the matter to the right hon. Gentleman. I have more confi-

dence in him than I should have in a Commission.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: He threw it out as a suggestion.

Mr. E. ROBERTSON: No; not I.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: A Commission to inquire into the same branch of the subject in Scotland in addition to the Commission in England would produce confusion probably, and delay certainly; but I do think it might be desirable to appoint a small Departmental Committee, or something analogous—[*Laughter.*] [An hon. MEMBER: Of Scottish Members.]—an independent Committee to inquire into the national aspect of the Training Colleges, and into the question of area which the hon. Gentleman has raised, and possibly into one or two other points not touched upon by the great Commission now sitting. I hope hon. Members will admit that I have been sufficiently brief in my remarks, and I trust we shall now be allowed to take the Vote.

Dr. CLARK (Caithness): I should like to know why there are certain burgh parishes that obtain the special grant while others are debarred from it? The people living in the parishes belong to the same class as those in the parishes benefited by the grants, and require the same stimulus. I also desire information as to why the Department give 4s. to one teacher and 10s. to another for the passing of a pupil in certain subjects. In both cases the examination which takes place is the same; but in one case the teacher happens to be an undergraduate and the other is not. Men of the old schoolmaster class are not considered very eligible for new appointments, because, as a rule, they are not graduates, and therefore for every pupil they pass the school board only receives 4s., whereas if the teacher happens to be an undergraduate the board receives 10s. for every pupil passed. This state of things acts very unfairly upon the great bulk of the old teachers of Scotland. The position of the teacher under the present system is not what it ought to be. I cannot altogether approve of the *aut vitam aut cu'pam* tenure of office of the old system; but I think there ought to be more security of tenure given to a teacher than there is at present. Nowadays a teacher can be dismissed at the whim or caprice of the school board. A teacher ought cer-

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tainly to have the right to appeal to the Education Department. I know of several cases of arbitrary dismissal of teachers, dismissals which could never have been upheld had there been the right of appeal. I hope the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. A. J. Balfour) will consider the question of the *status* of teachers, and endeavour to give them more security of office and to make them more independent. Under the old system teachers were too independent; but now they were too much at the mercy of local influences. I am afraid that the argument of my hon. Friend the Member for the St. Rollox Division of Glasgow (Mr. Caldwell) has been misunderstood by the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary for Scotland (Mr. A. J. Balfour). My hon. Friend pointed out that the old endowments of Glasgow, which were given for the education of the poor and needy children, have now been devoted to the education of the children of the rich and well-to-do.

MR. CALDWELL (Glasgow, St. Rollox): Perhaps I may be permitted to reply to one or two observations of the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary for Scotland (Mr. A. J. Balfour). I think it would have been more judicious if, considering the amount of care with which the statistics I have laid before the Committee were prepared, the right hon. Gentleman had suspended his judgment regarding them, and had refrained from either condemning or eulogizing the Glasgow School Board until he had thoroughly considered the matter. I think he will find that the object I had in view was to present a different view of Scotch education to that which was presented to him through the Official Department. He has asked me to refer to the statistics of 1865, from which I shall see that the attendance was not so great at that time as it is now. I have much more reliable statistics than those of the Commission. I have the statistics of the Board of Education in Scotland for 1874. These statistics show us that in 1872, when the School Board system came into operation, in only 753 parishes in Scotland there were 461,086 children attending school, and that there were 558,258 children between five and 13 years of age in those parishes; showing that the school attendance in Scotland equalled 83 per cent of the number of

children between five and 13 years of age. The right hon. Gentleman (Mr. A. J. Balfour) also referred to the teaching of specific subjects, and said that thousands of children were receiving instruction in specific subjects. I, however, showed by the Report of one of the Inspectors that certain specific subjects could be got up by a child of ordinary ability in a fortnight. With regard to the question of school accommodation the right hon. Gentleman said that if a private school were built it might amount to over-building. But it would not be over-building at the public expense; the ratepayers would not be called upon to defray the cost, so there would be no hardship upon them. Judging from the speech of the right hon. Gentleman, I do not think there is much hope of the matter being investigated with an unbiased judgment.

MR. E. ROBERTSON (Dundee): Will the right hon. Gentleman say whether I was right in assuming that he was prepared to deal with the Scotch Universities next Session?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Yes; I think in referring to the speech of the hon. Gentleman I said I was so prepared.

MR. E. ROBERTSON: Will the right hon. Gentleman keep in view the question of the Theological Chairs?

THE CHAIRMAN: That is not pertinent to this Vote.

Vote agreed to.

(5.) £8,508, to complete the sum for Universities, &c. in Scotland.

MR. JAMES STUART (Shoreditch, Hoxton): I hope the Secretary for Scotland (Mr. A. J. Balfour) will be able to answer one or two questions with respect to this Vote. He has just said, and I believe he also stated so in the early part of the Session, that he is going to bring in a University Bill. It is quite unnecessary for anyone connected with Scotland to be told how much the country owes to the Universities, and how generally acceptable such a Bill will be in Scotland. In the Bill introduced by a previous Government there was a clause which implied that there was a certain finality in the amount given to the Scotch Universities. I should like to be assured that such a clause will not exist in the Bill the right hon. Gentleman is about to introduce; and I should also like to ask whether, by the Bill, he intends to

appoint a Commission for the Scotch Universities, and whether the Bill is to give the Commission power to consider the curriculum in the Scotch Universities?

THE SECRETARY FOR SCOTLAND (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.): Of course, it is quite impossible for me now—I think it would be almost out of Order—to state the provisions of a Bill I intend to introduce. With regard to the question of finality in matters of finance, I should be always glad to get as much money out of the Treasury as I can for educational purposes.

Vote agreed to.

(6.) £500, to complete the sum for the National Gallery, &c., Scotland.

(7.) £258,073, to complete the sum for Public Education, Ireland.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.): I do not intend to detain the Committee at any length; but I desire to ask the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) if he can now answer the Question I gave him Notice of some days ago with reference to the position of the teachers in certain schools in places where half of the population speak Irish? The Question I asked the right hon. Gentleman was whether he would see to the extending to these schools the provisions of the law as embodied in the Code for Scotland in respect to the teaching of Gaelic? I wish that the Irish-speaking children should be put on the same footing as the Gaelic-speaking children in Scotland.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH) (Bristol, W.): I have made inquiries into this matter, and it seems to me, speaking generally, that the subject is more liberally dealt with by the Board of Education in Ireland than by the Education Department in Scotland. I should be very happy to confer with the hon. Member upon the point, because, I assure him, I should be extremely anxious that no advantage which is given to the Gaelic-speaking children of Scotland should be refused to the Irish-speaking children. I think, however, that the Gaelic language, or the Irish language, or the Welsh language, can only be treated as a vehicle for learning English. On that

principle there should be facilities given for the teaching of the Irish-speaking population in Ireland. In regard to the use of the Gaelic language in school hours, there are regulations in Ireland which seem to me to put the matter on an equal footing with Scotland, and I do not see that it could really be materially improved. If the hon. Member will confer with me, I will show him what these regulations are, and if they can be amended in any way so as to meet his views, and not interfere with the efficiency of the education of the children, I shall be very happy to make an amendment.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: I am very much obliged to the right hon. Gentleman. I think I am already conversant with the regulations which obtain in Ireland, but I am not so certain with regard to the regulations which obtain in Scotland. All I propose is that there should be embodied in the Irish regulations the provisions of Section 19 B of the Scotch Code with regard to the Gaelic-speaking children of Scotland. If the right hon. Gentleman will have that done, and I think it is a reasonable request, I shall be perfectly satisfied.

MR. CLANCY (Dublin Co., N.): I desire to draw the attention of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) to the question of Training Schools in Ireland. The right hon. Gentleman is, of course, aware that a change has at last been made in the direction desired by the Catholic people of Ireland and the Catholic Bishops—namely, the establishment of Denominational Training Colleges. There was a long battle; but it ended, as I have said, in the establishment of Denominational Training Colleges; one has been established by the Catholic Bishops, and another has been established for the education and training of Protestant teachers. The Reports of the Commissioners for last year and previous years show that these Training Colleges have succeeded in a very gratifying manner. But there is still a very great grievance, at least the Catholic population think so, to which attention should be directed without delay. The grievance consists of this—that there are several differences between the terms granted to the State Training College in Marlborough Street and the

Denominational Colleges. I do not wish to occupy the time of the Committee very long, but I will state very briefly the points upon which the grievance exists. In the first place, there are no building grants for the Catholic College. The State College was built and established out of State funds, but the Catholic College has been established out of private funds. This difference between the two Establishments is felt very keenly by the Catholics. In the second place, the expenses of maintenance and repairs are paid in the case of the State College out of public funds; but in the case of the Catholic College, and, I believe, in the case of the Protestant College, out of private funds. Again, the cost of the maintenance and training of the pupils in the State College is entirely borne by the State; but in the case of the Denominational Colleges not more than 75 per cent of this expense can be borne, or is borne, by the State, the remaining part of the cost being defrayed by the people of the respective denominations. The fourth difference is that the actual travelling expenses of the pupils attending the Colleges—the expenses to and from home, and the expenses attendant on the journey of the pupils—are borne in the case of the Marlborough Street College by the State; but in the case of the Denominational Colleges no such allowance is made by the State. In addition, 1s. a week as pocket money is allowed out of State funds to each pupil attending the Marlborough Street College, while there is no such allowance out of the State funds for the pupils in the Denominational Institutions. Lastly—there are some other points of difference, but I pass them over—a most important point is that the expenses in the Marlborough Street College are defrayed as soon as they are due or incurred, whereas in the case of the Denominational Colleges, certainly in the case of the Catholic College, they are paid under circumstances and conditions of the most irritating character. The expenses are paid out of a credit fund, which is created in this way—a certain sum of money, I believe £100, is placed to the credit of each pupil who shall have attended the College continuously for two years, and shall further have continued a teacher continuously and consecutively two years longer—that is to say, the payments will not be

made unless the pupils have attended continuously for four years the College and a school. The result of this is that if a pupil has, after spending, say, a year and a-half at the College, for some reason or other, to leave, no payment is made on his account; and also if he fails, on leaving College, to obtain a situation as teacher, the grant fails. And even if he gets a situation as teacher, but fails, on account of illness or other unavoidable cause, to retain it for two years, the money payment on his account is forfeited. Now, it seems to me that this is a very grievous hardship. There are no such restrictions, no such limitations, on the payment of expenses incurred in the Marlborough Street College. Now, all we ask is equality. We say either level up or level down; put the Institutions by either process on an equality and we shall be satisfied. We do not think you ought to call upon the Denominational Establishments to compete with the State Institution, which is placed on very much more favourable terms. I do not like to take up any longer the time of the Committee. I think I have explained satisfactorily, though briefly, the points of difference between these Educational Establishments; and I think that not only are these points worthy of attention, but of immediate attention. It cannot be gainsaid that our demand for equality, either by levelling up or levelling down, is a very fair and reasonable demand. We shall certainly agitate with ever-increasing energy until our demand is granted. I think it is right to say, though I am not authorized by any member of the Board of National Education to make the statement, that a very prominent member of the Board of Education, not unknown to the noble Lord the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Lord Randolph Churchill), recently proposed a resolution at a meeting of the Board, asking the Government to grant the demand which is now made upon them, and that that resolution was carried. I do not know whether the resolution has yet come before the Government or not; but I am sure, when it does, it will carry with it conviction as to the justice of the claim set up by the Catholic Bishops. I do not appeal for the Catholic as against the Protestant College; I do not want to ask anything for the Catholic Establishment

which will not be granted equally to the Protestant Establishment. All I say is that, at present, there is a grievance to be remedied; that the State College is placed in a position of great advantage over the other Institutions, and that this is not fair; and I repeat that the grievance will be brought again and again before the notice of the House until it is remedied.

MR. F. S. POWELL (Wigan): I trust that, as I have the honour of being a member of the Governing Body of several of the Training Colleges in England in connection with the Established Church, the Committee will allow me to make a few observations. As far as I could gather from the hon. Member (Mr. Clancy), he has described with perfect accuracy the conditions under which grants are made to the Training Colleges in England; and all I have to say is that whatever is just to our English Colleges is also just to the Colleges in Ireland. I do not think it is fair that Denominational Colleges in Ireland should stand in a better position or in any inferior position than the corresponding Colleges in England. Of course, I am speaking now of the annual grant. The conditions described by the hon. Gentleman under which grants are made to the Denominational Colleges of Ireland are similar to those which obtain in England. I may have to complain sometimes, and the hon. Member (Mr. Clancy) will, perhaps, agree with me, that more ought to be given to our schools in England. I do not complain of any advantages given to the Marlborough Street College; but, at the same time, I do not see why all the Colleges in Ireland should not be placed upon an equal footing.

MR. CLANCY: The hon. Gentleman (Mr. F. S. Powell) forgets that in England Training Colleges have no competitors, whereas in Ireland the Denominational Training Schools have a competitor in a State Establishment. That is what we complain of. You in England obtained grants when establishing your Training Colleges, although you had no competitor; we got none although we had and have a competitor. Surely, then, the difference between the Irish Colleges and the English Colleges is perfectly plain. We, as I have said, have a competition with a fully equipped State Institution which

has already had building grants, the cost of the maintenance and repair of which is borne by the State, and the expense of the maintenance and training of the pupils attending which are defrayed by the State; whereas our Institution only receives 75 per cent, or 15s. in the pound, on this head. In England you have no such competition, and up to the present you have had everything provided for you out of the public funds.

MR. F. S. POWELL: I should like to say that towards the building of the last Training College in England not a single farthing was given or will be given by the State.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: Of course, this matter is, as the hon. Member (Mr. Clancy) has said, complicated by the fact that the system prevailing for many years in Ireland was one of a single Training College, that Training College being entirely supported by the State. Denominational Training Colleges, as the Committee are aware, are of very recent date in Ireland. I think their institution was a salutary change, and that the Government of the day were quite right in admitting Denominational Training Colleges in Ireland to the same privileges which have long been enjoyed by Denominational Training Colleges in England. Now, the question is how are we to put Denominational Training Colleges in Ireland and the State Training College on an equal footing? If we level up we put Denominational Colleges in Ireland on a better footing than similar Institutions in England. I am not quite prepared to admit that there is cause shown for that. I suspect, if that were done, there would be steps taken to obtain an improvement in the position of the English Colleges. But, on the other hand, if we level down, if we deprive the pupils at the Marlborough Street Training College of some of the advantages they at present enjoy, we might impair the efficiency of that Institution; therefore I confess I should like to have some time to consider this matter before expressing a definite opinion upon it. There is one rule, however, which the hon. Member (Mr. Clancy) referred to which I think ought to be properly attended to, and that is the rule under which the Government contribution, whatever it may be, is

paid to the College authorities after a service by the pupil of two years at the College and two years in teaching a school. I think that is a very valuable provision. I am afraid it has happened that students at the Marlborough Street School have received education there, and then not proceeded to give the State the benefit of that education by teaching afterwards. Anything of that kind ought to be guarded against, whatever the institution should be. I should be sorry to see any change made in the rule to which I have referred; but I can promise the hon. Member (Mr. Clancy) that the whole subject will receive my consideration.

MR. CLANCY (Dublin Co., N.): I have only to point out to the Committee that the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland supplies us with a good argument, and, indeed, a fresh one for Home Rule. Our case is a perfectly good one; but we are not to be allowed to get what we are entitled to, simply because, if we did get it, several demands of a similar character, which it would be inconvenient to meet, would be made upon the Exchequer from London. The Irish people will note the fact and draw their own inference.

MR. J. O'CONNOR (Tipperary, S.): Mr. Courtney, I shall endeavour to occupy the attention of the Committee for as short a time as possible while I state the case of the National School teachers of Ireland. The case of the Irish National School teachers stands at present in this position, that hon. Members of every shade of opinion agree as to the necessity of having the National School teachers of Ireland at least upon an equality with their brethren in England and Scotland. I think the teachers are fortunate in having as Chief Secretary for Ireland at the present moment a right hon. Gentleman (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) who is in sympathy with their demands. It is admitted—it has been admitted by successive Governments—that the National School teachers of Ireland have a good case; those responsible for the government of Ireland have admitted the fact, and have promised to do all in their power to satisfy the demands and to rectify the grievances of the teachers. At the present time the position of the Irish National School teachers is very uncertain. The

Acts which have been passed from time to time have been merely tentative and experimental, and, to a great extent, incomplete. Now, Sir, previous to the Act of 1875 the average salaries of Irish National School teachers amounted only to £43 per year; but at that time it was decided by the Parliament then in existence that £120,000 should be set aside for the purpose of improving the teachers' position; £60,000 was devoted to the purpose of an unconditional increase in their salaries, and £60,000 was set aside for a conditional improvement of their position. The conditions laid down were that if the Poor Law Unions of Ireland would contribute a sum of money in the shape of result fees, the Government would set aside from this £60,000 a similar amount in each case. Well, it was hoped by those who were responsible for the introduction of that measure that the Poor Law Guardians of Ireland would come forward and subscribe liberally, in accordance with the Act of Parliament; but, on investigation, it was found by the Poor Law Guardians of Ireland that they would not be justified in meeting the Government half-way. They, I think, very properly declined to contribute to the result fees, because they would not be justified in thus taxing the community when they had no voice whatever in the management of the National Schools of Ireland. For that reason, Mr. Courtney, the good intentions of the Government of the time and the object of the Act were frustrated. The sum of £60,000, half the sum mentioned in the Act of Parliament, is practically lost to the National School teachers of Ireland. In the year 1875, 65 Unions resolved to contribute to the result fees, and 98 resolved not to contribute. Since that time the Unions have gradually withdrawn their contributions to the result fees; the number of Unions contributing has gradually decreased until at the present time it is practically nil. Well, in 1881, the Commissioners of Education in Ireland entered into a calculation, and from their Report it is found that the average pay of the Irish National School teachers is £57 9s., and in order to arrive at this average the Commissioners left out of the computation 2,748 of the worst-paid teachers. If these had been included the average would have been found to be very much less. Now, Sir, I shall

for the information of the Committee quote what the comparative salaries of the Irish National School teachers and those of their brethren in England are.

MR. F. S. POWELL (Wigan): Will the hon. Gentleman state whether the Irish teachers have houses besides?

MR. CONWAY (Leitrim, N.): Eighty per cent of them have not.

MR. J. O'CONNOR: The figures I shall quote were prepared in 1881, after an additional grant had been made for the purpose of improving the teachers' position. Notwithstanding the increase, it appears from a Parliamentary Return issued in August, 1881, and which was authenticated by the signature of Dr. Newell, Senior Secretary of the Commissioners of National Education, that the average salaries of the Irish National School teachers, males and females included, amount to £57 9s. The average salaries of teachers in England are, for males, £120 19s. 2d.; females, £73 15s. 9d.; and the corresponding averages in Scotland are £135 1s. 4d. and £64 13s. 11d. for males and females respectively. Now, Sir, that clearly proves that the Irish National School teachers are not on a level with the teachers in England. In the matter of residences, to which the hon. Member (Mr. F. S. Powell) referred just now, the Irish National School teachers are also in the background. Several attempts have been made from time to time to remedy their position in this respect. With the permission of the Committee I will read what some of the Inspectors say concerning the housing of the Irish School teachers. Mr. Macaulay, an Inspector, says—

"It is much to be regretted that the Act does not make it compulsory on landlords to grant sites for schools and residences, at an equitable rent or fee, as is done in the case of railways and other public works. If this were so, great benefit would be conferred not only upon the teachers individually, but also upon the public, whose interests would be better served by a class of people permanently and respectably housed, than they can be by persons whose lodgings are, in most cases, quite unsuitable."

MR. M'DONNELL, the Bantry Inspector, remarks—

"The want of residences near the school is a great hardship to the teachers. Only seven have residences in this district. I know of more than a dozen cases where the teacher has to walk from eight to 12 miles a-day to and from school, to the great injury of the school."

MR. J. O'CONNOR (Tipperary, S.)

Mr. Eardly, of the Templemore District, writes—

"Only 20 teachers in this district have free residences, and in 10 instances the teachers reside a distance of three miles or more from their schools. In severe weather these teachers either do not attend at all, or arrive with their energies so impaired that a satisfactory day's work is not discharged."

I think hon. Members will agree with the Reports of these Inspectors. It is utterly impossible for a school teacher who has walked a considerable distance in the morning to fulfil his vocation during the day with anything like satisfaction to himself or benefit to the children he is supposed to instruct. Well, to improve this state of things many attempts have been made from time to time. We have had promises from the various Gentlemen who have lately occupied the position of Chief Secretary for Ireland, and, amongst others, we have had a promise from the right hon. Baronet (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) who at present is Chief Secretary for Ireland. In the year 1875 the right hon. Gentleman the present Chief Secretary for Ireland said, in introducing a measure for the relief of the teachers—

"We do not intend this to be a permanent measure. We consider it would be highly important to get the Boards of Guardians to contribute, and we would like to train them up to it. If it succeeds, well and good; the teachers will be reasonably remunerated; if not, the Government will take such steps as will secure that the remuneration now intended will be paid to them."

That was a very serious promise; but the right hon. Gentleman knows, as the school teachers to their regret know very well, that that promise has not since been fulfilled. It was not fulfilled up to the year 1878, and it has not been fulfilled since. In 1878, Mr. Maldon, who then occupied a seat in this House, brought up the subject, and the following Resolution was passed:—

"That the National School Teachers (Ireland) Act, 1876, and the other means adopted by the Government having failed to satisfy the just demands of the Irish National School teachers, this House is of opinion that the present position of the Irish National School teachers calls for the immediate attention of Her Majesty's Government, with a view to a satisfactory adjustment of their claims."

Now, that Resolution was passed unanimously by the House of Commons, and yet that which amounts to almost nothing has been done to satisfactorily

adjust the claims of the Irish National School teachers. However, in the year 1879, a grant of £46,000 was made; but how far did that go to satisfy the demands of the Irish National School teachers? I shall endeavour to show the Committee that it scarcely improved their position at all. A few days ago I asked the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland a Question on this subject, and, in reply, the right hon. Gentleman pointed out that the position of the teachers was improved in several particulars. The teachers of Ireland emphatically say that their position has not been permanently or even visibly improved by this grant. In proof of that we have to say that the £46,000 was placed at the disposal of the Commissioners of National Education for increasing the fixed or class salaries of the teachers, and the rates of pay then decided on have continued up to the present; but of these salaries the teachers contribute £12,000 per annum as premiums to the Pension Fund; and as the amount received from the contributory Unions in aid of the result fees has fallen from £30,500 in 1876-7 to £13,600 in 1885-6, it is clear that the increase the teachers receive is only the difference between £46,000 and £29,000, which is £17,000, and this amount divided amongst 11,000 teachers gives a small sum indeed to each. Taking into account that a large amount of the £46,000 goes to the Pension Fund, their present position is not very materially improved. Now, Sir, this state of things is having a very detrimental effect upon the cause of education in Ireland. So much for the promises of the right hon. Gentleman (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) who now occupies the position of Chief Secretary for Ireland. But I have also to state that his Successors in Office held out hopes to the National School teachers of Ireland which have not been fulfilled. For instance, on the 11th of June, 1883, a deputation of 20 Irish Members of Parliament presented a Memorial, signed by 83 of their body, to Mr. Trevelyan, then Chief Secretary for Ireland, requesting him to take immediate steps for improving the condition of the teachers, and, in reply, that right hon. Gentleman said—

“He was so strongly impressed with the statements of the deputationists that he ad-

mitted action ought to be taken by the Government, and that, if possible, it ought to be taken at once.”

As regards the teachers' salaries, he added—

“I recognize the pledge which Sir Michael Hicks-Beach gave to Parliament in 1875, and I recognize likewise that the measures taken by the Government for the redemption of that pledge since have been only of a temporary nature, and rather as palliatives than remedies. I shall be extremely glad to introduce a measure on this subject, and at once.”

The Successor of Mr. Trevelyan attempted to introduce a measure, but owing to the pressure of Parliamentary Business the Bill promised was not introduced until the following year. It was brought in by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Stirling Burghs (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman), who was then Chief Secretary for Ireland, but it only reached its second reading. The position of the Irish teachers is now substantially the same as it was in 1878, when Parliament resolved unanimously that it required the immediate attention of the Government. It is very difficult to get men of ability to remain in the service, and it is also very difficult to get young men whose parents and families may wish to push them on in the world to take up Irish National School teaching as a profession. That I may prove this I shall ask the Committee to bear with me while I read the opinions of some of the National School Inspectors upon this subject. Mr. Gordon, of Newtownards, says—

“The onward progress of this district is in danger of being impeded from another quarter. It has been found impossible, in many cases, to secure the appointment of suitable male principal teachers when vacancies occur. I mean by suitable, men either actually or potentially equal to their predecessors in zeal, talent, and classification.”

Mr. Hynes, the Inspector for the Enniskillen District, says—

“At present there is in this district a great dearth of candidates, and it is remarkable how few of my teachers seem to have adopted the profession from choice.”

Mr. Keenan (Letterkenny) reports—

“I observe that there is a growing desire upon the part of many teachers in this district to become the owners of small farms, so that by farming they may increase their incomes. I generally find that teachers who have become the owners of farms never apply themselves to their studies with a view to improving their classification, but spend the greater part of their time, outside school hours, in working upon

their farms. These teachers are neither good teachers nor good farmers; they are satisfied with imperfectly following the example of the neighbouring farmers in the cultivation of their farms; and in manner, dress, and conversation they have a greater resemblance to agricultural labourers than to school teachers."

Mr. Browne (Lurgan) says—

"I have lost some of my best teachers, and although the antecedents of more than 81 per cent of those who entered the service during the same period (three years) can be referred to with considerable satisfaction, yet, when vacancies arise, the difficulty experienced in securing really suitable successors shows that the supply of good teachers is very limited."

Well, now, Mr. Courtney, I think these quotations from the Reports of the Inspectors of the National Schools in Ireland are sufficient to prove to the Committee that the *status* of the teachers is being gradually reduced, that, in fact, as Mr. MacMillen, the Inspector of Ballinasloe, says—

"The service is still the *dernier resort* of those despairing of more coveted posts."

It is an unfortunate state of things that a system which in many respects has been successful should be reduced to such straits by the neglect of the Government to provide such remuneration to teachers as will make National School teaching advantageous for young men as a profession. I hold, Mr. Courtney, that the education of the people is, or ought to be, the first duty of the Government, and how can they fulfil that duty effectually while they keep the teachers of Ireland on what may be called starvation allowance? A teacher, by accepting this position, condemns himself to a life of drudgery, without any hope of emancipation, and to what may be said to be an old age of poverty. Why should this be the case? The school teachers of Ireland have shown very good results. Comparatively speaking, they have shown better results than the school teachers of either England or Scotland. The correctness of my assertion might be substantially proved by a few figures, which would show that the results produced by the Irish teachers are not inferior to those of the English and Scotch teachers; and, in the face of that fact, I think that the Irish teachers, on the ground that they have performed their duties well and faithfully, have a claim on the attention of the Government. What they have done also has been done under discouraging circum-

stances. They are not only worse paid than the teachers in England and Scotland, but they have very much less hope of advancement. It was established, I think, by the Minute of the Government in Ireland, on the advice of the Education Commissioners, that if the school teachers could get a certain amount of the fees, the Treasury would make up the difference. Now, the result of that is that you actually put a premium on dishonesty; you hold out temptation to the National School teacher actually to pay money out of his own pocket in order to bring up the amount necessary to lay a claim upon the Government. This is a bad system, inasmuch as it is one which encourages immorality. You have in England a system of compulsory education; parents are compelled to send their children to school; but in Ireland that is not the case, and that, of course, operates against school teachers. For these reasons, the Irish National School teachers are in a position which is very hard indeed. In the matter of salaries they are much behind school teachers in England and Scotland, and in the matter of residence their position is deplorable. I do not think it is desirable that all National School teachers should be provided with residences; but in a country where they have to walk three or four or even seven miles to school, a labour which unfits them for the vocations of the day, enervates them and destroys the power they should preserve in order to impart the knowledge they possess to their pupils, I say that residences should be provided for them. For these reasons—because of the promises made to them by succeeding Governments, and the hopes which have been held out to them by succeeding Chief Secretaries for Ireland—I maintain that their position is entitled to be reconsidered by the present Government. I think they are greatly to be congratulated on the fact that we have at the present time a Chief Secretary who has, since he has been in Office, made no pledge which has not been fulfilled, and also a Government that holds out a hope of improving the material interests of the several classes in Ireland. I said, at the outset, that I would not detain the Committee at any unnecessary length in stating a case which is already very well known, and which has been stated in

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this House from time to time by many advocates much abler than I am, and more experienced in these matters. I believe the right hon. Baronet sympathizes with the National School teachers in their deplorable condition; I believe he desires to improve their condition; and he now has an opportunity of considering their case and fulfilling the pledges made to them from time to time, as well as of promoting the interests of the profession, which is of great service in Ireland, and which has shown that it is capable of discharging the duties imposed upon it by producing good results. In advocating the cause of the National School teachers in Ireland, I feel that I am appealing to a sympathetic Government; that I am appealing at a time that is favourable for the consideration of their just claims, and I believe that I shall not appeal in vain. I asked the right hon. Baronet a few days ago to bring in a Supplementary Estimate for the purpose of improving the material condition of the National School teachers of Ireland. He declined to do that; but he can at least inquire into their condition. He has had evidence before him; he has the Reports of the National Schools, and he has other evidence, taken from time to time, which I am sorry to say has been sadly neglected. I believe that the grievances of this class of public servants will have the sympathy not only of Members on both sides of this House, but of every shade of opinion. There can only be one idea on this subject—namely, that the men who have to train up youth and direct the minds of young people in the way they ought to go in this life are deserving of every consideration. They are deserving of the full reward of their labour; and I again impress on the right hon. Baronet to take their case into consideration—to give this large, deserving, and, I will say, long-suffering class some hope that before long their condition will be materially improved, and that the time of this Committee will not be taken up year after year in pleading their cause.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH) (Bristol, W.): I wish to acknowledge the spirit in which the hon. Member has dealt with this question, and the manner in which he has referred to the Government. But I cannot admit that any

promise I have made has remained unfulfilled. The hon. Member has accurately quoted the statement which I made in 1875—namely, that I would introduce a Bill dealing with the pay of the National School teachers in Ireland. He said I then expressed my intention to secure for them a reasonable remuneration through the working of that Bill; and promised, that if the Bill failed to do this, other steps would be taken. I think I may say that this promise has been fulfilled. That Act was based upon the principle that certain result fees, which were paid to the teachers at the time, should be doubled if the Unions contributed an equal sum. In the following year the sum of £28,000 was received from the Unions for this purpose; but in the year 1885 I find that only 21 Unions contributed, and that the total amount received was only £14,000. Within a few years after the passing of that Act it became clear to the Government that it had failed in its object, and therefore the Government agreed to accept, instead of the amount which they had hoped would have been provided by the Unions, any sum that might have been provided by school fees or voluntary subscriptions, in order to give the teacher of a school a claim to an equivalent amount of the second half of the result fees from the Government. That was a very considerable concession; but the hon. Member says that it was calculated to lead to fraud. Now, I must remind him that it is guarded by several useful restrictions. It requires a certificate from the managers, and a certificate from the teachers and the Inspectors that these subscriptions have actually been paid; and if you are to look with suspicion on those certificates, I am afraid you will have to look with suspicion on certificates in other matters which have to be signed by the school teachers in Ireland. The result of that concession was practically that the whole of the second half of the result fees which would have been obtained by teachers if the Act had been adopted in every Union in Ireland, has been actually paid to them by the Government. Last year the total of these fees was £91,500, of which the teachers actually obtained £90,152. Therefore, I think it was rather hard of him to say that the promise which I made in 1875, that if the Act failed the Government would take

other steps to secure the same object, has not been fulfilled. This is my answer to that part of the statement of the hon. Member. He went on to say that the position of the teachers had not been improved since 1878. Well, Sir, I, on the contrary, say that the position of the teachers has been very materially improved since that date. In 1878 the amount payable to the teachers was £461,000, while in 1885 it was £587,200, or an increase of £126,000; and yet the hon. Member says that their position has not been improved in any way. I think these facts entirely contradict the allegations which the hon. Member has made on the two points to which I have referred; but I do not think we can say that the present arrangement is entirely satisfactory. I think it is unsatisfactory, and I will very shortly explain to the Committee why. I do not at all wish to say that the salaries in the higher classes are as much as they ought to be; but I do not think that they quite carry out the allegation with respect to starvation which was made by the hon. Member in the course of his speech. In dealing with this matter, however, I must impress on the Committee that the House of Commons ought to take care to do something more than increase the salaries of school teachers. The House ought to take care to increase their efficiency as well; and I am quite sure, from my own experience, that a very large number of the teachers of the third class ought not to be allowed to teach at all. I may impress upon the Committee that the object should be to increase the efficiency of the teachers, and to draft out those incompetent teachers who really retard the work of education in Ireland. The hon. Member has referred to the benefits of compulsory education. That is a very material point in this question. Anyone who looks at these statistics of schools in Ireland, and the ratio of attendances in those schools, will see that something ought to be done in that matter. If hon. Members who represent Irish constituencies will only consider the great question of Irish Education with a view to placing it as far as may be on the same footing as it occupies in Great Britain, safe-guarding in every way the independent management of the schools, then, Sir, I hope we may come to a real

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settlement of this question of elementary education in Ireland. I, at any rate, shall approach the subject from that point of view. I hope to be able to improve the position of the teachers, but that will not be my only object.

MR. CONWAY (Leitrim, N.): I wish to press home the demand of my hon. Friend the Member for South Tipperary (Mr. J. O'Connor) with regard to the position of the school teachers. My hon. Friend divided his subject into two parts—first, the inadequacy of salary; and, second, want of residence. With regard to the salary, I think the small average amount received by teachers ought to impress itself on the mind of the Committee. In one respect the teachers are perfectly in accord with the right hon. Baronet the Chief Secretary for Ireland. He is aware that the Irish teachers are perfectly willing to become efficient in every way by a course of study, and also that they are willing to use the best method of instruction. He is also aware that, in the matter of obtaining a certificate, the number of marks has been raised 10 per cent; and I think they are perfectly justified in making complaint about this, because no notice has been taken of their demand for reform in the matter of salary. With regard to the question of residence, I say that the residences should be near the schools, so that the teachers should not have to make a long and wearying journey to get to their work. Then they are required to study hard in order to obtain promotion. But they cannot undergo this study unless their homes are cheerful and favourably placed, and these are not to be obtained by them on account of the smallness of their means. Their salary does not enable them to have houses of a respectable class; and, therefore, it becomes doubly necessary that the teachers should obtain residences. They have another grievance, and that is the scale of pensions. Teachers in Ireland have been treated with a fair amount of liberality with regard to pensions. They are asked to pay a premium in order that at a certain age they may enjoy a pension according to their class; but the age fixed is too high. They are asked to retire at the age of 65. Anyone knows that a man at 65 is totally unfit to do his duty as teacher. I have had experience, and I know well that young men out of the Training Colleges super-

sede the old men; and it is one of the standing grievances that the School Board are obliged to retain middle-aged men when they might obtain younger and more active men, because they do not like to get rid of them. If they were retired at 60 years of age, there would be a chance of promotion for younger men in the Board schools; and there would be content in this respect amongst the teachers. I urge upon the right hon. Baronet that he should take these matters into consideration, and make 60 the age for retirement instead of 65. Again, female teachers are required to work until they are 60 years of age. We know that the prospect of a pension will keep females at work; but I say that 60 is too advanced an age until which they should be required to work in order to obtain a pension. Now, I think the right hon. Baronet ought to make the retiring age 60 in the case of males, and 50 in the case of females. By this means, I think, the grievance of the Irish teachers as regards pensions would be done away with. We have, then, three complaints on the part of the teachers—first, with regard to salary; secondly, with regard to residence; and, thirdly, with regard to the pension scheme. But the teacher in Ireland has a social grievance and also a political grievance. He dare not take his place on a platform, and the Commissioners demand that he should be surrounded with all sorts of disabilities, one of which is that he may not take a public-house. Now, I think that he ought to be at perfect liberty to do the same as any other person, as long as he does what is right, and satisfies the Commissioners on the particular subject he is engaged for. These are matters which demand the earnest attention of the Chief Secretary for Ireland. I say that teachers in Ireland ought to be placed on the same footing as the teachers in England and Scotland; there ought to be no distinction between them in the matters of salary, pensions, and residence.

COLONEL NOLAN (Galway, N.): I am afraid the Chief Secretary for Ireland has fixed rather a distant date for the redress of the grievances of the school teachers in Ireland, if he is going to wait until there is compulsory education there. I am afraid before that is settled there will be so many vexed questions arise that the National School teachers

may be left out in the cold, and I would much rather the right hon. Baronet would say that the miserable stipend of the teachers should be increased at once. The great mass of the teachers, as has been pointed out by my hon. Friend, have very small salaries as compared with the salaries of the English teachers—the average amount being a little over £50. Now, the average salaries of the corresponding class in England is £117, and in Scotland it is a little higher. There is no great difference between the positions of the Irish and English teachers in respect of the cost of living, and I think that they might very well be placed on the same footing as regards salary. We have heard this evening that, in the Highlands, education is stimulated by increased grants; and I certainly think that the same generosity should be shown with regard to Ireland, because a great portion of Ireland is in the same position as the Highland districts of Scotland. The teachers in Ireland are left in a wretched position under the present system, and no amount of rhetoric on the part of the Government can justify the fact that they only receive a salary of £50. The right hon. Gentleman said that the teachers in England were better educated than the teachers in Ireland. I have always heard that the National School teachers were willing to accept any scheme that would place them on the same footing with the teachers in England and Scotland, and in this they are ready either to pass an examination or be judged by results. I do not see any way out of the difficulty except by making a grant from the National Exchequer; for it is of no use to give the control in this matter to the Poor Law Boards, and to have the cost thrown on the poor rates. As far as my experience goes, the Poor Law Boards do not want to have the management; and if they had it I do not think it would be nearly as good as it is as present, while as for raising any large amount of money locally, that would be a matter of extreme difficulty. The rates in Ireland being in some cases 11s. or 12s. in the pound, you cannot expect the people, already so heavily taxed, to pay this new education rate. The right hon. Baronet the Chief Secretary for Ireland has shown a considerable interest in this subject, and I have some hope that he and the Leader of the

House, who did a good deal for intermediate education when he was a private Member, will take this matter speedily into consideration; for I think it would be a shame on the Government to leave the Irish teachers in their present position.

MR. J. NOLAN (Louth, N.): I am afraid that it will be some time before the condition of affairs in Ireland will admit of education there being placed in the same position as in England. If the teachers have to wait until then for an improvement in their position, I am afraid that many good teachers will be quite out of the race, and that the cause of education will suffer very materially. I should like to point out to the hon. Member for Wigan (Mr. F. S. Powell), who spoke in this debate, that there is a great difference between the elementary education in England and that in Ireland. In Ireland there is a State system of elementary education; but it is not so in England. In Ireland the people have no control over the management of schools in many very important particulars; whereas in England the people have that control. Again, in Ireland we have not got a large number of resident gentry, who take an interest in education, as you have in England and Scotland. I know that I was very favourably impressed with the state of affairs when I found that gentlemen of means and position in this country take a deep and absorbing interest in the education of the poor. Now, that is one of the things which, unfortunately for us, we have not got in Ireland. The system of education in Ireland is not looked on with any great favour by the people; and the consequence is that the teachers engaged in the work are in a doubtful position between the State and the people, and they suffer accordingly. I should like the right hon. Baronet to take into account these things, and give a favourable ear to the case of the teachers. I quite agree with him that there are a great many men holding the position of teacher who are not at all fitted for it; but that is not the case with the great body of those engaged in the work. I believe that there ought to be some restrictions placed on the admission of men into the rank of teacher. At present, any man without qualification can look forward to taking a posi-

tion as teacher in the schools of lower class; and in this way places are being filled up constantly, to the exclusion of qualified men. I think it will be found that a very large number of teachers are leaving the service in Ireland; and it is owing to the fact that the prospects in the service are not sufficient to induce men of superior talents and energy to remain. I believe this matter ought to be looked at not only from the point of view of the teachers, but from the point of view of the welfare of the country generally. The welfare of the nation undoubtedly depends on the education of the people, and the people cannot be educated unless they have good teachers, and the teachers cannot be efficient unless they are paid for; and there certainly ought to be no hesitation on the ground of giving them sufficient remuneration, when we remember that the men who are engaged in teaching the children in Ireland, and are preparing them for the great battle of life, are not so well paid as the drill sergeant who prepares the recruit for the work of war. I point out by way of illustration that a great many teachers in Ireland are not so well paid as labourers who dig the foundations of houses, and they are certainly paid very much less than the men who build the houses—a good joiner or good mason is better paid than the average teacher in Ireland. This is not a satisfactory state of things; and, as I believe that it calls for immediate attention, I trust the right hon. Baronet will be able to give us some assurance that there will be an improvement shortly in the position of the Irish National School teachers.

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.): I have listened with great interest to this discussion, and I have not the slightest doubt that the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland will look into this matter, and consider between this and next year whether he can make any proposal on the subject. Anyone will agree, who looks into the subject, that the salaries of the Irish School teachers are insufficient. The average salary is so low that it is greatly to be wondered at that good men can be had at all for the money. I know many of these men personally, and I can say that they are most deserving men, although their salaries as a rule are less

than that of a policeman; and the same may be said of their pensions. There is a great deal to be said about getting the localities to assist in this matter, but I will not say it on the present occasion; and I would urge upon my hon. Friends opposite not to prolong this discussion, which there is no good in doing now. The Chief Secretary has given an assurance that he will consider the question in a thoroughly sympathetic spirit. We know the question will be again raised next year, and we are content to give the right hon. Baronet until next Session to consider it.

MR. PENROSE FITZGERALD (Cambridge): I have a few words to say on this Vote. I agree with every word that has been said on this subject by the hon. Member for South Tipperary (Mr. J. O'Connor) and the hon. Members who have followed him in this discussion with regard to the salaries of the Irish School teachers being too low. The Chief Secretary for Ireland has stated the salaries of the teachers according to their class, and we remind him that they only get those salaries when there is a certain attendance at the school. There are certain schools in the poorer parts of Ireland where the teacher may be of the first or second class, and where there is not a sufficient attendance of scholars to enable him to draw his salary. Another point is that the salary is uncertain. A certain salary, though less, is better than a larger one that is uncertain; and I hope that the money which the teachers are entitled to will be voted by the House of Commons before the end of the financial year. In conclusion, I desire to add my appeal to the Chief Secretary for Ireland, that he will earnestly consider the position of the Irish School teachers.

Vote agreed to.

(8.) £945, to complete the sum for Teachers' Pension Office, Ireland.

(9.) £270, to complete the sum for the Endowed School Commissioners, Ireland.

(10.) £701, to complete the sum for the National Gallery of Ireland.

(11.) £3,528, to complete the sum for Queen's Colleges, Ireland.

COLONEL NOLAN (Galway, N.): I wish to draw attention on this Vote to

the question of University education in Ireland, and to the enormous discrepancy in the sums obtainable by the three different classes in Ireland—the Protestant Church of England, the Secularists, and the Catholics. The Episcopalian Church are extremely well off; they have an endowment in Trinity College of £70,000, which was obtained at so ancient a date that it is very doubtful whether at the time you could call the religion of the country Episcopalian or Catholic. Then there is, in this Vote, £25,000 for the Secularists, while the Catholics only get about £6,000 a-year. By this it will be seen that the Catholics in Ireland labour under an enormous disadvantage with regard to University education. Well, Sir, I do not ask that the Catholics should be placed on equal terms with the Protestants in this matter; but I think that we may very well claim for them that they should be placed on the same footing as the Secularists. I do not wish to divide the Committee, but simply to point out that in this matter of University education the Catholics suffer a great grievance.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH) (Bristol, W.): I do not think there is any general desire on the part of the Committee to discuss this very important question now; but I can assure the hon. and gallant Gentlemen that the subject will be considered in the spirit indicated by my speech on this very question last year.

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.): I would point out to my hon. and gallant Friend that this is a question which I should not attempt to discuss to night; but the opinion he has expressed is exceedingly important, and will give rise to some discussion hereafter.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.): Whatever may be thought of the Queen's Colleges, and the system on which they are founded, everyone, I think, will admit that Belfast College is a great success. But this College is crippled at present for the want of a very small sum of money which, if the Treasury would grant it, would enable them to carry on the classes in Chemistry and Science in a more efficient way than they can at present. I do not believe the people of Ireland would grudge the money to enable the experiments to be

carried on in the proper way, and I put it to the right hon. Baronet to take this into consideration as soon as he has time to do so.

DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid): There is one small matter that I desire to refer to in connection with Queen's College, Cork. That College has lately been greatly improved by a large expenditure of money which has been generously given by the citizens of Cork. Amongst some of the advantages which have accrued from this is the purchase of a green immediately adjoining the College on which it is intended to build residences. Unfortunately, the authorities have not sufficient money to complete the design, and as the scheme is a reasonable one I hope the right hon. Baronet will be able to induce the Treasury to advance the amount required.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: This matter had not been brought to my notice, but the hon. Member having now mentioned it, I will give it my attention.

Vote agreed to.

(12.) £520, to complete the sum for the Royal Irish Academy.

MR. M. J. KENNY (Tyrone, Mid): I observe in this Vote, under Sub-head B, a charge which did not come on the Estimates last year of £520 for Transcription, Editing, and Publication of the Annals of Ulster. This is one of those extremely interesting items allied to the editing of the Celtic manuscripts. The translation of these documents goes very closely together, and they are matters of extreme interest to Irish scholars. I am certain that the persons appointed to the Commission that has this matter in hand will not know a single word of the Irish language, with the exception of Mr. Justice O'Brien, who may know a few words. Now, I think there can be no doubt that the Commission should be composed of experts, and there could be found in Ireland a considerable number of men who have a very close and intimate knowledge of the Irish language, from whom the Commissioners ought to be selected. I notice that from 1876-7, when the first Vote was taken, until 1881-5, the Votes and re-Votes amounted to £1,893, while up to the 31st of March, 1885, the total expenditure amounted to £176 only. I think that fact requires some explanation

from the Secretary to the Treasury. How is it that £1,893 have from time to time been voted in the course of eight years, and that only £176 have been actually expended on the work? I should like, if possible, to have an explanation at the present time with regard to the work which is being done in consideration of this expenditure of £520; and I should also like to hear from the hon. Gentleman what has been done with the balance of the money which has been voted for the last eight years? I should like also to know the exact amount that has been expended on the work?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH) (Bristol, W.): As this matter is brought under my notice, I will make inquiry, and refer to it on Report.

Vote agreed to.

CLASS V.—FOREIGN AND COLONIAL SERVICES.

(13.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £62,010, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1887, for the Expenses of Her Majesty's Embassies and Missions abroad."

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.): I had meant, on an earlier occasion, to put a question to the Government as to who has control over the printing of despatches and Reports connected with this House. First one Minister and then another tells us that he has no control over the matter, and it almost invariably happens that the Papers we require are presented to us the day after we have had need of them. I must confess that I was greatly discouraged and disappointed at the answer given by the noble Lord the Chancellor of the Exchequer to the Question which was put to him with regard to the prolongation of the Mission of Sir H. Drummond Wolff. The noble Lord did not, as it is usual for Ministers to do on such occasions, say one word about entertaining any hopes as to its being possible soon to bring the Mission to an end. It would, therefore, seem that it is the intention of Her Majesty's Government to keep Sir H. Drummond Wolff in Egypt. I originally supported the Mission of

Mr. Arthur O'Connor

Sir H. Drummond Wolff, because I considered it a temporary measure connected with the re-organization of the Egyptian Army, which re-organization was to have the effect of enabling us to withdraw our troops from that country. I did not even object to the appointment of Muhktar Pasha, a Turkish officer, to assist Sir H. Drummond Wolff in his undertaking. But, I always considered that Muhktar Pasha was a Turkish soldier. As regards the re-organization of the Egyptian Army, Police, and other matters, it really seems to me the time has come when a reasonable settlement might be made. We all understood that Sir H. Drummond Wolff's Mission and the co-operation of Muhktar Pasha were mainly to settle what the character of the future Egyptian Army should be, and that when that was settled, and the Egyptian Army properly established, our own troops in Egypt might be relieved. When we get beyond the question of the Army we deal with matters which one efficient officer could satisfactorily arrange, and which would not require the services of two high diplomatic functionaries to settle. If the question of the Army had been dealt with, what further necessity is there to keep both Sir H. Drummond Wolff and Sir Evelyn Baring in Egypt? I fail to see any earthly reason why these two diplomatic officials should be both kept in Egypt both doing the same work. I see no sign of the conclusion of that work. As regards Muhktar Pasha, it seems to me that the prolongation of his stay in Egypt means the prolongation of the meddling of Turkish officials with the affairs of Egypt; and that it is a point we may fairly ask Her Majesty's Government to decide whether or not they are determined that the power of Turkey shall be increased in Egypt? Our position in Egypt depends not upon the will of the Sultan of Turkey, but upon our obligations towards other European Powers. It is clear that no Mission of Muhktar Pasha can redeem the pledges which we have given to Europe, or can enable us to stay a day longer in that country than we are entitled to do under the undertakings we have entered into with Foreign Powers. I very much doubt whether Turkish interference in the affairs of Egypt can have any possible good result. A great deal has been said, and, I believe, falsely

said, as to the influence of the Sultan in Egypt. I myself believe that Arabi Pasha's rebellion was directed more against the Turkish dominion than anything else, and it certainly appears to me that the presence of Turkish officials in Egypt is likely not to soothe the people of that country, but to irritate them. But, be that as it may, unless Her Majesty's Government wish to reinstate the dominion of the Sultan in Egypt, they should not allow Muhktar Pasha to remain there too long. So long as he does stay there, Cairo must remain the centre of intrigue. But what still more alarms me than the continuance of the Mission of Sir H. Drummond Wolff or of Muhktar Pasha, is that I do not see any signs of the British Army preparing to leave Egypt, or of any preparations being made to enable the Army to ultimately commence the evacuation. So far as I have yet been able to learn, I do not believe there has been any *bonâ fide* attempt to establish those autonomous institutions which it was said had to be established prior to our leaving. The autonomy which exists in Egypt is altogether a sham; and I do not think the slightest *bonâ fide* attempt is being made to make her a self-governing country. Neither in regard to the police, the judiciary, nor the prisons, have we had any success; and what I am afraid of is this—that there is a very large party in Egypt, official and non-official, who are procrastinating as to these reforms, who are trusting to the chapter of accidents, who are hoping against hope, and who believe that the chances are that we shall not leave Egypt at all, but shall end by annexing it, a step which they think will be a good thing for Egypt, but one which I believe would be the commencement of a very heavy burden upon this country. It is rumoured that Her Majesty's Government are preparing a grand *coup*, but I do not believe anything of the kind. I do not believe the right hon. Gentlemen opposite can for a moment contemplate the breaking of those solemn pledges which this country has given to the rest of Europe. But, at the same time, though I cannot believe that Her Majesty's Government contemplate remaining in Egypt, still, in Egypt we are. What is the result of it? Why, our troops are wasting away in Assouan, and other parts of that ter-

rible country. The Secretary of State for War (Mr. W. H. Smith), who himself not long since answered a Question on the subject, must have formed a good idea as to the terrible burden which our occupation of Egypt imposes upon the British arms. We have heard of frightful sufferings of our men from the right hon. Gentleman. We have heard that the temperature in the huts of our soldiers average from 110 to 122 degrees from April to June. It may be very true that there is not much definite disease there at present, and that there is not much excitement; but I maintain that that terrible heat, especially when unaccompanied by excitement, must lead to the wasting away of the right hon. Gentleman's battalions. Whether the mendicor not after being subjected for a few months to the torture of such a climate as this, the men must necessarily be rendered totally unfit for service. But in keeping your troops in Egypt, not only do you expend the lives and the energy of your soldiers, but you also very largely waste the money of the British taxpayer. You are swelling the ordinary Budget of the Secretary of State for War by millions of money, and I, therefore, say that both as regards the British soldier and the British taxpayer your occupation of Egypt is a very heavy burden. I am quite prepared to admit that if we could get rid of foreign obligations, and bondholders, and European pledges, we should, perhaps, find ourselves able to administer the government of Egypt in a very satisfactory manner. It would be a pleasant country enough if we could only keep out the speculator and the bondholder—if we could do that we might make a good deal of it; but the Government knows very well that under existing circumstances we cannot stay there and administer the country as a British Possession, and, therefore, it is that I think that Her Majesty's Government had better devote themselves to the attempt to get out of it as soon as they can. Not only is the administration of Egypt a great burden upon us, but, indirectly, it is a great burden to us all over the world. I have often quoted the statement of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone), who once said that the day we went to Egypt our friendship with France ceased; and it is the same all over the world, whether it be

in the Pacific, in Asia, or in Africa—everywhere we have the same jealousies to encounter. In our present attitude towards Egypt we are unquestionably sacrificing the good feeling of France, the people of which country are entitled to expect that we shall act in good faith. I would ask Her Majesty's Government to say what they mean to do. Are they really trying to settle matters in Egypt so that they may be able to get out of it? As I said before, so I say again, that if you are to stay in that country until you establish a satisfactory form of government, there you will have to stay till the Millennium. I do hope that the Government will give us the assurance that the Government before them gave—namely, that they are doing their best to get out of Egypt. It is certain that with respect to this question of Egypt Her Majesty's late Advisers played the part of the son who said—"I go; but he went not." I have great confidence in the practical statesmanship of the Marquess of Salisbury, and I trust that the present Government will not follow that example, but rather will imitate the son who first refused to go, but afterwards repented and went. Yet the noble Lord the Chancellor of the Exchequer, when answering a Question put to him on this question, did not say a word about the withdrawal of Sir H. Drummond Wolff, but, on the contrary, seemed to speak with confidence of the decided intention of Government to detain that Gentleman there, as well as Muhktar Pasha. Under the circumstances, I beg to move the reduction of the Vote by £4,000.

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.): I rise for the purpose of seconding the Motion for a reduction of this Vote, and I trust sincerely that the hon. Gentleman will go to a division on the question. It is a question which has been raised over and over again in this House, and I earnestly hope that so long as I am a Member of the House no Vote for Diplomatic and Consular Services in Egypt will ever be proposed to this Committee without a similar division being taken. If no one else will divide the Committee against such a Vote, I will do it myself. This system of devoting large sums of money to the payment of Agents in Egypt has continued for many years. Year after year we are told that the occupation of that country is drawing to a speedy termination; but as time goes on,

instead of that occupation coming nearer to its end, it is manifestly receding farther and farther away from us. ["Hear, hear!"] Yes; I know hon. Gentlemen opposite delight in this course; but I am convinced that the majority of the people of England are not of their opinion. If the Government dare to go to the country, taking a General Election upon this issue, whether or not Egypt is to be permanently occupied by English troops, I undertake to say that the Government would find that there is an enormous majority against them. I protest against this large sum being voted—I protest against these preposterous salaries being paid to Agents who are sent out to Egypt who know no more about Egypt than do Members of this House.

An hon. MEMBER: We are not all Dillons.

MR. DILLON: I hear an hon. Member say "We are not all Dillons." The hon. Member may be very learned in these Egyptian questions; but I am quite prepared to admit that I am not. The point of difference between us is that I would not undertake to govern Egypt, and I am quite sure that the hon. Member would be prepared to do so to-morrow if you gave him £5,000 a-year. What I want to call attention to is this. You send out a man to govern Egypt at a large salary, and he makes a terrible muddle of it. What do you do? You do not recall him, but you send out another man to supersede him, and pay him £5,000. ["No, no!"] No! Then, what was Sir H. Drummond Wolff sent out for? Was he not put over the head of Sir Evelyn Baring? Why do you want two men to do the same thing—if Sir Evelyn Baring is doing his work well, why send out Sir H. Drummond Wolff? I think we are entitled to an explanation. The noble Lord opposite stated this very evening that Sir H. Drummond Wolff is about to lay important proposals before the Government. If that is so, I think we are entitled to appeal to the Government that they shall not bind the country to any new departure in Egypt until they have taken the opinion of the House of Commons upon it. The noble Lord, when questioned here to-night, gave an answer which conveyed to my mind that it is in the contemplation of the Government to commit

this country to new obligations and to a new departure in Egypt without consulting the House of Commons. We know that that has been done over and over again. We know that Alexandria was bombarded without giving the House of Commons any opportunity of pronouncing upon it beforehand. In the case of the Soudan War, when the Government were questioned, over and over again their answer was that certain things had taken place, and that we were committed to certain proceedings and could not withdraw. Before the House has had an opportunity of arriving at a decision on these matters it has found the country committed to a definite course by the decisive action of the Government. There is one point I wish, especially, to put to the noble Lord. He stated the other day that Papers on the Egyptian Question would soon be laid before the House. [Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: No.] Well, some Member of the Government did—I think the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. He stated that additional Papers would be issued, and I should like to know whether they will contain full information about the Daira Loan? There have been negotiations going on for some time with the object of consolidating that loan with the other public loans of Egypt; and, so far as I can understand the matter, no more scandalous swindle could be perpetrated than to throw the responsibility of that loan, which is a private loan contracted by the late Khedive on the mortgage of his own personal estates, upon the Egyptian taxpayers. This would be a most infamous swindle on the people of Egypt. God knows they have burdens enough on their shoulders at present; and if you are going to permit such a shameful transaction as this it will be, so far as I can understand the history of the matter, to add another to the many crimes which have been committed against the unfortunate people of Egypt. I am convinced that the majority of the people of England are opposed to this system of plundering the people of Egypt for the sake of the bondholders, and I do hope the Government will promise to lay full information on the subject before the country. I trust that before any undertaking is entered into which will have the effect of consolidating this Daira Loan with the other

loans of Egypt, and making the taxpayers of that country responsible for it, the British House of Commons will have an opportunity of pronouncing an opinion upon the matter.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £58,010, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1887, for the Expenses of Her Majesty's Embassies and Missions Abroad."—(*Sir George Campbell.*)

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton): How I regret that the noble Lord the Chancellor of the Exchequer is not sitting below the Gangway, because if he were, judging from the mode in which he has so often, from the very place which I am now occupying, protested against this bondholders' occupation of Egypt, against our war in Egypt, against the reckless expenditure in Egypt, I am sure that he would have supported me now in advocating the Motion which my hon. Friend has moved. When the noble Lord, in common with his Colleagues, came into Office last time we understood that Sir H. Drummond Wolff was sent out to Egypt with one object—namely, to come to some sort of agreement by which the views which the noble Lord had so ably and so often expressed should be carried out, and that we should leave Egypt. I, for my own part, voted for the payment of Sir H. Drummond Wolff's salary, believing that that was the object with which he was sent out to Egypt. But at present we are told that new propositions are going to be made, and we find that every time the Estimates are brought forward fresh sums of money are asked for from us in order that they may be expended in what is called "maintaining order" in Egypt—that is to say, for the securing of the interests of the bondholders. That is the real object of our remaining in Egypt. Now, I agree with my hon. Friends who have spoken that we ought to have some clear understanding from the Government that if these fresh propositions are going to be sent to the Government by Sir H. Drummond Wolff no sort of liability shall be incurred by us that may tend in any sort of way to extend our occupation of Egypt without the House having an opportunity of pronouncing upon it. The noble Lord the

Chancellor of the Exchequer, at the commencement of the evening, said that Parliament had the control. Well, we know what that means. Parliament may refuse to vote the Estimates which are necessary to enable the Executive Government to carry out the arrangement. Practically, however, that is no control, seeing that the liability is incurred before Parliament is asked for the money. We ought to know what these propositions are; Parliament ought to have a voice in deciding whether it is desirable that these propositions should be agreed to or not. The obligations ought not to be entered into before Parliament is called upon to provide funds for them. Why, Sir, have we not seen all the newspapers—all the Conservative and Unionist organs of this Metropolis—denouncing what the Russians are doing in Bulgaria. But what have the Russians done in Bulgaria in comparison with what we have done in Egypt? We went there unjustly. [Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Not this Government.] The noble Lord implies that we on this side did it—that is to say, the Liberal Party. But the noble Lord will bear me out that I always supported him when he protested against the action of the Liberal Government in regard to this matter. I know that the noble Lord does not approve of what was done in Egypt; that he always protested against it; and that no one took a stronger view than he in regard to the desirability of our leaving Egypt as soon as possible. The noble Lord is now a Minister of the Crown; he is now Leader of this House, and is responsible for what we are doing in Egypt. I can understand that it may be difficult for him to leave Egypt immediately; but is it the policy of Her Majesty's Government to remain in Egypt? ["Hear, hear!"] It may be the policy of some hon. Gentlemen on the other side of the House, judging from the cheers given just now. ["Hear, hear!" from the Ministerial side of the House.] There again! Clearly, then, it is their policy. We want to have it from Her Majesty's Government, however. I look upon ourselves as absolute marauders in Egypt. I say we have no right to be there, and I maintain that in the end, if we continue to remain, we shall get into conflict with the whole of Europe. We shall be called upon by Europe to leave the coun-

Mr. Dillon

try. It does seem to me to be desirable, for the dignity of England and in common honesty, that the noble Lord should now maintain the views when in power which he held when out of power, and that he should pronounce to the House that the policy of the Government is as soon as possible, in some reasonable time, to withdraw from Egypt.

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Sir JAMES FERGUSSON) (Manchester, E.): I am sure the Committee will not think the acceptance of the Amendment consonant with our position in Egypt, and with our responsibility for the government of that country which we have been unwillingly compelled to assume. The Amendment is confined to a narrow limit—namely, the Mission of Sir H. Drummond Wolff to Egypt; but it is well understood that he means by that the desire that the Mission should come to a close. The object of the Amendment is directly to obtain an expression of the opinion of the Committee on the whole subject. It would be quite legitimate if I were to confine my remarks to the one point raised by the Amendment; but one or two things have been said which are not altogether to be passed by. I much regret that the Committee are not in possession of Nos. 4 and 5 of the Papers on Egypt, which I believe will be delivered to-morrow. ["Oh, oh!"] Well, I have done all in my power to insure their early delivery to Members. And let me remind hon. Members that if the Session had been closed at the ordinary time we should have been in Recess now, and it is quite certain that the Papers could not have been delivered before the close of the last Session. I can only assure the Committee that the present Government are not responsible for any delay. It is well known that there is a great demand for Papers of public interest; and I can only say that the production of the Papers in question has been pressed forward with as much speed as the capacity of the Printing Department admits of. The hon. Gentleman opposite (Sir George Campbell) is anxious to know when this Mission of Sir H. Drummond Wolff will come to an end. He says we have one well-paid Diplomatic Agent in Egypt, and that it is not reasonable that we should have two. I can assure the hon. Gentleman that

nothing can be less desired by the Government than that we should spend more money than is necessary; but let me remind the Committee that in June last, on the Vote on Account for the Diplomatic Service, there was a full discussion of this matter, and the late Prime Minister pointed out that Sir H. Drummond Wolff must be maintained in Egypt until his Mission has been accomplished. The right hon. Gentleman pointed particularly to the Report Sir H. Drummond Wolff is drawing up; and, as the noble Lord the Chancellor of the Exchequer has already told the Committee, the Government must wait until that Report is in their hands. It is obvious that the Mission of Sir H. Drummond Wolff, which was to carry into Egypt the authority of the Sultan as our most legitimate ally, in putting that country into a better state of order, was a Mission of a very important character, and was not to be fulfilled in a day. In order to fulfil it, he had to take a comprehensive review of all the circumstances of the country; and the Government cannot be accused of want of expedition in framing their policy if they have waited until they received the comprehensive Report which was in preparation. I cannot think the Committee will refuse any portion of the salary necessary to maintain Sir H. Drummond Wolff in Egypt until his Mission is concluded. The Government are asked to say what is to be the duration of our stay in Egypt. The House of Commons has had a painful experience of too early prophecies and promises concerning our departure. I think it will be remembered that some of our greatest difficulties have arisen from too early declarations. If an impression prevails that we are to be "here to-day and gone to-morrow," we cannot expect confidence in our measures, nor the earnest co-operation of those whom we are seeking to help. It would be inexpedient, rash, and unpatriotic of the Government, for the sake of gaining temporary applause from any part of the House, to say that our stay in Egypt is on the point of coming to an end. We have a Mission to accomplish in Egypt. We ought not to pretend that we are going to leave until the reforms we have sought after, and some of which are already bearing fruit, have been fully accomplished. ["Oh!"] Well, it is not desirable at-

this hour to lengthen the remarks it is my duty to make; but I will remind the Committee that last Session the late Prime Minister bore testimony to the great improvement effected in Egyptian affairs. It would be out of place to go into details; but an immense improvement has been effected in the finances of the country, as will be shown by the Papers that will be in the hands of Members immediately. The finances of the country particularly are in a state which has not been known before in our time. Last year there was a surplus of nearly £500,000; and if the year's Expenditure does not exceed the Revenue—and I believe it will not—we believe we shall be able to pay off the demands upon the Coupons of 1885-6, upon which the payments were postponed by agreement as a temporary expedient. I trust that the House of Commons will not do anything to throw discredit on the good work that is being done. We are not always sure whether the remarks of the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) should be taken seriously; but I am quite sure the hon. Member does not seriously suggest that the Government should state what proposals are to be made. Did the hon. Gentleman ever hear of any act of diplomacy being carried to a successful conclusion if we played with our cards on the table? I feel sure that the hon. Member has not made his proposal seriously, and I am sure, also, that the House will not support him. At this time, when the Government are charged with most anxious duties, I am sure that the House will not desire to weaken our hands by saying that we are not supported in a patriotic spirit. As to the rumours which have been referred to by the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy (Sir George Campbell), I trust that the Committee will pay no attention to absurd stories in the Levantine and French papers, which may be intended to influence Stock Exchanges, but which are almost too childish even to have that effect. The hon. Member opposite (Mr. Dillon) has asked a question with reference to the Daira and Domain Loans. I assure the hon. Member that there is no intention nor thought of amalgamating those loans with the other Debts of Egypt. The difficulty about those loans is this—that the value of the security has fallen, and the land cannot be disposed of for

the nominal amount of the Debt; but there is an earnest desire to use these estates in the most legitimate manner—namely, for the commutation of the pensions which operate as so severe a charge upon the Revenues of Egypt. The hon. Gentleman is right in saying that there is a grave suspicion of fraud in the management of these estates; but I will not now go into particulars on that matter. I fully admit it. But I may say with confidence that the frauds have been probed; that they will take place no more; and that the estates in future will be managed with economy. I hope the country will gradually emerge from its condition of degradation and distress, and that when our Mission is accomplished, which I hope will be soon, it will be universally acknowledged that our trusteeship of Egypt will redound to the credit of this country, and will be acknowledged to have been beneficial to Egypt.

MR. PICTON (Leicester): I do not think the right hon. Baronet (Sir James Fergusson) has met the difficulty which many of us feel in this matter. So long as Votes are asked for for carrying on the occupation of Egypt by this country we shall feel it our duty to protest; and so long as Votes are asked for which seem to necessitate the continuance of that occupation we shall feel ourselves doubly bound to protest. The right hon. Gentleman has spoken about playing with our cards on the table; but we have flung our cards on the table long ago. At the very outset we proclaimed to Europe that our occupation of Egypt was only temporary, and that we proposed to get out of it as soon as we could; and yet we go on incurring various forms of expense, which looks to all the world as though it is our intention to remain in that country. It may be a humiliation to have again and again to repeat that we do not intend to remain in Egypt; but we can escape from that humiliation by keeping our pledges. I believe that we, who protest against this prolonged occupation of Egypt, have more at heart the honour of this country than any of those hon. Gentlemen who cry "Hear, hear!" when annexation is talked of. We have promised to Europe to retire from Egypt, and those who cry "Hear, hear!" when they hear annexation whispered seem to think that it would be an honourable

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thing on the part of this great Empire to break its word before the whole world. Against that notion I feel bound to protest, and I think this discussion should not be brought to a conclusion without a distinct intimation being given by the Government that this country distinctly holds to its promise of withdrawing from Egypt as soon as it possibly can.

MR. J. ROWLANDS (Finsbury, E.): I hope the hon. Member (Sir George Campbell) will divide the Committee on this Vote. I hold that the attitude of hon. Gentlemen opposite, whenever the question of annexation is mentioned, justifies the action we are now taking. Some of us are not afraid to admit that we are pledged against annexation. The Government, when they went to Egypt, distinctly declared that they would not annex that country. We are in a critical position, and everyone who has been watching the course of Egyptian affairs, whether inside the House or out of it, has been, for some time, looking for some indication that we are going to clear out of that country. It seems to everyone—especially as we unfortunately have not the Papers in our hands to instruct us to the contrary—that we are as far from clearing out of Egypt as we were when we went into it. Are we to have any clear indication as to what the policy of Her Majesty's present Government is to be in regard to retiring from Egypt? The right hon. Baronet the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs has said that, if it were not for the exceptional time of the year at which we are met, we could not have expected to have had any Papers submitted to us on this question. That is quite right; but seeing that an exceptional state of things has brought us together, and that an exceptional opportunity is afforded us for seeking information, I think we should have been allowed to have these Papers. When we once break up, it will be a long time before we shall have another opportunity of discussing our position in Egypt; and what is likely to take place there whilst we are not sitting? This is a very serious subject, and I earnestly hope that Ministers will be able to give us some intimation of the kind we ask for.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL: Notwithstanding the courteous and comprehensive manner in which the right hon.

Baronet the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs has treated this matter, I feel bound to divide the Committee upon the Vote. I must say that I should have been extremely glad if the noble Lord the Chancellor of the Exchequer, whose Radical opinions upon this subject the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) alluded to, could have said one or two words with regard to it, in addition to what we have heard from the Under Secretary of State, who is not so deeply pledged against this occupation of Egypt as is the noble Lord. What does the statement of the Under Secretary of State amount to? It amounts to this—that we cannot say we are going away from Egypt, because, if we did, the people of that country would have no confidence in us, and we should be unable to get them to work with us in the carrying out of necessary reforms. Well, the only construction which it is possible to put upon words like that is, that we wish everybody to believe that we are going to stay in Egypt. We have pledged ourselves to go, and directly we refuse to repeat that pledge the supposition must be that we are going to stop. With regard to the right hon. Baronet's allusion to the late Prime Minister's knowledge of Sir H. Drummond Wolff's Report I think there must be some mistake; but the point is not one which I will pursue. One statement of the right hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State has alarmed me very much. It gives us an official confirmation of that popular rumour which we did not credit before—namely, that the 5 per cent is to be returned to the bondholders, that which was levied as a small contribution towards the expense of defending their interests. As to the surplus Revenue in Egypt for the present year which the right hon. Baronet has referred to, I think the Papers which we shall soon have in our possession will show that it has not been fairly obtained, and that it has only been arrived at by a process of cooking the accounts—namely, by applying a portion of the loan of £9,000,000 for the operations in the Soudan and other purposes, which ought to have been paid out of Revenue. I feel greatly grieved that it is intended to pay these sums to the bondholders out of the loan.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL)

(Paddington, S.): The hon. Member for Kirkcaldy (Sir George Campbell) seems to be preaching a most extraordinary doctrine. He does not seem to be aware that we are bound by Treaty and Convention to pay the bondholders in full.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL: Yes; but I object to cooking the accounts by paying the annual expenses of Egypt out of the loan, and in that way making an apparent surplus out of which to repay the loan.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 54; Noes 158: Majority 104.—(Div. List, No. 40.)

Original Question put, and *agreed to*.

(14.) £46,486, to complete the sum for Consular Services.

(15.) £4,160, to complete the sum for Slave Trade Services.

(16.) £2,005, to complete the sum for the Suez Canal (British Directors).

(17.) £13,116, to complete the sum for Colonies, Grants in Aid.

(18.) £69,637, to complete the sum for South Africa and St. Helena.

COMMANDER BETHELL (York E.R., Holderness): May I ask the indulgence of the Committee while I make a few observations upon this Vote? I would not attempt to offer any remarks on this occasion, considering the lateness of the hour (1 o'clock), except that the matter to which I wish to refer has not been brought to the attention of Parliament for nearly two years, and there will be no opportunity of calling attention to it for some time to come. What I want to do is to direct the attention of Parliament to what has been occurring in Zululand during the last two years; and I should like, in some degree, to accentuate the cry against the policy which has been pursued in Zululand during these years. I think it is a policy which has led to great disaster to the Natives, and that it has not been extremely favourable to our own country. The Committee will remember that, in 1879, we did away with the then Government of Zululand, and made a completely different arrangement. What we really did was to take the controlling power away from Zululand, while we put nothing up in its

place. The natural result was that all the antagonistic forces, which always exist in savage races, at once broke out, and resulted in warfare and the wasting of the country. That arrangement, in itself, had lasted only for a short time—for three years—and it had to be replaced by another. We claimed a Protectorate over nearly one-third of the country, and the remaining two-thirds were given over to certain Chiefs. I submit to the Committee that having conquered that country as we did, having deprived the people of that country of their natural Government, we had a moral right if we had a legal right, and that we ought to have exercised the moral right in insisting upon a proper Government being placed in the country. We declined to accept that responsibility. Ever since 1879 we have declined that responsibility, and the result has been terrible disaster to the unfortunate people of Zululand. Now, will the Committee consider for a moment what will be the effect of depriving the people of Zululand of a large portion of their country? [*Interruption.*] I submit that this is an extremely important question in South Africa; and, therefore, the Committee may very properly give it a few minutes' consideration. The Natives in the South-Eastern portion of South Africa are an increasing race. They are bound within narrow limits. There is, at present, no room for the natural expansion of the Native tribes; and therefore, if we take away a large portion of Zululand, which is supposed to be reserved for the Native tribes, you accentuate the position, and render it more likely that disaster will be brought about. We have permitted the Boers of the Transvaal to take over very nearly five-sixths of the country that remained to the Zulus after the settlement of 1882. This proceeding of the Boers, into the merits of which I will not now enter, has, as I say, deprived the Zulus of a very large portion of their territory, and has had the effect of driving the Zulus upon the Reserve. The Reserve, when it was portioned off—[*Cries of "Divide!"*] Surely hon. Members will allow such an important subject as the government of South Africa to be considered by the Committee for a few minutes. I was endeavouring to point out, Sir, that the depriving the inhabitants of Zululand of a large portion of their territory has

Lord Randolph Churchill

had the effect of driving the people back on that portion of the country which is called the Reserve, and which, when it was portioned off, was made as small as was consistent with the then needs of the country. Hon. Gentlemen will see from the despatches that there is a very grave question impending in the Reserve, and in the countries bordering upon Natal. The complaint I have to make is, that our Government has allowed these proceedings of the last two years without saying "they shall not be"—without, apparently, being able to make up their minds. In the middle of 1884 a new Republic, as it is called, was established in Zululand. From that day to this there has been no recognition, and no absolute denial, of this Republic; we have not assured the inhabitants that their rights will be secured to them. It appears that within the last two or three months negotiations have been entered into, apparently with the object of making up some of the ground we have lost within the last two years. I notice from an official account of an interview between Sir Arthur Havelock and certain officers of this new Republic that our Government are taking steps to secure some of the rights of the Zulus. I fear it will be impossible to replace the Zulus in their former position. It may be said there were difficulties in the way of our Government making up their minds as to the steps to be taken. But at the very time this new Republic was being formed we were sending troops from our shores, under Sir Charles Warren, to vindicate our power in Bechuanaland, under a precisely similar state of affairs. This is simply a recognition of what happened in Bechuanaland, and it is quite possible we may have to take some strong steps to vindicate our power in South Africa again. Whether that may be absolutely so or not I do not pretend to say; but I do maintain that, so long as we neglect the vindication of the rights of the unfortunate Zulus, we are behaving in a manner which is most disastrous to those people and most discreditable to ourselves. I assert most unhesitatingly that it is our moral duty, having deprived the Zulus of their natural Government, to see that another Government is set up which is capable of keeping them in control and free from those antagonistic forces which are ruining the country.

We are now neglecting our duty in South Africa, as anyone who studies the history of South Africa ever since 1820 will see we have neglected it before. If we look back upon the history of South Africa, we can see what miserable results have followed upon our policy, and we can see that the same mistakes are being made now as were made in former years. [*Cries of "Agreed!"*] Sir, I said I would only touch upon this matter in outline, and that, I think, is all I have done. It is impossible in 10 minutes to present the matter to the Committee in the manner in which it ought to be presented. I feel sure the question is one in which, at another time, the majority of the Members of this House would be anxious to interest themselves. I beg the indulgence of the Committee for a few moments longer while I refer to the recent events in the Northern part of Bechuanaland. Those who have studied the most recent Blue Book will see that the opinion of all the officers and all the Missionaries, and of other people connected with South Africa, is in favour of the extension of our Protectorate towards the Zambesi. I am also very strongly favourable to the extension of our Protectorate, and I will, in a few words, give my reason. If we exercise a Protectorate over any large portion of South Africa, we are able to regulate the natural expansion of both Englishmen and Dutchmen in that country, and by regulating that natural expansion we should be able to prevent the recurrence of those events which, during the whole of this century, have proved so disastrous to the Native tribes. I maintain that that alone would be a sufficient reason for extending our Protectorate over that country. I strongly suspect that by neglecting to seize this opportunity we shall involve ourselves in fresh difficulties with the Native tribes. The Native Question is the question in South Africa; but we do not take any steps to educate and civilize the Natives. If we have any duty at all in South Africa, surely no small part of it is to dispense some of the benefits of civilization upon the people. I am sorry I have occupied the Committee so long; but I do not like, knowing, as I do, so much about South Africa, to let this Vote pass without expressing the hope that the Government of this country will do its duty by the Zulu people.

Dr. CLARK (Caithness): I heartily endorse what has been said by the hon. and gallant Gentleman (Commander Bethell). The longer the Government delay the settlement of this intricate problem the more difficult will the settlement be. The sooner they fix upon and pursue some definite policy the better it will be for this country and for South Africa. There are one or two points upon which I think some information ought to be given. I should like to know, for instance, why we are still paying £200, as an allowance, in consequence of giving up the Orange River Territory? It is now 33 years since we gave up this territory. A generation has passed away, and yet we are paying money in respect of it. To whom is this money paid, and for what is it paid? Then I see that £400 is set down for a British Consular officer in the Transvaal, and that £100 was taken last year as an allowance for office rent, stationery, and incidental expenses. Nothing is taken this year in the shape of an allowance; indeed, I understand that at present there is no British Consul in the Transvaal. I should like to know why this is? During the last 18 months at least 2,000 British subjects have gone into the Transvaal. They want a British Consul. I know British subjects out there who, for the want of a Consul, are unable to get their claims settled, unable to get the property left them by their relatives. The sooner there is a British Consular officer in the Transvaal to look after the interests of British subjects the better. I am not prepared to say that we ought to go to the Zambesi, because that would mean another African war. We would have to break down the power of the Northern Zulus, and we would require a bigger Army, further away from the supplies, than we required to overcome Cetewayo. With regard to Bechuanaland I should like some further explanation. A Return has been presented from which I find that we spent £85,000 in certain expenses of troops going out there, and that we have only got back £13,000. The mules cost us £14,000, and all we obtained by the sale of them was £1,700. I should like to have some additional information regarding the expenses incurred in making this Expedition. It is very peculiar that we could pay £14,000 for animals, and yet only get

£1,700 upon their re-sale. I suppose that is the reason why the Stellalanders liked us; they found they could get what they liked to charge, and buy the things back for a mere song. Altogether, we have spent over £1,000,000 sterling in Bechuanaland. Last year we spent £30,000 as a

“Grant in Aid of the expenses, other than military, of the Special Commissioner, or other officer, and his establishment; and of the maintenance of a Police Force in Bechuanaland,”

and this year we are to spend £100,000. The expense going on there is at the rate of £125,000 for Police and £10,000 for the Civil Establishment, and that against this expenditure there is a local Revenue of £7,500. The Civil Establishment cost £2,500 more than the entire Revenue, besides which there is an expenditure of £125,000 for Police. If there were any principle in the action of the Government, if they intended to proclaim a Protectorate over South Africa and carry it out properly, something might be said in favour of this policy of throwing away £1,000,000 sterling and giving £100,000 a-year to these vagabonds in the Transvaal, the Orange Free State, and the Cape. We are now paying the debts of the men we denounced—men who were at one time arrayed against our law, and against every civilized law in South Africa. We are spending £100,000 a-year, and will spend it, perhaps, for several years, and throw away money as long as we hold the territory. I am strongly of opinion that all further expeditions in South Africa ought to be made at the cost of the Cape Colony and Natal, and that this Government ought not to spend a single penny in South Africa. In New Zealand we found that as long as we paid the piper the Colonists would find plenty of opportunities for war. If the Colonists in South Africa have to bear the cost I do not think we shall have so many Kaffir wars. As far as Bechuanaland is concerned, the Cape Government were perfectly willing to take it over and bear the cost. Instead of allowing them to do that, we spent over £1,000,000 sterling, and now we are spending £100,000 a-year. I suppose that when any profit is to be got out of the country we shall allow the Cape to take it over. At present we are paying £100,000 a-year, and obtaining in return £7,500. It is quite necessary that

we should spend a little time, even after 1 o'clock in the morning, in obtaining some information as to the policy the Government propose to pursue in South Africa. We are allowing the Cape to annex territory, and we are asked to extend ours. It is necessary the Government should say something as to their policy. They blow hot and cold, and meddle and muddle in South Africa, and spend a great deal of money, and all to no purpose. The House ought to insist upon some statement as to the policy the Government mean to adopt. We ought, for instance, to know whether it is true that more troops are to be sent out.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (MR. E. STANHOPE) (Lincolnshire, Horncastle): The hon. Member for Caithness (Dr. Clark) has put a number of questions to me in connection with this Vote, of which I will answer as many as I can. He has asked for an explanation of the item of £200 for allowance, in consequence of giving up the Orange River Territory. The explanation of that is, that there was an annuity granted to one of the ex-officials which we are still obliged to pay. Then he asks how it is that we have no Consular officer for the Transvaal. There have been, as hon. Members will be aware, various reasons why for a time we have had no Consular officer; but the Government are considering whether it would not be proper that one should be appointed. The hon. Member then draws attention to some of the items of expenditure with regard to Bechuanaland; but it seems to me that his remarks on the expenditure for police now going on in Bechuanaland convey a very strong censure on the action of the late Liberal Government. We succeeded to Office at a time when military operations were going on in Bechuanaland; but we were fortunate enough to be able to put an end to that state of affairs, and establish a police force to keep order there at a greatly reduced expense. In the Estimate we tell the House of Commons that the force will cost £100,000 for the present year; but we have reason to hope that next year the sum will be largely reduced. As regards the general position of affairs in Bechuanaland, I may say that we have every reason to believe that a very satisfactory state of things prevails in that coun-

try. Montsoia states that he is very well satisfied with the position in which he is now placed. But when the hon. Member says he would like to cast off all Imperial responsibility for these countries I would ask him whether that is so easy a matter; because have we not incurred responsibility with regard to Bechuanaland and Zululand? Her Majesty's Government recognize that we have incurred great responsibility towards the people of those countries; and they do not think they would be doing their duty if they did not discharge the responsibility incurred towards them. With regard to Zululand, I should like to say that the negotiations which, as many hon. Members are aware, were going on with what is called the new Republic, have been suspended. I hope, however, that they will be shortly resumed. I have had a communication from a gentleman who represents and enjoys the confidence of the Republic; and I have every reason to hope that the negotiations which have been set on foot will be brought to a happy termination.

DR. CLARK (Caithness): I agree that we have a responsibility with regard to Zululand. I agree that we broke down the Zulu power, and that we ought to step in and protect the people; but I do not admit that we have any responsibility with regard to Bechuanaland. I want to know what policy you are going to carry on there? With regard to the Zulu race, it is now very small indeed, owing to the Civil War; and if they are to be saved they require to be saved quickly.

Vote agreed to.

(19.) £13,050, to complete the sum for Subsidies to Telegraph Companies.

(20.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £1,000, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1887, as a Grant in Aid of the Revenue of the Island of Cyprus."

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton): This is another instance of the effect of taking Votes on Account. The amount of this Estimate is actually £20,000, of which you have had £19,000, and we are now called on to pay £1,000. I had an Amendment to reduce the Vote, which

I find now I cannot move; and, therefore, I shall take a division on the whole Vote. My point is that in 1885-6 the Grant-in-Aid amounted to £15,000. We have been told persistently that the Revenues of Cyprus would increase, and that we should have to pay less and less in each year. First, there were considerable defalcations in the accounts of the island; then there was a re-organization in the island; and, again, we were told that we should soon have nothing to pay for Cyprus. The administration of the island is exceedingly bad and wasteful; and I will give one instance of it. An experienced officer went to report on the matter of the Revenue survey of the Island, and decided that it was not desirable that the survey should be made, because it had already been made by the Turks. Well, Sir, I would point out that, somehow or other, we are making that survey notwithstanding the advice of this experienced officer. There is one surveyor, and a draftsman 20 years old; and to look after them there is a Turk with a salary of £1,000 a-year, and an English clerk with a salary of £650, and you will find that one-third of the entire money voted for public works is expended in salaries for the officials. Under these circumstances, is it not surprising that the Revenues of Cyprus do not suffice for the expenses. The reason why these little islands like Cyprus do not pay is, that they are perfect nests of jobbery. I think the Government ought to look thoroughly into the matter; and in order to encourage them to do so, and lead to that desirable state of things in which we shall not be called upon to pay anything at all for the Island, I shall take a division on the Vote.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Mr. E. STANHOPE) (Lincolnshire, Horncastle): I do not think the hon. Gentleman can find any facts to support this charge of jobbery; on the contrary, I think there is every reason to believe that the administration of the island is exceedingly good. There have been one or two things, I admit, which might constitute a blot on the administration; but there is every reason to hope that they will not recur. I am told that there are some general symptoms of improvement throughout the island, which will, in time, render these Grants-in-Aid unnecessary. Certainly,

Mr. Labouchere

I hope we shall not have to come upon the Treasury for a larger amount than in former years, and that, on the contrary, there will be a steady decrease.

Question put.

The Committee divided:—Ayes 148; Noes 47: Majority 101.—(Div. List, No. 41.)

CLASS VI.—NON-EFFECTIVE AND CHARITABLE SERVICES.

(21.) £123,928, to complete the sum for Superannuation and Retired Allowances.

(22.) £4,200, to complete the sum for Merchant Seamen's Fund Pensions, &c.

(23.) £485,000, to complete the sum for Pauper Lunatics, England.

(24.) £2,000, to complete the sum for Pauper Lunatics, Scotland.

(25.) £800, to complete the sum for Pauper Lunatics, Ireland.

(26.) £7,658, to complete the sum for Hospitals and Infirmeries, Ireland.

(27.) £1,000, to complete the sum for Savings Banks and Friendly Societies Deficiency.

(28.) £1,111, to complete the sum for Miscellaneous Charitable and other Allowances, Great Britain.

(29.) £1,303, to complete the sum for Miscellaneous Charitable and other Allowances, Ireland.

CLASS VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

(30.) £13,331, to complete the sum for Temporary Commissions.

(31.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £2,802, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1887, for certain Miscellaneous Expenses."

Mr. LABOUCHERE (Northampton): This is another instance of a Vote being taken on Account. I intended to move a reduction of this Vote by the sum of £6,000; but I cannot do so, for the reason that a Vote on Account has been had; and, again, I am compelled to divide the Committee on the entire Vote. Now, there is here a charge of £3,980 for cost of robes and insignia for the Knights Companions and officers of the

several Orders of the Garter, the Bath, the Thistle, and St. Michael and St. George, and for the officers of the Herald's College. Well, Sir, I have not the slightest objection to Gentlemen getting these Orders of Garters, Baths, and Thistles, or anything they like; what I object to is paying for them. I should like to know who are these Gentlemen. I am not one of them myself; but I gather that although, in some cases, they pay for these robes themselves, in others they do not. I should also like to know when a Knight of the Garter wears his robes? [The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER: On State occasions.] Exactly. I am a taxpayer; and my hon. Friends here are taxpayers; we are not asked to attend on these State occasions, why, then, should we pay for them? I think it a perfect absurdity that persons in their senses should want to dress themselves up in these mediæval dresses—however, if they do, let them pay for it. Then there is the Marshal of the Ceremonies, who is allowed £80. What does this Marshal do? He does absolutely nothing. He is one of those who attend on State occasions, and I presume he is accompanied by these nine trumpeters and one kettledrummer. Again, I say, let him go, by all means; but do not ask us to pay for it. Then we have £1,500 for fees to heralds and others in respect of patents of creation issued from the Crown Office in Chancery. I see it is stated that these fees are now taken in stamps, and are, therefore, paid into the Exchequer; but I understand that they go into the pockets of the heralds. But what are these fees? I presume they are for Peerages. Well, then, let the Peers pay the fees. Why should we, the taxpayers, pay £1,500, because Gentlemen want to be created Peers by Her Majesty's Government, and because we happen to have a herald who claims a fee whenever a creation takes place? As I have said, I shall divide the Committee on this Vote.

SIR HERBERT MAXWELL (A LORD of the TREASURY) (Wigton): I do not intend to trouble the Committee with any lengthened observations in reply to the characteristic remarks of the hon. Gentleman opposite in reference to the pageantry hitherto inseparable from his country. The fees in question are now paid directly into the Exchequer, and the heralds and officials of the Herald's

College are now paid by statute. With regard to the item for insignia and robes, I think the charge is for maintenance and repairs. [An hon. MEMBER: Darning.] These insignia do not become the property of the Knights, but are only used by them during their installation, and are then returned. As to the propriety of maintaining that which has always been maintained in almost every civilized country—namely, a certain expenditure in regard to conferring upon individuals who have rendered distinguished services to their country marks not only of the Royal favour, but of national gratitude, I think it will be scarcely necessary for me to say anything. I think that so long as public servants are content to receive these rewards in lieu of advances, and so long as such occasions occur as Royal Marriages, and the opening of Parliament by the Sovereign in person, when Foreign Ministers are in attendance, and when elaborate arrangements have to be made for the care and custody of these important personages, these payments should be made. It would be impossible to allow these personages to wander about the place by themselves. It would not be in accordance with the courtesy and respect which we always show to Ambassadors and Representatives of Foreign Powers. I think it would be false economy on the part of the hon. Gentleman to do away with this Vote, and the forms and ceremonies which it implies.

MR. J. ROWLANDS (Finsbury, E.): Are there any extraordinary Knights who do not pay fees?

SIR HERBERT MAXWELL: I think that when the Garter is conferred upon the Sovereign he does not pay the fees. Members of the Royal Family do not pay the fees.

MR. PICTON (Leicester): I think we are entitled to know the names of those persons to whom the country owes so much, and who are treated with such marked gratitude by the nation. Is there any rule against making the names known?

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.): Are we to understand that the pomp and pageantry inseparable from the Government of this country is carried on in second-hand clothes which it costs several hundred pounds a-year to mend?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL) (Paddington, S.): Whatever the country does in the way of pomp and pageantry, it does it well. This item for repairs is not for repairing the robes, but the insignia, which, as the hon. Member knows, is jewellery, and may require re-setting, and so on. With regard to the fees, I believe that most Knights do not pay anything when the Order is conferred upon them; though when a person is made a Knight of the Garter I believe the payment required is £1,000.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: Do all the Knights pay that?

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: All the ordinary Knights pay it; but I believe foreign Sovereigns do not. The Orders of the Bath, St. Michael and St. George, St. Patrick, and the Thistle are conferred on Civil servants and so forth, gentlemen whose position does not enable them to pay heavy fees; and the arrangements as to fees are so made that the granting of these marks of distinction does not impose a burden upon those who receive them. That, I think, is the proper explanation of the item.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 140; Noes 48: Majority 92. — (Div. List, No. 42.)

REVENUE DEPARTMENTS.

(32.) £536,057, to complete the sum for Customs.

(33.) £1,057,506, to complete the sum for Inland Revenue.

(34.) £3,118,955, to complete the sum for the Post Office.

(35.) £335,663, to complete the sum for the Post Office Packet Service.

DR. CLARK (Caithness): I should like, if possible, to have some information from the Postmaster General as to whether he intends to do anything to accelerate the mails in the North and North-West of Scotland? The mail that leaves London at night for the West of Scotland goes to Stirling, where it remains two hours; and instead of getting to Oban at about 9 o'clock, so as to enable it to be sent at once by the packets and steamers to the Western Islands, it does not get there until after 12 o'clock. The mail going

to Inverness gets there long before the one going to Oban reaches its destination. The result of the present arrangement is that the entire service to the West of Scotland by steamers and mail packets is kept back by the mail being detained two hours at Stirling.

THE CHAIRMAN: The question as to mail trains is not applicable to this Vote.

DR. CLARK: The packets are unable to leave. The letters, as I say, come from the South by train, and they have to go on by packet. If the mail trains were not delayed on the way the packets would be able to get started, and the letters would be all the sooner distributed.

THE POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. RAIKES) (Cambridge University): Though this matter is not strictly relevant to the Vote I may, perhaps, be permitted to say a word in reply to the hon. Member who has referred to it. The West side of Scotland has not yet occupied my attention, though the other side has. I shall, however, now be glad to consider the requirements of the West side, and shall devote attention to the matter the hon. Gentleman has referred to, in order to see what can be done.

Vote agreed to.

(36.) £775,510, to complete the sum for the Post Office Telegraphs.

CLASS III.—LAW AND JUSTICE.

(37.) £1,680, Supplementary, for Revising Barristers, England.

(38.) £3,930, for the Crofters' Commission.

CLASS IV.—EDUCATION, SCIENCE, AND ART.

(39.) £5,000, for the Royal University of Ireland.

CLASS VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

(40.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £14,786, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1887, for the repayment to the Civil Contingencies Fund of certain Miscellaneous Advances."

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton): As a loyal subject of Her Majesty, and a great respecter of the Royal Family, I have always thought that one of the

greatest mistakes that successive Governments make is to come on Parliament for these small sums. I believe these sums have caused a great deal more irritation to the people of this country than the larger sums that are asked for for Her Majesty and the Royal Family, and the Relatives of Her Majesty who belong to other Royal Families. Now, you will find that when Members of the Royal Family travel in England they either take the ordinary train, or a special train, and pay their fares themselves. A Member of the Royal Family on his way to the Continent, however, pays his own fare down to Dover; but when he arrives at Dover the country is called on to provide a private steam packet for him at a cost of £40. There are generally two packets there with private cabins; and I do not see why Members of the Royal Family should not use those packets precisely as they use the ordinary train. If they like to take a private packet let them pay for it themselves. There has been, for many years, in this House a very strong objection to these payments. If we were only called upon to make them when the Heir to the Throne goes on official business to the Continent we should not object; but we feel that when he goes on his own private business we should not be called upon to pay £40 as the expense of his going there, and £40 as the expense of his coming back. But it is not only His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales whose expenses we have to pay in this way. We have to deal in the same way with the Duke and Duchess of Connaught, the Duke of Cambridge, and other Royal personages. They all take these private packets, and we are called on to pay for them. But that is not all. We have, in the same way, to pay part of the travelling expenses of His Royal Highness the Grand Duke of Hesse. Every time he comes here we have to pay £40. Why should we do that? I have no doubt that this illustrious personage is very much respected by his own subjects, and if he comes here we are ready to welcome him and speed the parting guest; but why should we pay for his crossing the Channel? Why should we pay £40 for the Grand Duchess of Mecklenburg to come here, and £40 for her to go back? We do more than that in the case of Her

Royal or Her Serene Highness, for when she feels inclined to come to England she orders a steam packet at our expense, and when she changes her mind and does not come we are charged demurrage. Then there is the Duchess of Teck, a very popular Princess, but not even the child or the grandchild of the Sovereign, yet we have to pay for her trips to the Continent. We know that we are so fortunate as to possess a very large Royal Family; that there are a very large number of grandchildren to the present Sovereign; and it is rather a serious thing to contemplate the expense we may ultimately be called upon to bear if we have to pay £80 every time one of these grandchildren wishes to go to the Continent. I know what the defence is for this expenditure; I have heard it a hundred times from the Front Bench opposite. I have been told, and I presume I shall hear it again to-night, that the Fleet belongs to Her Majesty, and that Her Majesty has got the right to order a ship of war to come to Dover, or to go to Calais, to convey one of Her Relatives from or to this country whenever she likes. We shall be told that if we do not hire these private steamers Her Majesty will do this. I have far too great a respect for Her Majesty to believe that she would do anything of the sort; but, even if she would do so, at any rate she might as well try it. If Her Majesty were to employ a ship of the Navy, at a large cost, for transporting Members of Her Family across the Channel, we might then have to consider what course we ought to take to save the expenditure.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £14,172, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1887, for the repayment to the Civil Contingencies Fund of certain Miscellaneous Advances."—*(Mr. Labouchere.)*

DR. CLARK (Caithness): I see an item here upon which I should like some information—namely, for the Right Hon. John Naish, late Lord Chancellor of Ireland, £903. I cannot think that that sum is for repairing his robes; I cannot think his robes want repairing, seeing that he was only five weeks Lord Chancellor before the Liberal Government was overturned. Surely, in five weeks, his robes could not have been

damaged to the extent of £903. We have another Irish Lord Chancellor now, and he will probably be in the same position with regard to this allowance. We have been having Lord Chancellors appointed rather frequently of late, and I should like to know how much of this money is spent if a man only serves five weeks? Even so short an appointment as five weeks entitles a man to an enormous pension ever afterwards. I wish to know whether, if a Lord Chancellor were re-appointed, this item under discussion would be again charged?

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.): Apparently this item of £900 is for equipage. I do not know Mr. John Naish personally; but although he received a large allowance for equipage, which of course means carriages and horses, I believe that, so far as the inhabitants of Dublin are aware, he never used even so much as a donkey cart.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.): The item which is called equipage money is a sum which is payable on the appointment of the Lord Chancellor. It is not paid twice to the same individual; therefore, on the second appointment, the sum will not be paid.

MR. DILLON: I think that after the statement of the hon. Gentleman further explanation is necessary. It certainly appears from these Estimates that this sum is paid to the Lord Chancellor on his second appointment. We want to know whether that is so or not?

MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.): The hon. Gentleman (Mr. Jackson) will see that £923 1s. 6d. is paid on the appointment of the Lord Chancellor of Ireland. This is his second appointment within a year.

MR. JACKSON: The hon. Member (Mr. T. W. Russell) well knows that these Estimates were prepared last year, and I think he will find that the statement I made—[An hon. MEMBER: This is a Supplementary Estimate.] Yes; but it was paid out of the Civil Contingencies Fund. I think the explanation I have given is correct—namely, that the money will not be paid twice. I trust the hon. Gentleman the Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) will not press his Motion to a division. He suggests that one of the ships of the Navy might be used for the conveyance

of distinguished persons; but I think he knows perfectly well that there is hardly a ship in the Navy that could go into the harbours. Besides, I understand—and this, I think, will commend itself to the hon. Member—that even if one of the ships of the Navy was brought into requisition, the actual cost of the coal used would be more than the sum that is paid for these packets.

MR. J. ROWLANDS (Finsbury, E.): Some of us are not particularly anxious to use either men-of-war, or to pay for special packets, for the conveyance of these distinguished personages across the Channel. If these journeys have to be undertaken, I cannot understand why they should not be paid for by the persons taking them.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL) (Paddington, S.): Until hon. Gentlemen are prepared to make a considerable change in the Constitution, they must bear in mind that the Navy is the Queen's Navy, and that the ships of the Navy are the Queen's ships; and that, therefore, the Queen is perfectly entitled to use the ships of the Navy for the conveyance of such persons as may be convenient to the Royal pleasure. As a matter of fact, the chartering of these packets is a more economical way of conveying distinguished persons to and from this country than the employment of what it would be within the right of Her Majesty to employ—a large man-of-war or a large yacht.

MR. PICTON (Leicester): I do not quite understand the argument of the noble Lord (Lord Randolph Churchill). Our Parks are called the Queen's Parks; but I do not understand that Her Majesty can make any special use of them for herself. I protest against the mere use of a ceremonial formula to justify the expenditure of £40 every time an august Family or a Member of an august Family wishes to cross the Channel. The Navy belongs to Her Majesty, as representing and impersonating the nation, and not as her private property. I do not think the reason given by the noble Lord the Chancellor of the Exchequer for this expenditure is at all a valid one.

DR. CLARK: I hope my hon. Friend (Mr. Labouchere) will take a division upon this Vote as a protest on behalf of the unfortunate travellers who, when they come down to Dover or Calais, find

that the best and most regular boat is engaged for the conveyance of a distinguished person, and that they have to cross the Channel in one of the wretched cargo boats. I remember that not long ago, when one of these wretched cargo steamers was crossing the Channel with passengers, the regular packet having been engaged for the conveyance of a distinguished person, it broke down, and the passengers were eight or nine hours in the Channel at the mercy of the wind and waves.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 48; Noes 126: Majority 78.—(Div. List, No. 43.)

Original Question put, and *agreed to*.

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow*.

SUPPLY.—REPORT.

Resolutions [16th September] *reported*.

Resolutions 1 to 5, inclusive, *agreed to*.

Resolution 6 read a first and second time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House doth agree with the Committee in the said Resolution."

MR. M. J. KENNY (Tyrone, Mid): On this Vote I should like to ask the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) two questions—namely, if any information has come into his possession recently in regard to the action of the Land Commissioners in instructing their solicitor to proceed against certain glebe purchasers in Ireland for arrears which the Land Commissioners knew the men could not pay; and, also, if he can see his way to include the case of the glebe purchasers within the purview of the inquiry which is about to be held into the condition of agriculture in Ireland? All the glebe purchasers in Ireland are very anxious that the scope of the inquiry should be so extended as to include their case.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH) (Bristol, W.): I have no information as to the first question of the hon. Member (Mr. M. J. Kenny). As to the second question, I may say I have already been in communication with some Gentlemen,

Members of this House, who have interested themselves on behalf of the glebe purchasers; but I do not see how the case of the glebe purchasers could come within the purview of the inquiry. They are not tenants, but owners under the provisions of the Irish Church Act. They do not come under the Land Act of 1881, into the operation of which the Commission is to inquire. For that reason I do not see how their case can be inquired into.

MR. M. J. KENNY: Is it not possible to extend the scope of the inquiry?

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: No; not to include their case. I think I have already said, in answer to a Question, that I will look into the matter, and see whether anything can be done to improve the position of these purchasers.

MR. M. J. KENNY: The right hon. Gentleman has said these men are not tenants, but owners; they can, however, be ejected.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: They are there in the position of mortgagees.

Question put, and *agreed to*.

Resolutions 7 and 8, severally, *agreed to*.

Resolution 9 read a first and second time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House doth agree with the Committee in the said Resolution."

MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.): In consequence of the answer I received earlier in the Sitting from the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach), I desire to raise the question of the accommodation of certain Presbyterian prisoners in Ireland. Of course, I wish to acknowledge the courtesy of the right hon. Gentleman. I am quite certain the statement he made in reply to my question must have been put into his hands by the officers whose conduct is complained of. It is a fact that eight Presbyterian prisoners were sent from Belfast to Kilkenny Gaol in the month of June, and not only were they there denied the services of the Presbyterian minister at Kilkenny, but every effort made by the Kilkenny Presbyterian minister to see the prisoners was objected to by the officer in authority.

In short, the men were denied the ministrations of their own clergymen. It is no answer to say that six of the prisoners expressed themselves satisfied with the ministrations of the Episcopalian clergyman. There is another point to which I would like the Chief Secretary to direct his attention, and it is that the Presbyterians have no representative on the Prisons Board—they have very little representation on any public Board in Ireland—and as the Member for a constituency largely Presbyterian I think it well to say there is a very bitter and strong feeling growing up on this question. I should like some assurance from the Chief Secretary that during the Recess he will look into the matter. The right hon. Gentleman did not answer the last part of the question I put to him earlier. I asked him to say if care will be taken in future that such a thing as occurred at Kilkenny will not happen again, and that Presbyterians will not be sent to prisons where they are denied the right to the ministrations of their own clergymen. It does not follow, because the Presbyterian Church furnishes so few prisoners, that prisoners of that persuasion ought to be neglected in the matter of religious ministrations.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.): I sympathize with the hon. Member (Mr. T. W. Russell) in the complaint he has put forward. I have myself known cases in which Roman Catholic prisoners have been refused the ministration of clergymen of their own Church. In matters of this kind we are quite as ready to speak in the interest of Episcopalians as we are in the interest of members of our own Church; and, therefore, I express a hope that the Government will see that when Presbyterian prisoners are removed from Belfast to places like Kilkenny, the Presbyterian minister there shall be allowed to have reasonable access to the prison.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Sir MICHAEL HICKS - BEACH) (Bristol, W.): I can assure the hon. Member that there is no desire to prevent reasonable access being had to prisoners by the clergymen of the Churches of which they are members, and the matter shall not be lost sight of.

MR. BIGGAR (Cavan, W.): I think the Presbyterian ministers have far more favours shown them than is desirable. I know that those gentlemen

do not give any ministerial services unless they are paid for. If the minister in the neighbourhood has any zeal for his religion, one would think that he would attend prisoners without a special payment. Perhaps the case could be met by making a capitation grant.

Question put, and agreed to.

Remaining Resolutions agreed to.

WAYS AND MEANS.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Resolved, That, towards making good the Supply granted to Her Majesty for the service of the year ending on the 31st day of March 1887, the sum of £20,089,689 be granted out of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom.

Resolution to be reported *To-morrow*.

House adjourned at Three o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Saturday, 18th September, 1886.

The House met at Twelve of the clock.

MINUTES.]—SUPPLY—considered in Committee
Resolutions [September 17] reported.

WAYS AND MEANS—considered in Committee—
Resolution [September 17] reported.

PUBLIC BILL — *Ordered* — *First Reading* —
Consolidated Fund (Appropriation).

QUESTION.

POOR LAW (ENGLAND AND WALES)—
AGED COUPLES IN WORKHOUSES.

MR. CHARLES W. GRAY (Essex, Maldon) asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether he will inquire into the cases of Philpots and wife, and Edwards and wife, aged paupers of the Hastings Workhouse, who against their wishes are separated; and, if the Local Government Board will consider the advisability of taking steps to alter a long-existing arrangement at the infirmary of the Halstead (Essex) Workhouse, by which invalids, both on the male and on the female side, are placed in a small day ward with idiots and imbeciles?

Mr. T. W. Russell

THE PRESIDENT (Mr. RITCHIE) (Tower Hamlets, St. George's): I will inquire into the circumstances of the case, and if the Guardians have not provided proper accommodation I will see that the matter is attended to. I have at present no information as to the arrangement alluded to, at the Halstead Workhouse; but the matter will receive my attention.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

Ordered, That, on Monday next, the Order of the 3rd day of September, giving precedence to all stages of the Appropriation Bill, be suspended.—(Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.)

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

SUPPLY.—REPORT.

Resolutions [17th September] *reported*.

Resolutions 1 to 12, inclusive, *agreed to*.

(13.) "That a sum, not exceeding £62,010, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1887, for the Expenses of Her Majesty's Embassies and Missions Abroad."

EGYPT (FINANCE, &c.) — THE 5 PER CENT DEDUCTION FROM THE COUPONS—REPAYMENT BY ENGLAND.

OBSERVATIONS.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.), in rising to draw attention to the announcement made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer towards the close of the previous day's Sitting, that it was intended to devote a sum of £200,000 towards the repayment of 5 per cent which had been deducted from the coupons of the Egyptian bondholders, said, that although the announcement of the noble Lord was undoubtedly of a startling character, it had not received the discussion which its importance demanded. He was inclined to believe that this sum was offered as a sort of bribe to the bondholders and the Foreign Powers, at the expense of the British taxpayers, for the purpose of securing a sullen acquiescence on their part in the British occupation of Egypt. His contention was that the surplus out of which it was proposed to make the payment was not

a real, but a sham surplus. He asserted, without fear of contradiction, that it was a sham surplus obtained by borrowing. There was, however, something much more serious beyond. He was afraid that the Egyptian fellahs had been very much squeezed in order to keep up a very severe revenue system, and that no allowance had been made for the depreciation of agricultural value. It might be possible in future years to make Egypt pay; but it could only be done on one condition, and that was that the expense of defending Egypt from foreign and other enemies was placed upon the British taxpayer. Such a course would, in his opinion, be most unjustifiable; but as long as the necessity existed it was improper to say that any surplus existed in Egypt. The expense of the British occupation of Egypt and of the employment of the military there was very large indeed. The extraordinary charges on account of Egypt exceeded £1,000,000; and, taking other matters into consideration, the cost would amount at least to £2,000,000 or £3,000,000 per annum. But we gave even more than that, because the Egyptian Revenue was swelled by the Customs duties and the cost of the transport of the Army by railway. All these things involved the expenditure of British money, and the cost of the movement of British troops in Egypt was a very large item indeed. If hon. Members would inquire into the matter, they would find that, in truth, not one farthing of the £200,000 paid in by Egypt was a reality; and, in point of fact, the major part of the money came from the pockets of the British taxpayer. He was sure the Secretary of State for War, of all persons, must be most anxious to substitute an Egyptian Army for the British Army, now suffering so much in health and costing so much. But if an Egyptian Army was to be substituted, somebody must pay for it. At present the Egyptian Budget only allowed for an expenditure upon a Native Army which would be altogether inadequate for the defence of the country. He failed to understand why we alone of all the nations of the world should be required to pay for the defence of Egypt, surrounded as she was by warlike tribes always ready to pounce upon her. Other countries had quite as much interest in the defence of Egypt

as this country, and ought to contribute to the necessary expenditure. The arrangement by which we received £200,000 for the expense we incurred in the defence of Egypt was not an international arrangement that bound us for any time, but was an arrangement during pleasure, which might be put an end to at any moment. In the present circumstances of Egypt we were bound to put an end to the arrangement, which was a most shameful one towards the British taxpayer, who had to pay an unreal surplus where there was no real surplus at all. Any surplus whatever ought to be applied to the relief of the burden upon the British taxpayers and to the cost of the Army engaged in the defence of Egypt, instead of being handed over to the bondholders. The bondholders were in the position of creditors to a bankrupt estate, and they should be bound to pay the cost of keeping the estate going. They were not entitled to receive the interest of the debt due to them in full, while others were paying for the defence of the country from which they derived all the benefit. Even if there were a real surplus, which he entirely disputed, it ought to be devoted to the relief of the British taxpayer from part of the burden imposed on him in defending the country. The announcement of the noble Lord, therefore, that the sum of £200,000 was to be surrendered in order to repay the 5 per cent deducted from the interest on the coupons of the bondholders was most startling, and it altogether reversed the principle laid down by the late Government, that the creditors in possession should pay something towards keeping the concern going. The principle was asserted by deducting the 5 per cent; and if we gave up that we should get absolutely nothing. To his mind, it was evident that it was only a bribe to foreign financiers to induce them to give a sullen acquiescence to our continued occupation of Egypt.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL) (Paddington, S.): The question which the hon. Gentleman opposite has raised is, no doubt, one of the highest importance, and I make no complaint whatever against the hon. Gentleman for having given expression to his views in this House. At the same time, I must point

out to him that to-day at half-past 12 he is simply repeating word for word what he stated earlier in the morning at half-past 2; and, moreover, that that which he stated at half-past 2 was completely and ably answered by my right hon. Friend the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir James Fergusson). The hon. Gentleman seems to forget, or to be callous to the fact, that he, although a typical representative of "dear old Scotland," has been pouring volumes of censure on the head of the late Prime Minister, the right hon. Member for Mid Lothian. He has censured without stint, and without any measure whatever, the occupation of Egypt, the financial arrangements of Egypt, the Soudan Campaign, and everything connected with Egypt. [Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL: I always did so.] I must take entire issue with the hon. Gentleman upon that point. I was a close attendant in the last Parliament, and I have no recollection of hearing on the part of the hon. Gentleman anything so unlimited in the shape of censure. He is forgetful, or callous to the fact, that for neither the occupation of Egypt, nor the financial arrangements of Egypt, nor the Soudan Campaign, nor anything connected with Egypt, is the present Government in the least responsible. The whole responsibility for the arrangement which the hon. Member holds up to execration as being the most infamous arrangement ever made by any country rests with the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian, of whom the hon. Gentleman professes to be so warm a supporter. Having made these remarks, I will now pass on to the particular point which seems more than any other to exercise the mind of the hon. Member. He declares that the repayment in 1887 of 5 per cent on the coupons deducted from the bondholders in 1885 would be an act of gross iniquity. It is not my business to pronounce an opinion on that matter. It may be so; I cannot say. All I have to point out to the hon. Member is that neither the Egyptian Government nor Her Majesty's Government have the slightest option in the matter. They are bound by international engagements with the Powers—engagements, again, concluded by the late Government and the right hon. Member for Mid Lothian. If the late Government—or, I would be more correct in saying, the right hon. Member

Sir George Campbell

for Mid Lothian's second Government—made a bad bargain, that is no affair of the present Government. All that we have to do with is this—they entered into solemn and binding engagements, with the consent of Egypt, with the European Powers, and these engagements it is our duty to carry out, and we are not at liberty to repudiate engagements which are disagreeable to us, and to insist on carrying out only those which are pleasant to us. Our duty is to carry out all our engagements with Foreign Powers. The case stands thus—the Egyptian Government are bound to the Powers by the Declaration and Convention of the 17th and 18th of March 1885, and by the Khedivial Decree of the 27th of July, to keep the charge on the yearly Revenue for administration expenditure within £5,237,000. It is absolutely out of the power of the Egyptian Government, or of Her Majesty's Government, to increase the expenditure for administration over and above that sum. As a matter of fact, it is limited by Treaty; and any surplus on the year's receipts is to be paid over to the Commissioners of the Public Debt for the purpose of making good the deduction of 5 per cent from the interest on the several Egyptian loans sanctioned by the Convention. Again, I would entreat the hon. Member to recollect that we have no power to escape from that engagement. Egypt is bound next year, if there is a surplus over this £5,237,000, and must automatically repay the deduction of 5 per cent on the coupons. We have absolutely no power in the matter. But I must point out to the hon. Gentleman what the alternative would be, because it may be considered by many persons that we have made a good bargain in the matter. What is the alternative of our not paying? Suppose the Egyptian Government goes to the Great Powers and says that it is unable to pay? In that case the only alternative is an International Commission to examine into the finances of Egypt. The hon. Gentleman is quite as entitled as I am to form an opinion upon that subject; but I will state to the House that, in my opinion, and in the opinion, I believe, of all my Colleagues, the alternative of an International Commission would be a much greater evil to Egypt than the course now proposed to be taken. An International Commission

might certainly represent in a very direct and aggressive manner the interests of those bondholders from whom the hon. Member is extremely anxious to protect the people of Egypt. From the whole tone of the hon. Member's remarks it is obvious to me that he has not examined the subject with that care which he should have exercised if he felt himself entitled to make such a sweeping condemnation of the course pursued by the late Government. He cannot have examined the legal position and obligations of Egypt to the Powers. He cannot have reflected for a moment on the absolute obligation imposed upon this Government by our presence in Egypt to support the Egyptian Government in fulfilling these obligations towards the Powers of Europe. At this period of the Session, I do not think it is desirable to enter into an elaborate review of the whole of this most melancholy story of our intervention in Egypt. We are not in any way responsible for anything that is taking place, and we cannot be held responsible. I certainly, for one, am not responsible, either directly or indirectly, because I have protested against the course which this country has pursued in reference to Egypt from beginning to end. But, being in Egypt, and having incurred enormous responsibility by our being there, the Government are perfectly determined to fulfil all the responsibilities and obligations imposed upon them by the Convention. We are bound to do so by honour and duty alike; and we will not give up our work or withdraw from our mission in Egypt until these responsibilities and obligations have been altogether and faithfully fulfilled.

Resolution agreed to.

Resolutions 14 to 33, inclusive, agreed to.

(34.) "That a sum, not exceeding £3,118,955, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1887, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Post Office Services, the Expenses of Post Office Savings Banks, and Government Annuities and Insurances, and the Collection of the Post Office Revenue."

POST OFFICE—THE MEDICAL STAFF.

OBSERVATION.

MR. PICKERSGILL (Bethnal Green, S.W.) said, he had intended to call attention to the oppressive conduct of the Medical Staff at the Post Office; but as

the Postmaster General was not in his place, he would call attention to the subject upon some stage of the Appropriation Bill.

POST OFFICE—SUCCESS OF THE SIX-PENNY TELEGRAM SYSTEM.

OBSERVATIONS.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE (Bradford, Central) said, that he had also intended to put a Question to the Postmaster General on the subject of the results which had been obtained from the introduction of 6d. telegrams. When the Post Office Vote was taken at 3 o'clock in the morning, it was not to be expected that every Member of the House would be in his place; but when the Report was brought up it might have been anticipated that some observations would be made. However, as the right hon. Gentleman was not present, he would defer his remarks until the second reading of the Appropriation Bill.

Resolution *agreed to*.

Remaining Resolutions *agreed to*.

WAYS AND MEANS.

Resolution [September 17] *reported, and agreed to*.

CONSOLIDATED FUND (APPROPRIATION) BILL.

MOTION FOR LEAVE.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That leave be given to bring in a Bill to apply a sum out of the Consolidated Fund to the service of the year ending on the thirty-first day of March, one thousand eight hundred and eighty-seven, and to appropriate the Supplies granted in this Session of Parliament."—*(Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.)*

POST OFFICE—SUCCESS OF THE SIX-PENNY TELEGRAM SYSTEM.

OBSERVATIONS.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE (Bradford, Central) said, that as the Postmaster General was at that moment in his place, he would take the opportunity of putting the Question to him which he had intended to put on the Report of Supply. He wanted to know what had been the financial result of the introduction of 6d. telegrams? It was now nearly a year since the cost of telegrams was reduced; and he thought it would be for the convenience of the public and of the House if the right hon. Gentleman would state whether the result had been satisfactory or not? He believed there had been a

great increase in the number of telegrams sent; but he wished to know whether there had been any actual increase of revenue? It was desirable to know what the total result of the change had been; and whether the total income derived from this source had resulted in an increase or in a loss to the revenue?

THE POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. RAIKES) (Cambridge University) said, he must apologize to hon. Gentlemen for his absence at the moment when the Report of Supply was brought on. He had not expected that the Resolution relating to the Post Office Vote would have been reached so early. He was afraid that he could not at present give a perfectly complete reply to the right hon. Member for Bradford; but he might say that the estimate of last year of the receipts from the 6d. telegrams had been exceeded. It would be indiscreet to say that this increase would continue, or even that the number would be maintained, because it might have been due to special causes. The experience of the Department was too recent to enable a conclusive opinion to be formed; but, as a matter of fact, during the first part of the year it appeared as if the estimate of loss, which had been fixed at £20,000, would be exceeded. But—owing, perhaps, to the General Election and other causes—the number of telegrams had been materially increased during the last quarter, and during the last 12 weeks he believed the number was more than 1,000,000 a-week, the largest number under the 1s. system having been 750,000 in one week. But he could not strike a balance of profit and loss, or say whether the recent increase was due to the action of only temporary causes, until he saw more of the results of the financial year. Of course, this great increase had entailed increased expenditure; but he must refrain from giving any speculative opinion upon the matter for fear that he might mislead the House. On the whole, he might say that the experiment which had been made in reducing the price of telegrams to 6d. had, it appeared to him, borne fruit more speedily than was anticipated. He was inclined to hope that, instead of exceeding the estimate of loss as was at one time feared, the loss due to the new system in the present year would certainly fall short of the estimate; and that, in fact, there was

every reason to hope that, in a comparatively short time, the revenue would be equal to the expenditure.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE asked the right hon. Gentleman to say what the percentage of increase in the telegrams had been in the course of the year—what, for instance, was the percentage in the increase of the number at present over the number last year before the rate was reduced?

MR. RAIKES: I will endeavour to obtain the information.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: I told the right hon. Gentleman privately that it was part of the information I should ask for.

MR. RAIKES said, that he was sorry that he had been unable to obtain the information, and that he was, therefore, prevented at that moment from giving it; indeed, he was afraid it would be impossible, for the purpose the right hon. Gentleman desired, to attempt at the present moment to give any comparison between the number of telegrams received in any one week in the present year with the number received in the corresponding week last year before the reduction came into operation. He could only promise that he would make an endeavour to procure the information which the right hon. Gentleman desired.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, he would repeat the Question on the second reading of the Appropriation Bill.

POST OFFICE—THE MEDICAL STAFF. OBSERVATIONS.

MR. PICKERSGILL (Bethnal Green, S.W.) said, he desired to call the attention of the House to the conduct of the medical staff of the Post Office, which he alleged to be oppressive so far as the *employés* were concerned, and injurious to the public interests. Public attention had been prominently called to the subject by the death of Mr. Billinghamurst, an official in the Telegraph Department of the Post Office. The Postmaster General, when his attention was called to the case, said that it was a most melancholy occurrence, and he quite agreed with the terms in which the right hon. Gentleman spoke. The right hon. Gentleman, however, went on to say that, in his opinion, no blame attached to the medical staff of the Post Office in the matter. He was at direct issue with the right hon. Gentleman on that point; and what he wished to ascertain was whether it was

really true that no one was to blame in the matter, or whether the death of Mr. Billinghamurst—and he was afraid the deaths of other officers similarly situated—were not the probable consequence of the system which now prevailed among the medical staff of the Post Office? He had been at great pains to make personal inquiries into this particular case and into others, and he was satisfied that there was ample justification for an inquiry. It was obvious that this was not a Party question. He was sure hon. Gentlemen opposite, equally with himself, would condemn any act that partook of the nature of oppression or cruelty to a public servant. He admitted at the outset that the medical staff of the Post Office had difficult duties to perform, and he did not pretend that the office was either easy or pleasant. But the emoluments were not inconsiderable, and the members of the staff were not precluded from taking private practice. He therefore thought that it might be fairly demanded from the staff that there should be a careful and discriminating system of examination—a system which should, on the one hand, be thoroughly efficient, as far as the public interests were concerned, and should not, on the other, be oppressive towards the public servants. The practice at the Post Office was this. When an officer was absent from his employment for more than a day he was compelled to forward a medical certificate; and the complaint he (Mr. Pickersgill) had to make in the case of Mr. Billinghamurst arose from the fact that in that instance the medical certificate sent to the Post Office had been ignored. He had been in communication with several eminent medical men, and one of them frankly told him that there were medical practitioners in London and elsewhere who would give a certificate without any real examination of the patient, and really upon the *ipse dixit* of the patient himself. Therefore, it was not to be expected that the medical staff of the Post Office should necessarily accept every medical certificate submitted to them. At the same time, they ought to be guided by the etiquette of the Profession, and whenever a medical certificate was forwarded to them they were bound to exercise the greatest possible care, first, as to summoning the patient to the Post Office, and, secondly, in examining him when he presented himself. Until the medical officer of the

Post Office did that he was not entitled to ignore the medical certificate. He had not only made a personal inquiry into this case, but also into several others, with which, however, he would not trouble the House. He would, however, mention that in one case where the patient had a certificate that he was unfit for duty, all that the medical officer of the Post Office did was to look at his tongue and feel his pulse. Now, he maintained that an examination of that kind was not only unprofessional, but dangerous. Mr. Billinghamst died on August 9. He had been absent from duty from July 10 until the 23rd, and he received a medical certificate from a doctor at Dalston, which was duly forwarded to the Post Office. On the 23rd he attended by order of the Post Office to be examined by the medical officer of the Department. He was seen by Dr. Sinclair, and Mr. Steet was also in the room, and what took place was only known to those two gentlemen. The account given by Mr. Billinghamst to his father, mother, and brother—an account repeated by him on his death-bed, and therefore invested with all the solemnity of a dying declaration—was that Dr. Sinclair told him he was making a fuss about nothing, and that he must resume duty at once. Mr. Billinghamst said that he was too weak; and, to quote his own words, he had a regular row with the doctor, when he obtained an extension of leave from Friday until Monday. He regarded his return to duty on Monday as compulsory, and exhibited the greatest possible concern about it. It was only fair to say that the medical officers of the Post Office gave a different account of the interview. They said that Mr. Billinghamst told them he was feeling much better, and would be able to resume duty on the following Monday. Well, it would be unbecoming in him (Mr. Pickersgill) to charge officers of the Crown with any deliberate misstatement. He would not do it, but would simply leave the conflict of evidence which had taken place upon this matter as he had stated it to the judgment of the House. It was not disputed that from the Monday on which he returned to duty—that was to say, from Monday, July 26, to Saturday, July, 31—Mr. Billinghamst was on duty. On the Tuesday he consulted the medical officer again, and

again on the Friday; and then on the following Monday, August 2, which was a Bank Holiday, Mr. Billinghamst was taken by his father in a cab to consult Dr. Edward Clapton, of London Bridge, and from him he obtained a certificate of unfitness for duty. On the Thursday in that week Mr. Billinghamst was ordered to attend the medical officer of the Post Office, if able to leave the house. It would be as well to point out that the medical officer had seen Mr. Billinghamst only on the previous Friday, and that, subsequent to the Friday, he had had in his possession a certificate that Mr. Billinghamst was unfit for duty, signed by a man so eminent in his profession as Dr. Edward Clapton. In these circumstances, and carefully weighing both sides of the question, he (Mr. Pickersgill) had no hesitation in saying that the summons of August 5 requiring Mr. Billinghamst to attend at the Post Office, if able to leave the house, was a most injudicious, harassing, and unprofessional act on the part of the medical officer of the Post Office. Mr. Billinghamst did not attend, but sent a certificate from Dr. Wadsworth, of Dalston, who had stated that on August 6 Mr. Billinghamst was in a dying state. On August 9 the medical officer of the Post Office asked the dying man to forward a certificate of the nature of the fever that he was alleged to be suffering from, and the reply received was that Mr. Billinghamst had already died of typhoid fever. Of course, he (Mr. Pickersgill) did not for a moment desire to maintain that the medical staff of the Post Office were so inhuman as knowingly and wilfully to harass a dying man; but what he submitted to the Postmaster General, and what he wished to force upon his attention, was this—that it was the natural and probable consequence of the present careless system of the medical officers of the Post Office that there should be a recurrence at not unfrequent intervals of what the right hon. Gentleman himself styled "melancholy events." He desired also to point out that this system was not only oppressive to the staff, but that it was also very injurious to the public interest, and he would tell the right hon. Gentleman how it was so injurious to the public interest. Men of excellent character were to his knowledge harassed by the medical officers, with the result

in one case that a gentleman who, if he had been simply allowed a few days' additional leave, would have been entirely restored to health, by being peremptorily ordered to resume duty had a relapse, the consequence being that, instead of being absent for only a day or two, he was obliged to remain away for a very long period. In this conspicuous case an officer occupying a very fair position in the Service and of excellent character—as his superior officers would testify—was peremptorily ordered by Dr. Field to resume his duty; he resumed it under protest; was at the head office for a day or two, and then was absent in all about 50 days. As to this Dr. Field, he had asked the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Raikes) the other day under what authority he was employed at the Post Office in a medical capacity, because his name was not to be found in *The Post Office Directory* as on the medical staff. The right hon. Gentleman had been good enough to reply that the appointment was made under the authority of his Predecessor. It made no difference to him (Mr. Pickersgill) who was Chief of the Post Office—his action would be the same in any case. Dr. Field was employed at the Post Office for five weeks, and paid—let particular attention be given to this—at the rate of £3 3s. a-week out of a sum of £100 provided for the purpose of remunerating substitutes for medical officers under leave. The duty of Dr. Field, it was said, was to perform all the duties attaching to the post of the medical officer whose place he was taking. Well, during his five weeks' engagement Dr. Field actually did order the officer alluded to to resume duty, and that gentleman was obliged to obey, in spite of his most strenuous protests. With these facts in view a strong appeal must be made to the House. Was it right that this tremendous power of ordering an officer to resume duty, in spite of his protest, backed up by a medical certificate, should be placed in the hands of a person who was only occasionally employed at the rate of £3 3s. a-week? The Postmaster General had been most careful to say that Dr. Field had to perform all the duties attaching to the office of the gentleman whose place he was taking. Was it not, then, a most astounding thing that a person receiving

£3 3s. a-week was called on to discharge all the duties of an office, the ordinary emolument of which was no less than £983 per annum? He (Mr. Pickersgill) asked hon. Members—and especially those amongst them who belonged to the Medical Profession—what kind of medical man could they get for £3 3s. a-week? And suppose they could get a medical man competent to discharge these important duties at the rate of £3 3s. a-week, then he charged the Postmaster General with a scandalous waste of public money in paying a gentleman no less than £983 per annum to discharge the duties. He objected to this item of £100 for substitutes altogether, and if he were in Order he should move the reduction of the Vote by that sum. Without the sum of £100 the cost was enormous, being no less than £2,627. The permanent staff comprised four medical officers and one dispensing assistant; and yet, in spite of this large staff, the country was asked to pay £100 to provide substitutes for these gentlemen whilst they were absent on annual leave. Speaking as an old Government official, so far as his experience went there was no parallel case. He appealed to the Postmaster General to say whether, when any of the clerical secretaries of the Post Office, or when any of the chief permanent officials were away on vacation, he came to the House and made application for a sum to enable him to provide substitutes? Certainly not. These gentlemen went away annually; but those who remained at home distributed among themselves the work of their colleagues who were on leave, so that the duties of the Office were carried on satisfactorily, without the employment of anybody in the shape of a substitute. This item of £100 seemed to him, at all events in the absence of further explanation, to bear upon it all the marks of a jobbing transaction; and, in conclusion, if he were in Order, he begged to move to reduce the amount by the sum of £100.

MR. SPEAKER: It would not be in Order to put the Motion. The Question before the House is that leave be given to bring in the Bill. The hon. Member moves to strike out an item; but he cannot do that on the introduction of a measure.

MR. PICKERSGILL said, he would content himself with the observations he had made, while expressing a hope that the Postmaster General would at the last moment modify the statement he had submitted the other day, that no one was to blame in the matter. He could assure the right hon. Gentleman that such words as those, spoken with all the authority of the Parliamentary Chief of a Department, were calculated to produce a bad impression and a considerable amount of dissatisfaction among the subordinate officials of the Department; and, furthermore, were calculated to inspire in the minds of the public some doubt as to the equity of the right hon. Gentleman's administration.

MR. WOOTTON ISAACSON (Tower Hamlets, Stepney) said, he cordially concurred with every word which had fallen from the hon. Member for Bethnal Green (Mr. Pickersgill). Representing, as he (Mr. Isaacson) did, a large East End constituency, where a great number of Post Office officials resided, he could assure the House that a spirit of dissatisfaction existed among the people with regard to the manner in which the Medical Department of the Post Office was conducted. He did not intend to detain the House with any special remarks of his own, because the hon. Member opposite had fully stated what was required to be done; but he did hope and trust that the right hon. Gentleman would see his way to make a most searching inquiry into the lamentable case to which the attention of the House had been directed. He was not sorry that the hon. Member had been unable to move the reduction of the Vote, as that would have had the effect of somewhat retarding the progress of the Bill; but he hoped that, after the Recess, the Postmaster General would be able to find time to give them an ample account of what had been done during the vacation in the matter of investigating the Post Office medical arrangements, and bringing about a more satisfactory condition of things.

THE POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. RAIKES) (Cambridge University) said, he could not find fault in any way with the course that had been taken by the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Pickersgill) in dealing with this question, in which he took such great interest. No doubt, the

hon. Member had a right to speak on behalf of the Post Office Service, having a considerable number of friends in it; and his large acquaintance with the duties of gentlemen in the Postal Service entitled his opinion to considerable weight. In connection with this question of the Medical Department of the Post Office, however, the hon. Member had, perhaps, been a little swayed by the very natural sympathy he felt for the officers of a Department with which he had been himself connected to take a more favourable view than he otherwise might have done of the complaints which had reached him to the detriment of the Medical Department. With regard to the case to which the hon. Member had first referred—the case of Mr. Billingham, who had been a very valuable officer, and whom the Department was very sorry to lose—he had given the hon. Member all the information it was in his power to give the other day; and he thought the hon. Member would see that in the conflict of testimony, which he himself admitted, it would ill-become him (Mr. Raikes) to concede that there was any case proved against the Medical Department, when that Department stoutly maintained one view of the question, and it was, unfortunately, now impossible to substantiate the other.

MR. PICKERSGILL: There is no conflict as to the summons to the Post Office on August 5. That is admitted by the medical officers; and I submit that it was a most injudicious and unprofessional act.

MR. RAIKES wished to point out that the treatment Mr. Billingham had been receiving at the hands of the Post Office medical officer had not been for the malady which ultimately caused his death. He had been suffering from another disorder; therefore the Post Office Medical Department could not be to blame for not having taken count of the illness which proved fatal. There had been no reason to suppose that this gentleman was suffering from typhoid fever until the news was received that he had died of it. The malady which ultimately caused death might have resulted from previous ill-health; but, so far as he (Mr. Raikes) knew, there was no material at the disposal of the medical officer to lead him to believe that Mr. Billingham was at that time likely to suffer from so serious a com-

plaint. He quite agreed with the hon. Gentleman opposite as to the weight which should be attached to medical certificates; but he (Mr. Raikes) was glad to recognize the fact that the hon. Member saw that it was absolutely necessary that there should be supreme authority in the shape of a medical officer for the Service, and that it would be impossible to conduct the Service if the certificates of outside medical men, however eminent they might be, were accepted as final. It was no doubt the fact that misunderstandings had arisen in some cases owing to the wording of one of the Circulars which were sent to public servants who were ill. He did not consider this wording altogether satisfactory, and he had therefore made some addition to it to render it quite plain that these persons should not be put under, so to speak, compulsion to appear, if their state of health rendered it impossible. This alteration had already been effected in regard to the Circulars issued to some Departments, and he would take care that it should be rendered general and universal. He would rather not re-argue this question over again, because he did not think that he had really anything to add at this moment to what he had said before in regard to it. The hon. Member himself would readily admit that it was quite possible for a medical officer to make a mistake, *bonâ fide*, looking at the large number of *employés* there were in the Post Office. Considering the circumstances of the case, it was very natural that small mistakes should, from time to time, occur on the part of even the most careful medical officer; but he was inclined to believe, from the nature of the evidence they had before them, that the number of mistakes which had occurred in the Post Office was extremely insignificant considering the extent of the Department, the number of persons employed in it, and the great diligence the medical officers were bound to exercise among so many in order to keep persons up to their work. With reference to the case of Dr. Field, he was informed that the gentleman who desired leave of absence from the medical officer had suffered from a complaint which, though it might have been very painful, was, at any rate, not regarded as very serious—that was to say, from a troublesome boil. From a manuscript record of the case in

question it appeared that, in consequence of the complaint from which the officer applying for leave of absence suffered—which was of a kind usually very transitory in its character—lasting for a considerable period, repeated intervals of leave were allowed. Dr. Field had desired to see this gentleman, because when he assumed the duties of medical officer he found that the patient had already been allowed five weeks' leave. This was considered an unusually long period of absence on account of so simple a complaint as a boil. He (Mr. Raikes) was inclined to think the House would accept that view. Various other periods of rest were allowed the patient; and, on the whole, this gentleman had had no serious reason to complain of having been treated with harshness or want of consideration. As to the general question of the Medical Department of the Post Office, the hon. Gentleman was of opinion that if the Chief of the Department received £983, that it was inconsistent to allow for substitutes who undertook the duties of those medical officers absent on leave so small a sum as £100—or £3 3s. per week in each case. No doubt on the face of it it did appear so; but, at the same time, in the interests of the British taxpayer, whom they all represented in the House, he thought that if, where a substitute was required, they could get the work performed by an able man for a small sum they would hardly be justified in increasing it. They believed that at the present time they received sufficient medical service of the most valuable kind for the remuneration which was paid. With regard to the salary of the chief medical officer, it was one of the highest attainable in the Department, and was, in the case of the gentleman now holding the office, the result of a long career in the service in which he was now chief. It was inconsistent on the part of the hon. Gentleman opposite to suggest the abolition of the £100 appropriated to medical substitutes; and, judging from the tone of the hon. Gentleman's observations, one would rather have expected him to urge the Postmaster General to take steps to raise the amount. As to the duties of medical officers on leave being divided amongst their colleagues who remained at the Office, it would be impossible in this Department to adopt the practice which

prevailed in other branches of the Service, for the reason that there was always likely to be a call upon the full strength of the Department. (Owing to the enormous number of *employés* in the Post Office the work with the medical officers could never be said to be slack. *Noctes atque dies patet atri janua Ditis*. He would not undertake to make a change in the direction of abolishing the £100 provided for substitute services; (but he could promise the hon. Member (Mr. Pickersgill) that he would carefully and closely investigate the present position of the Medical Department. He had hardly had time as yet to make himself familiar with every branch of the large Department of which he had assumed the charge; but he would undertake to, as early as possible, investigate the *status* of the gentlemen who were employed as substitutes in the Medical Department, in order to see whether or not it was desirable to make any change in the arrangements. He assured both hon. Gentlemen that any individual case of grievance, or any case of maladministration in the Post Office, which they thought proper to communicate to him, should receive immediate and careful attention at his hands.

SEA AND COAST FISHERIES (IRELAND)—TRAWLING IN BANTRY BAY—GRIEVANCES OF THE TRAMMEL NET FISHERMEN.—OBSERVATIONS.

MR. GILHOOLY (Cork, W.) called attention to certain grievances connected with the trammel net fishing in Bantry Bay, which had been brought under his notice, and which, he trusted, the Chief Secretary for Ireland would find a means of remedying. It appeared, according to the information which reached him, that there were certain hours for setting and taking up nets, and the complaint was that trawlers interfered with the trammel nets, sometimes accidentally, but sometimes, there was reason to believe, wilfully. He thought it was desirable that this matter should receive attention, and that some regulations should be adopted which would prevent or diminish the inconvenience under which the trammel net fishermen now suffered. He desired, further, to bring under the notice of the right hon. Gentleman the fact that the local fishermen in Bantry Bay complained of being deprived of loans, or of difficulties being

Mr. Raikes

thrown in the way of their obtaining them, through the intervention of a gentleman named Payne, who was a local magistrate. He trusted that the right hon. Baronet would find means to remove the obstacles, which at present, there was reason to believe, existed in the way of these poor men obtaining the assistance which the Legislature intended them to receive, and which was so beneficial and even necessary to them in the successful prosecution of industries which it was desirable to foster by every practicable means.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BRACH) (Bristol, W.) said, that he was necessarily ignorant of the circumstances referred to by the hon. Member, of which he then heard for the first time. He did not quite understand what it was that the hon. Member desired to have done in order to remedy the grievances of which the hon. Member complained on behalf of the trammel net fishermen. All that he could at the present moment do was to promise to call the attention of the Fishery Board and the Inspector to both the points which had been raised by the hon. Member, in order that they might carefully inquire into the matter, and take steps to remove any ground of complaint which might be found to exist.

Motion agreed to.

Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. COURTNEY, Mr. CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER, and Mr. JACKSON.

Bill presented, and read the first time.

House adjourned at half after One o'clock till Monday next.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Monday, 20th September, 1886.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*Second Reading*—*Committee negatived*—*Third Reading*—Submarine Telegraph Act (1885) Amendment* (20); Disturbances at Belfast Inquiry (21); Expiring Laws Continuance* (22), and passed.

Third Reading—Secret Service (Repeal)* (15), and passed.

PROVISIONAL ORDER BILLS—*Committee—Report*—Tramways (No. 3)* (19).

Committee—Report—Third Reading—Gas (No. 2)* (16); Public Health (Scotland) (Urray Water)* (17); Tramways (No. 2)* (18), and passed.

PRIVATE AND PROVISIONAL ORDER
CONFIRMATION BILLS.

RESOLUTIONS.

THE CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES
(The Duke of BUCKINGHAM and CHANDOS),
in rising to move the following Resolu-
tions:—

"1. That inasmuch as this House has been unable within the limits of the present Session to dispose of the whole of the Private and Provisional Order Confirmation Bills suspended in the last Session of the late Parliament pursuant to the resolutions of the 21st of June last, and certain Bills so suspended remain for consideration, the promoters of every such Bill shall have leave to introduce the same in the next Session provided that notice of their intention to do so be lodged in the Private Bill Office not later than Three o'clock on the day prior to the close of the present Session; and that all fees due thereon, up to that period, be paid:

"2. That an alphabetical list of all such Bills, with a statement of the stages at which they shall have arrived, shall be prepared in the Private Bill Office, and printed:

"3. That such Bills shall be deposited in the Private Bill Office not later than Three o'clock on the third day on which the House shall sit after the next meeting of Parliament, with a declaration annexed thereto, signed, in the case of a Private Bill by the agent, and in the case of a Provisional Order Confirmation Bill by an officer of the Department by which the orders to be confirmed by such Bill are made, stating that the Bill is the same in every respect as the Bill at the last stage of the proceedings thereon in this House in the present Session, and where any sum of money has been deposited, as required by Standing Order No. 57, that such deposit has not been withdrawn, together with a certificate of that fact from the proper officer of the court in which such money was deposited:

"4. That the proceedings on such Bills shall be pro forma only in regard to every stage through which the same shall have passed in this or the last Session; and that no new fees be charged in regard to such stages:

"5. That as regards all Private and Provisional Order Confirmation Bills suspended by the Standing Orders of the House of Commons of the 17th of June last, which shall have been brought from that House in the present Session, such Bills shall be allowed to proceed to the same stage at which they shall have arrived in the present Session. A declaration to be signed as aforesaid, stating that the Bill is in every respect the same as when brought to this House in this Session:

"6. That if any Private or Provisional Order Confirmation Bill to which these resolutions apply shall have been amended in this House in the present Session, the same Amendments shall be inserted by the Committee on the Bill:

"7. That the Standing Orders by which the proceedings on Bills are regulated shall not apply to any Private or Provisional Order Con-

firmation Bill which shall have originated in this House or been brought up from or suspended in the House of Commons, pursuant to the Standing Orders of that House of the 17th of June last, in regard to any of the stages through which the same shall have passed in this or the last Session, or in regard to any of the preliminary proceedings upon such Bill with respect to which the Standing Orders have already been proved to have been complied with:

"8. That all petitions presented in this or the last Session relating to any such Bill shall, if necessary, be referred to the Committee on the Bill in the next Session:

"9. That no petitioners shall be heard before the Committee on any such Bill unless their petition shall have been presented within the time limited in the present or last Session, unless that time shall not have expired before the present Session closes, in which case, in order to be heard, their petition shall be presented not later than the fourth day on which the House shall sit in the next Session:"

said, he wished to describe the position of Private Business, and state what had been done during the present Session. At the beginning of this Session there were 49 Bills which had complied with the conditions of the suspension of last Session, and which remained before the House. Of these, 40 had been disposed of, including among them four opposed Bills. There now remained nine opposed Bills, in regard to which it was perfectly evident, from the nature of the opposition and the principles involved in several of them, that at this period of the year the opponents would not have had a proper and fair opportunity of placing their case before Parliament, and of obtaining the witnesses upon whose evidence they would found their opposition. In those cases it had been thought right, in order to secure a fair hearing, that they should stand over to a period of the year when the opponents, as well as the promoters, could bring their cases properly before the House. Two or three of the Bills disposed of, he understood, could not be passed in the present Session in consequence of their having received opposition in "another place," which would prevent their being returned to this House. If it had been found possible and right to obtain more of the opposed Bills for the consideration of a Committee, there would have been no difficulty at all in so doing, for on the occasions when he thought it desirable to form Committees he received more intimations of readiness to serve from noble Lords who were anxious to come forward to take their share of the

work than were required to form the Committees.

Resolutions *agreed to*.

Ordered, That the said Resolutions be *printed*. (No. 23.)

DISTURBANCES AT BELFAST INQUIRY BILL.—(No. 21.)

(*The Earl Cadogan.*)

SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

THE LORD PRIVY SEAL (Earl CADOGAN), in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, that it was for the purpose of giving the Royal Commission which had been appointed to investigate the disturbances at Belfast powers they would not possess under the ordinary law. The chief powers were those of enforcing the attendance of witnesses, of examining them on oath, affirmation, or otherwise, compelling the production of documents, and punishing persons guilty of contempt.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2^a."
—(*The Earl Cadogan.*)

Motion *agreed to*: Bill read 2^a accordingly; Committee *negatived*; Then Standing Order No. XXXV. *considered* (according to Order), and *dispensed with*; Bill read 3^a, and *passed*.

FISHERY BOARD (IRELAND)—REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONERS.

RESOLUTION.

THE EARL OF HOWTH, in rising to direct attention to the Report of the Irish Fishery Commissioners just issued, and also to the scant supply of fresh fish available in the city of Dublin; and to move—

"That no assistance given by the Government to the Irish fisheries will prove of permanent benefit unless the transport and a reduced fare of carriage for fish to the English markets is duly provided for,"

said, the announcement which had been made, that it was the intention of the Government to take this and other matters into consideration, had given great satisfaction to all who were interested in the welfare and prosperity of the country, and especially to those who, like himself, were warmly interested in all that concerned the fishermen and the

fisheries of Ireland. He had intended to have brought forward some important features connected with the Irish fisheries which he thought might be worthy of the attention of their Lordships, and which he thought were of the utmost benefit to the regular fishermen of the country, with whom he was more intimately acquainted, and who had no other means of subsistence and living except that which the sea afforded them; but having regard to the lateness of the Session, and also the controversial matter which would have been introduced, he had thought it advisable, with their Lordships' permission, to withdraw the Motion, with the object of bringing it forward again during the next Session. But, before doing this, there were one or two observations which he desired to make. He desired to call attention to the fact that the Report of the Irish Fishery Commissioners was only allowed to appear so as to be placed in the hands of Members of Parliament as late as September 11. He maintained that this was far too late; and he sincerely hoped that next year, when there would be a prospect, perhaps, of legislating for the sea fisheries, and probably for the salmon fisheries also, that this Report might be placed in the hands of Members at an earlier period of the Session. With the details of the Report he was well acquainted, and he was assured that the staffs both of Police and the Coastguard of the country was ample to collect all the statistics in a very short period of time. During the months of November and December there was very little doing in the fisheries of Ireland, and, under these circumstances, it was somewhat difficult to understand why they did not have the Report at a much earlier period of the Session.

Motion (by leave of the House) *withdrawn*.

RAILWAY BRAKES—LEGISLATION.

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

EARL DE LA WARR, in rising to ask, Whether Her Majesty's Government propose to consider, during the Recess, the recommendations of the Board of Trade relative to railway brakes, with a view to taking some steps next Session to carry them into effect? said, that he ought to explain his reason for bringing the matter forward. It was, he was

aware, not the time for the discussion of this question, and he was desirous only of asking Her Majesty's Government whether they could give it their attention during the leisure of the Recess. The question was far from being a new one. It had been thoroughly inquired into and reported upon by a Royal Commission. It had for many years been commented upon by the inspecting officers of the Board of Trade, and it had been on several occasions under the notice of Parliament. In the year 1877 the Board of Trade, speaking of accidents which had been investigated by their officers, said—

“From a careful examination of which, and similar information for the past few years, the Board of Trade are led to conclude that three-fourths of these accidents might probably have been avoided, or the results materially mitigated, if the passenger trains concerned had been provided with continuous brakes.”

He was free to admit that much had been done by Railway Companies since that time. He was also quite aware that there were difficulties which required time and experience to overcome them; but, nevertheless, he could hardly think that at the end of nine years from the date of the Circular issued on the subject by the Board of Trade to Railway Companies they should be where they now were if the talent, the skill, and the experience which railway engineers possessed had been made good use of by Railway Companies. The object in view would, he believed, have been attained, and they might now have had a uniform system of continuous brakes in accordance with the recommendations of the Board of Trade. But what had they instead of this? They had six different brakes employed which were said to comply with what the Board of Trade required, and 10 others which did not pretend to comply with their conditions. Then, according to the Returns made by the Railway Companies, about 50 per cent of the total stock of carriages and engines were fitted with brakes that complied with the requirements of the Board of Trade; about 32 per cent were fitted with brakes which did not comply, and about 18 per cent were fitted with no continuous brakes at all. But supposing that railways in the next 10 years were to arrive at being all fitted with brakes of some kind, some complying and some

not complying with the conditions of the Board of Trade, what would be the consequence? It would become more and more difficult that different lines should communicate one with another, such as the London and North-Western with the Caledonian Railway, the Great Northern and Midland with other railways in Scotland, and in all instances where intercommunication was required, if the carriages were not fitted with the same brakes. He desired as much as anyone to see Railway Companies originate and carry out improvements without compulsory legislation. They had done much in that way, and no doubt they would do more; but after the length of time which had elapsed since the question of continuous brakes had been under consideration, and after the strong opinion which was expressed by the Board of Trade nine years ago, the time seemed to have arrived when some steps should be taken to carry fully into effect what had been so long recommended, and the advantages of which for the public safety there was, he believed, no competent authority which would dispute.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE (LORD STANLEY OF PRESTON) said, that in answer to the noble Earl, who took a practical interest in this question, and on which he spoke with authority, he begged to state that the attention of Her Majesty's Government would shortly be turned to matters connected with railway legislation, when he trusted that the important subject to which the noble Earl had drawn attention would not be lost sight of. Whether proposed legislation on this matter would form part of any larger measure he was not able at the present moment to state. In a Bill relating to the regulation of railways, which had been brought forward some little time ago, it had been proposed to introduce a provision relating to railway brakes; but in the last two Bills on the subject of railways, which had been drawn up but not passed, it had been thought better to leave out the consideration of this point, and to embody any legislation on the subject in a separate measure. Having these facts in his mind, he should wish to reserve to himself full liberty to deal with the question of railway brakes in any way and at any time which might appear to be the best under the circum-

stances. He, however, did not yield to the noble Lord in his desire that some practical effect should be given to the generally expressed wish that some steps should be taken to deal with this question. There were, however, some difficulties in the way of drawing up a satisfactory measure having reference to this subject, one being that of obtaining the best information relating to it from the Railway Companies; and another being the feeling, rightly entertained, as he believed, by the Board of Trade, that it was not a part of their function to determine what particular kind of brake should be used by the railways, or to take up in any respect the invention of any particular inventor. He trusted that the noble Earl would rest satisfied with the assurance he now gave him that the subject should receive the best consideration of Her Majesty's Government.

House adjourned at a quarter before
Five o'clock, to Wednesday
next, Two o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Monday, 29th September, 1886.

MINUTES.]—SELECT COMMITTEES—*Report*—
Ventilation of the House (No. 37); Depres-
sion of Trade and Industry, Royal
Commission; Disturbances (Metropolis).
PUBLIC BILLS—*Second Reading*—Tenants' Relief
(Ireland) [47] [*First Night*], debate adjourned;
Consolidated Fund (Appropriation).
Withdrawn—Bankruptcy Court (Belfast) [9].

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

PRIVATE BILLS.

Standing Orders for the Suspension of Private Bills, or Bills to confirm any Provisional Order or Certificate.

(1.) *Ordered*, That the Promoters of every Private Bill which shall have been introduced into this House, or brought from the House of Lords in the present Session of Parliament, shall have leave to suspend any further proceeding thereupon, in order to proceed with the same Bill in the next Session of Parliament.

(2.) *Ordered*, That the Promoters of every such Bill shall give notice in the Private Bill Office, not later than one clear day prior to the close of the present Session, of their intention to suspend any further proceedings thereon; or, in the case of Bills which, having passed this House, shall then be pending in the House of

Lords, of their intention to proceed with the same Bill in this House in the next Session.

(3.) *Ordered*, That an Alphabetical List of all such Bills, with a statement of the stage at which the same were suspended, shall be prepared by the Private Bill Office, and printed.

(4.) *Ordered*, That not later than three clear days after the next meeting of Parliament, every Bill which has been introduced into this House shall be deposited in the Private Bill Office, in the form required by Standing Order No. 201, with a declaration signed by the Agent annexed thereto, stating that the Bill is the same, in every respect, as the Bill with respect to which proceedings have been so suspended, at the last stage of its proceeding in the House in the present Session; and, where any sum of money has been deposited, that such deposit has not been withdrawn, together with a certificate of that fact from the proper officer of the Chancery Division of the High Court of Justice in England or Ireland, or the Court of Exchequer in Scotland, as the case may be.

(5.) *Ordered*, That such Bills, indorsed by one of the Clerks in the Private Bill Office, as having been duly deposited with such declarations and certificates annexed, be laid by one of the Clerks of that Office upon the Table of the House, in the next Session of Parliament, in the order in which they shall stand upon such List.

(6.) *Ordered*, That in respect of every Bill so laid upon the Table such Bill shall be read a first time: and a second time (if the Bill shall have been read a second time previously to its being suspended; and if such Bill shall have been reported by any Committee in the present Session, the Order for referring the Bill to a Committee shall be dispensed with, and the Bill ordered to lie upon the Table or to be read a third time, as the case may be.

(7.) *Ordered*, That in case any Bill brought from the House of Lords in the present Session, upon which the proceedings shall have been suspended in this House, shall be brought from the House of Lords in the next Session of Parliament, the Agent for such Bill shall deposit in the Private Bill Office, prior to the first reading thereof, a declaration stating that the Bill is the same, in every respect, as the Bill which was brought from the House of Lords in the present Session; and where any sum of money has been deposited, that such deposit has not been withdrawn, together with a certificate of that fact from the proper officer; and so soon as one of the Clerks in the Private Bill Office has certified that such deposit has been duly made, the Bill shall be read a first time, and be further proceeded with in the same manner as Bills introduced into this House during the present Session.

(8.) *Ordered*, That all Petitions presented in the last Session of the late Parliament, or in the present Session, against Private Bills, or against any Bill to confirm any Provisional Order or Certificate, and which stood referred to the Committees on such Bills, shall stand referred to the Committees on the same Bills, in the next Session of Parliament; and that all Notices and grounds of objection to the right of Petitioners to be heard given in the present Session within the time prescribed by the Rules of the Referees relating to such Notices shall be held applicable in the next Session of Parliament.

Lord Stanley of Preston

(9.) *Ordered*, That no Petitioners shall be heard before the Committee on such Bills, unless their Petition shall have been presented within the time limited in the last Session of the late Parliament, or in the present Session.

(10.) *Ordered*, That in case the time limited for presenting Petitions against any such Bills shall not have expired at the close of the present Session, Petitioners may be heard before the Committee on such Bill, provided their Petition be presented previous to, or not later than, seven clear days after the next meeting of Parliament.

(11.) *Ordered*, That all Instructions to Committees on Private Bills in the last Session of the late Parliament, or in the present Session, which shall be suspended previously to their being reported by any Committee, be Instructions to the Committees on the same Bills in the next Session.

(12.) *Ordered*, That no new Fees be charged in respect of any stage of a Bill upon which Fees have been already incurred during the present Session.

(13.) *Ordered*, That all Standing Orders complied with in respect of any Bill introduced, or intended to be introduced, during the last Session of the late Parliament, or in the present Session, shall be held applicable to any Bill for the same objects introduced in the next Session, and where the Examiner has already reported upon the compliance with the Standing Orders in respect of any such Bill, he shall only Report in the next Session whether any further Standing Orders are applicable.

(14.) *Ordered*, That Bills to confirm any Provisional Order or Certificate introduced into this House, or brought from the House of Lords, in the present Session shall be suspended from the close of the present Session, in order to be proceeded with in the next Session of Parliament.

(15.) *Ordered*, That with regard to any such Bills the Order of Leave in the present Session shall be read, and thereupon the Bill shall be read a first time and a second time (if the Bill shall have been read a second time during the present Session); and if such Bill shall have been reported by any Committee in the present Session, the Order for referring the Bill to a Committee shall be dispensed with, and the Bill ordered to lie upon the Table, or to be read a third time, as the case may be.

(16.) *Ordered*, That all applications made, and Certificates given, and all other proceedings taken with reference to any Bill introduced, or intended to be introduced, in the present Session for confirming any Provisional Order in respect to the Inclosure of Commons under "The Commons Act, 1876," shall be deemed to apply to any Bill introduced for the same object in the next Session.

(17.) *Ordered*, That the said Orders be Standing Orders of this House, and be printed.—*(The Chairman of Ways and Means.)*

QUESTIONS.

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METROPOLIS—STATUE OF JAMES II.
IN WHITEHALL YARD.

MR. W. G. C. BENTINCK (Penryn and Falmouth) asked the First Commis-

sioner of Works, Whether Her Majesty's Government are aware that there is a Statue of King James the Second by Grinling Gibbons, hidden away behind Whitehall Chapel; and, whether it would be possible to restore the dilapidated pedestal, and remove the Statue to the north side of Whitehall Chapel opposite the Horse Guards at the entrance to Whitehall Avenue, now in course of construction?

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.) also asked the right hon. Gentleman whether he was aware that Jame II. was removed from the Throne for misconduct, and that therefore it was quite inappropriate to put his statue in a place of honour?

THE FIRST COMMISSIONER (Mr. PLUNKET) (Dublin University): The statue of James II. referred to by my hon. Friend is one of great and recognized merit, and I shall carefully consider whether or not a better site than it now occupies can be found for it; but I think it will be easier to come to a decision on that question and also as to a new pedestal when we are able to appreciate the effect of the street improvements now in progress in the immediate neighbourhood of Whitehall. As to the Question of the hon. Baronet opposite I really must decline to express any opinion.

METROPOLITAN IMPROVEMENTS — WIDENING OF MUSEUM STREET, BLOOMSBURY.

MR. EDWIN DE LISLE (Leicestershire, Mid) asked the First Commissioner of Works, Whether Her Majesty's Government will take into consideration the desirability of widening Museum Street, the approach to the British Museum; and, whether, now that the houses at the junction of Museum Street with Hart Street and Oxford Street, formerly abutting St. George's, Bloomsbury, are pulled down, Her Majesty's Government will inquire into the feasibility of acquiring the site of these houses, and of consulting with the Metropolitan Board of Works, with a view of carrying out this improvement?

THE FIRST COMMISSIONER (Mr. PLUNKET) (Dublin University): In answer to my hon. Friend I have to say that so far as facilities of traffic are concerned his Question is one rather for the Chairman of the Metropolitan Board

of Trade, Whether his attention had been called to the fact that some French fishing smacks had put into Yarmouth on Saturday last, and disposed of their fish there; whether English smack owners were precluded from doing the same thing in French ports; and, whether such a state of things was not prejudicial to British fishing interests?

THE SECRETARY (Baron HENRY DE WORME) (Liverpool, East Toxteth), in reply, said, that he had only received Notice of the Question of his hon. Friend when he reached the House. Telegrams in respect to the subject had been received at the Board of Trade on Saturday night, and instructions were immediately sent to the officer of the Department at Yarmouth to hold an inquiry into the matter. The Report of that officer had not yet been received.

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.) asked the noble Lord the Leader of the House for some information with respect to the course the Government proposed to adopt on the several stages of the Appropriation Bill?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL) (Paddington, S.): We shall ask the House to read the Appropriation Bill a second time this evening, and it will be put down as the first Order for tomorrow. The third reading we will take on Wednesday, and that will admit of the Prorogation taking place on Friday, or at latest on Saturday.

LAW AND JUSTICE—A COURT OF CRIMINAL APPEAL—LEGISLATION.

MR. SHIRLEY (Yorkshire, W.R., Doncaster) asked Mr. Attorney General, Whether the Government would consider the advisability of bringing in a Bill to establish a Court of Criminal Appeal, so that innocent persons might have greater security than at present?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir RICHARD WEBSTER) (Isle of Wight): The question of the establishment of a Court of Criminal Appeal is undoubtedly one of very great importance; and Her Majesty's Government will certainly consider whether it will be in their power to bring in a Bill to deal with the matter.

Sir Henry Tyler

EVICTIIONS (IRELAND)—THE LATEST STATISTICS.

MR. PARNELL (Cork): I wish, Sir, to ask the Chief Secretary for Ireland a Question, of which I have given him private Notice—namely, Whether he can give the House any information with regard to the number of evictions which have taken place in Ireland since the date of the last Return—that is to say, since the 30th of June, which is the last Return that we have?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH) (Bristol, W.): I have done my best to obtain the information which the hon. Member asks for, although I only received his Notice at 4 o'clock. The figures which I now give are only approximate, and of course the House is aware that the Returns of evictions include evictions for a great many causes, and in a great many cases besides those for non-payment of rent. Since the 30th of June 1,037 families, including 5,300 persons, have been evicted. Out of those 651 families, including 3,636 persons, had been readmitted as tenants or caretakers. The balance, therefore, actually evicted is 357 families, including 1,675 persons.

MR. PARNELL: Can the right hon. Gentleman tell me up to what date that information comes?

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: I believe it is up to the end of last week—that is to say, practically up to date.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

TENANTS' RELIEF (IRELAND) BILL.

(Mr. Parnell, Mr. Sexton, Mr. Dillon, Mr. T. P. O'Connor, Mr. Pinkerton, Mr. Mahony.)

[BILL 47.] SECOND READING.

[FIRST NIGHT.]

Order for Second Reading read.

MR. PARNELL (Cork): It has been frequently stated, Sir, that an unmistakable mandate was conveyed by the result of the General Election against the concession of self-government to Ireland. I desire to take the liberty of saying that, in my judgment, another and still more unmistakable mandate was also conveyed by the result of the General Election, and that was a mandate to the House of Commons that they should show themselves equally willing

and equally able to provide for the wants of Ireland, and to redress her grievances as her own Parliament would do. I cannot think, Sir, that any argument drawn from the lateness of this Session—in view of the fact that a House has been returned of Members many of whom are fresh, most of whom are vigorous and young, and in view of the fact that the House has only been met together for a short period of six weeks since its election—ought to cause the House to feel that it has had too much or too hard work to do, and is entitled to a holiday immediately, especially if I can substantiate and make good my case that a state of urgency exists in Ireland with regard to the relations between the landlords and the tenants of that country. Nothing was more remarkable, no argument was stronger than those arguments which were addressed to the different constituencies by Members of the Liberal Party who described themselves as Liberal Unionists, in which they affirmed their belief that England was both able and willing to redress Irish grievances and to attend to her wants. I think, Sir, I am right in calling upon Gentlemen who used those arguments to the English constituencies now to consider my case; and if I am able to make a case for immediate interference by the Legislature, then they ought to consider how far they will be justified in asking the oppressed and impoverished Irish tenants to wait for fully five months before even they consider this question. My measure, Sir, is a simple one. It consists of three provisions. The first and the most important of them undoubtedly is—because it is directed to the more immediate and pressing necessity of the case—that which provides that any tenant of a statutory tenancy who has had his rent fixed prior to the last day of the year 1884 may apply to the Land Commission to abate his rent, and that the Land Commission may abate the rent, provided two requirements are satisfied. The first of these requirements is that the tenant shall show—before he is entitled to make the application, before the Land Commission can take any action to relieve him—that he has paid half the rent ordinarily payable in respect of the year 1886, and half of any antecedent arrears thereto. The second requirement necessary in order to entitle

the tenant to relief from the Land Commission—the second imperative requirement is, that he shall prove to the satisfaction of the Land Commission that he is unable to pay the remainder of his rent without deprivation—I observe that in some versions of the Bill which have appeared in the Press the word “depreciation” has been substituted for “deprivation”—“of the means necessary for the cultivation and stocking” of the holding. Then, if the Court, after these two requirements have been satisfied, makes an abatement, it is to apply to the rent ordinarily payable in the year 1886, as well as to the antecedent arrears, and also to the rent which would ordinarily become payable in the ensuing year—that is to say, in 1887. The second main provision of the Bill is one providing for the admission at once of all leaseholders to the benefits of the Land Act of 1881—that is to say, of the rent-fixing clauses of the Land Act of 1881—who would, on the expiration of their leases, be entitled to apply to have their rents fixed. There are certain exceptions by which it is intended to provide for the cases of beneficial leases where valuable consideration has been given, and also to except middlemen from the operation of the Act, whether they desire or whether they do not desire to come under its operation. Lastly, the exceptions contained in the 58th section of the Land Act of 1881 are re-enacted. The third and last provision of this Bill is that for suspending all ejectment proceedings—proceedings for the recovery of rent—upon payment of half the rent and arrears due. This Bill, with the exception of the provisions regarding the admission of leaseholders, is a temporary Bill, directed to provide against a temporary emergency. It is intended to meet the depreciation in prices, which we undoubtedly cannot prove will be permanent. We only know, so far, that this depreciation in prices began in 1885, and it has gone on without any signs of recovery—indeed, showing signs to the contrary from that time until now. We cannot prove that this depreciation in prices will be permanent; but we have reason to fear that it will be. As, however, we cannot prove the permanency of this depreciation, we simply ask that the House shall take action for the limit of time which has reference to the rents due in November,

[*First Night.*]

SIR SAMUEL WILSON (Portsmouth) asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether the Government propose, during the ensuing Session of Parliament, to bring in a Bill to provide for a cheaper and more expeditious system of land transfer such as has been found to be advantageous in the Australian Colonies?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL) (Paddington, S.): When I saw these Questions on the Paper I communicated with my noble and learned Friend the Lord Chancellor, and he has authorized me to give the following reply:—That it is the intention of Her Majesty's Government to introduce next Session a measure which will have for its object the cheapening of the cost and the increasing of facilities for the transfer of land. Should it be successful in attaining that object, it would, doubtless, facilitate the acquirement of land by those to whom the legal costs and difficulties of transfer have hitherto been an impediment.

LIGHTHOUSE ILLUMINANTS—EXPERIMENTS AT SOUTH FORELAND—THE CORRESPONDENCE.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.) asked the Secretary to the Board of Trade, When he expects to lay upon the Table the Correspondence between the Trinity House, the Board of Trade, Mr. J. R. Wigham, Mr. Howard Grubb, F.R.S., Professor Barrett, and ship-owners of various ports, on the subject of the Report of the Trinity House on the experiments made by that corporation with lighthouse illuminants, which, in reply to the question of the honourable Member for the College Division of Glasgow on the 13th of May last, was promised should be laid upon the Table?

THE SECRETARY (Baron HENRY DE WORMS) (Liverpool, East Toxteth): The Correspondence referred to by the hon. Member is not at present in a sufficiently complete state for presentation; but it will be laid upon the Table as soon as practicable.

LAW AND JUSTICE—MURDER OF A POLICE CONSTABLE AT DODWORTH, NEAR BARNESLEY, LAN-CASHIRE.

MR. SHIRLEY (Yorkshire, W.R., Doncaster) asked the Secretary of State

for the Home Department, Whether any prospect now exists of any arrest in connection with the recent murder of a police constable at Dodworth, near Barnesley; and, whether a reward was offered by the Government, or by any persons, for the apprehension of the murderer; and, if not, whether the system of offering rewards for the apprehension of criminals has or has not been abandoned?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.), in reply, said, he heard that £100 reward had been offered by the Barnesley magistrates; but none had been offered by the Home Office, who only offered rewards under very exceptional circumstances.

CIVIL SERVICE WRITERS (IRELAND).

MR. PETER McDONALD (Sligo, N.) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, If his attention has been drawn to a Memorial presented to the Lords of the Treasury last year by the Irish Civil Service writers, praying for the redress of certain grievances; and, if he has had an opportunity of considering the matter, what progress, if any, has been made towards the satisfactory settlement of such grievances?

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.), in reply, said, his attention had been drawn to this Memorial, and he was not aware that any separate Memorial had been presented by the Irish Civil Service writers. Their case would be dealt with when that of the others was dealt with.

INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS (IRELAND) ACT—SCHOOL AT KILRUSH, CO. CLARE.

MR. JORDAN (Clare, W.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If an industrial school was built, five years ago, at a cost of about £5,000, in Kilrush, county Clare; if it has yet been certified for a grant; if memorials have been presented to Chief Secretaries to the Lord Lieutenant from time to time during that period; if he will state the reasons for delay or refusal; and, if he will consider this important matter?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH) (Bristol, W.): It is true that a religious community

expended a large sum of money on a building at Kilrush as an industrial school. It appears that they did so without having received any encouragement from the Government, and without making any effort to ascertain what were their chances of obtaining a certificate under the Industrial Schools Act. There is already one certified industrial school for girls in the county of Clare; and having regard to the more pressing character of other claims, and to the recommendations of the recent Royal Commission, none of my Predecessors appear to have seen their way to certify the school at Kilrush. The hon. Member is aware that it would be impossible for me to certify a school for which provision has not been made in the Vote passed by this House, even if there were not other difficulties in the way. All I can say, therefore, is that before next year's Estimates are framed this case shall be further considered.

ARMY (AUXILIARY FORCES)—OFFICERS OF MILITIA.

MR. DIXON-HARTLAND (Middlesex, Urbridge) asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether the Queen's Regulations in respect of seniority of rank are suspended in the case of Militia Officers "attached for duty to the Regulars;" and, if not, whether he will cause an inquiry to be made whether these Regulations are strictly complied with in every respect?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): The Queen's Regulations in respect of seniority of rank are not suspended in the case of Militia officers attached for duty to the Regular Army; and there is, therefore, no reason for supposing that they are not observed.

OPEN SPACES (METROPOLIS)—THE GARDENS AT THE TOWER OF LONDON.

MR. MONTAGU (Tower Hamlets, Whitechapel) asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether arrangements could be made for granting to the public free access to the gardens and waterside promenade adjoining the Tower of London?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster):

Taking into consideration various events which have occurred in the last two or three years and the peculiar nature of the Tower of London, I do not see my way at present to giving the public free access to these gardens.

POST OFFICE—PARCEL POST—DELAYS IN TRANSMISSION.

SIR THOMAS ESMONDE (Dublin Co., S.) asked the Postmaster General, If he is aware that it takes three days to send a parcel by Parcels Post from Kingstown to London; if he is aware that this delay in transit causes much inconvenience, and sometimes loss, in the event of perishable articles being sent; and, whether he will cause this grievance to be remedied?

THE VICE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL (SIR HENRY HOLLAND) (Hampstead) (who replied) said, that, in the absence of the Postmaster General, he had been asked to answer the Question. He was informed that, in the proper course of things, parcels posted at Kingstown before 8.5 P.M. should reach London on the following day, and if there was any delay in the train service in the afternoon the Postmaster General would be obliged to the hon. Member if he would bring before him any individual cases where parcels had been delayed.

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—ARREST OF MR. MORTIMER DOYLE.

SIR THOMAS ESMONDE (Dublin Co., S.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he is aware of the circumstances under which Mr. Mortimer Doyle was arrested in November last at the suit of the Board of Works; and, whether the Government will either give him adequate compensation or else inform him against whom he may take legal proceedings with the object of obtaining compensation?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BAUGH) (Bristol, W.), in reply, said, this case had been brought under the notice of his immediate Predecessor some months ago, and he believed that his decision had been communicated to the hon. Member. His view of the case was that it was not one for compensation, and he agreed with him in that opinion.

POST OFFICE (IRELAND)—SURVEYORS' CLERKS.

MR. CONWAY (Leitrim, N.) (for Mr. NOLAN) (Louth, N.) asked the Postmaster General, How many officers from English offices have been appointed, during the last ten years, to the position of surveyor's clerk or acting surveyor's clerk in Ireland; how many such officers are still in such capacities in Ireland; whether these promotions in the Post Office Service are reciprocal between Ireland and England; and, if so, how many officers from Irish offices have been transferred to England as surveyors' clerks or acting surveyors' clerks during the same period; and, how many Irish officers are at present in such positions in England?

THE VICE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL (Sir HENRY HOLLAND) (Hampstead) (who replied) said: I am asked by the Postmaster General to say that he finds that during the past 10 years five gentlemen from offices in England were appointed to be surveyors' clerks in Ireland, and four from offices in Ireland to be surveyors' clerks in England. One of the five has since died and one has returned to England, so three remain in Ireland. The Postmaster General is not able to give the detailed information respecting officers temporarily employed as acting surveyors' clerks, as these officers are merely sent out when required, and return to their respective offices when their services are no longer needed.

INDIA—THE UNCOVENANTED CIVIL SERVICE—PENSIONS.

MR. KING (Hull, Central) asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether the Rules for Pensions affecting the Uncovenanted Service in India are governed by a Resolution of the Government of India, No. 1,555, dated 1st July 1870, embodying a Despatch of 18th May 1855; and, whether that Resolution is still in force; and, if not, how or when it was abrogated; whether, in that Resolution, while the pay of the Uncovenanted Civilian is stated in rupees, his pension is invariably designated in sterling money, with the explanation prefixed to the Resolution itself that "whenever in the following Resolution a pension is stated in sterling the equivalent in rupees is meant at two

shillings the rupee;" and, whether Uncovenanted Civilians are legally entitled to demand that their pensions shall be paid in sterling; and, why the pensions are not so paid by the Government of India?

THE UNDER SECRETARY (Sir JOHN GORST) (Chatham): All propositions contained in the Resolution of July 1, 1870, which is still in force, are to be found in the Rules by which the pensions of the Uncovenanted Service are governed. The limits within which pensions may be granted are, in the Resolution, designated in pounds sterling. The note of explanation alluded to has been inserted in a compilation of Rules called the Civil Pension Code, but was no part of the original Resolution. In the opinion of the Secretary of State, uncovenanted civilians are entitled to have their pensions paid only at the varying rate of exchange.

CRIME AND OUTRAGE (IRELAND)— MRS. MORONY, MILTOWN MALBAY—FICTITIOUS CHARGES.

MR. JORDAN (Clare, W.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the police, investigating an outrage alleged to have been committed on Mrs. Morony's house at Miltown Malbay, arrived at the conclusion that it was the work of some of the inmates; and, whether a second outrage, reported as having been perpetrated on her carrier while bringing her goods from Ennis, was found to be, on police investigation, a pure invention?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH) (Bristol, W.), in reply, said, that the alleged outrage on Mrs. Morony's house was at first supposed to be malicious; but it had since been found not to be so.

ADMIRALTY—SENIOR NAVAL WRITERS.

DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid) asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, Whether it is the intention of the Admiralty to increase the pay and better the position of the senior Naval writers of fifteen years' standing; whether they are a class of public servants who perform important duties, and are directly and indirectly responsible for the correct keeping of accounts which deal with vast sums of the public money; whether their duties are identical with those of the

senior accountant officers, and whether they are debarred from advancing to that higher position, no matter how fit or what superior qualifications they may possess; whether these grievances are now in existence for seventeen years; whether the Admiralty will recommend that, after such a long period of service, they shall either receive a grant of two shillings per diem, or else give them similar and corresponding rank and pay as received by the chief writers under the Army Warrant; and, whether an inquiry will be made into the present grievances arising from the system of having two classes of public servants, rendering the same services to the Crown, whose pay and prospects are alleged to be so unfair and dissimilar?

THE SECRETARY TO THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. Forwood) (Lancashire, Ormskirk) (who replied) said: It is not the intention to alter the position or pay of the Naval writers, for which position there is considerable competition. They are not responsible to the Admiralty for the correct keeping of accounts; neither are they entrusted with vast sums of public money. Their duties are not identical with those of the paymasters—the accountant officers of the Navy. Their examination, also, prior to admission into the Service, is of a very different order. The Admiralty are not prepared to advance the pay of Naval writers, or to considerably increase the Naval Estimates by making them warrant officers, and no inquiry is considered to be necessary into their position.

ADMIRALTY—CHIEF OFFICERS OF THE COASTGUARD SERVICE.

MR. CRILLY (Mayo, N.) asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, If the Government has any intention to put the Chief Officers of the Coastguard Service, as far as pay, emoluments, &c., are concerned, on the same level as Warrant Officers of the Royal Navy, with whom they hold relative rank in the Service?

THE SECRETARY TO THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. Forwood) (Lancashire, Ormskirk) (who replied) said: The rank of warrant officer is attainable only by service at sea and in foreign climates; and the Admiralty are not prepared to extend the rank to chief officers of the Coastguard, whose duties are performed at home and mainly on shore.

ROLLS OFFICE (IRELAND)—MR.

T. F. M'CONRY.

SIR THOMAS ESMONDE (Dublin Co., S.) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, If Mr. Thomas Francis M'Conry late clerk in the Irish Rolls Office, will be allowed the full amount of retiring pay, as laid down in the letter of the Lords of the Treasury to Lord O'Hagan, dated 17th February 1872?

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.), in reply, said, he had referred to the papers in this case, and he found that Mr. Thomas Francis M'Conry had received as large an allowance on retirement as the conditions of his former employment permitted, and there was no intention to increase the allowance.

CROWN LAND REVENUES—WINDSOR FOREST AND PARK—FOOD FOR GAME.

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether he is aware that there is an annual expenditure from the Revenues of the Crown lands of a large sum of money for feeding game in Windsor Forest and Great Park, and for the salaries of gamekeepers; and, under what Statute or other authority the Commissioners make these annual payments?

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.): Yes, Sir; I am aware that there is an annual expenditure from the revenues of the Crown lands for feeding game in Windsor Forest and Great Park and for the salaries of gamekeepers. The Commissioners of Woods make those payments in accordance with an arrangement sanctioned by the Treasury, and under the powers of management of the possessions and land revenues of the Crown vested in them by the Act of 10 Geo. IV., c. 50.

MR. LABOUCHERE: Is it under the sanction of this House?

MR. JACKSON: I take it these payments are made under the authority of an Act of Parliament.

MR. LABOUCHERE: No, no!

MR. JACKSON: The hon. Member perfectly well knows they are sanctioned yearly in the Estimates.

MR. LABOUCHERE: No.

POST OFFICE (IRELAND)—MAIL SERVICE TO KILDYSART, CO. CLARE.

Mr. JORDAN (Clare, W.) asked the Postmaster General, if he is aware that a public meeting was held lately at Kildysart, county Clare, at which the following Resolution was passed unanimously, viz. :—

"That, in consequence of the great inconvenience caused to the people of Kildysart by the want of proper mail service, we earnestly trust the Government will take immediate steps to remedy such a state of things, &c. ;"

if he received a copy of said Resolution; if it was stated at the meeting that the mail train carrying letters from Dublin, England, and elsewhere arrived at Ennis at 11.30 A.M.; if the mail car from Ennis to Labasheeda, viâ Kildysart, starts from Ennis six hours before the arrival of those mails, or at 4.30 A.M.; if thereby the letters are detained in Ennis for sixteen hours, and the daily newspapers are not delivered in those districts till late the day after publication; and, if the Postmaster General will consider this case, and if he will make arrangements that the mail car now leaving Ennis at 4.30 A.M. will not start till 11.30 A.M., the hour at which at present the mail train arrives at Ennis?

THE VICE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL (Sir HENRY HOLLAND) (Hampstead) (who replied) said, the Postmaster General had not yet received a copy of the resolution referred to.

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—FINTONA COURTHOUSE—MR.

SPROULE, J.P.

Mr. DILLON (Mayo, E.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been directed to the proceedings at Fintona Courthouse on Monday last; whether it is true that two police constables swore that Mr. Sproule, J.P., was staggering drunk on the previous night; and, whether the statements sworn to in Court by Mr. Sproule were contradicted on oath by several respectable witnesses; and, if so, whether he will direct the attention of the Lord Chancellor to Mr. Sproule's conduct, or what other course it is intended to take in the matter?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. HOLMES) (Dublin Uni-

versity) (who replied) said: I have read a Report of the proceedings at Fintona Courthouse referred to in the Question of the hon. Member. One police constable swore that Mr. Sproule, J.P., was staggering drunk, and another made a remark, but apparently not on oath, to the same effect. Mr. Sproule's statements were contradicted on oath by respectable witnesses. I have forwarded the Report furnished to me to the Lord Chancellor for his consideration.

QUEENSLAND—NEWLY-DISCOVERED GOLD FIELD.

SIR RICHARD TEMPLE (Worcester, Evesham) asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether information has reached him that a gold region of extraordinary richness has been discovered near Etheredge, on the Gilbert River, North Queensland?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. E. STANHOPE) (Lincolnshire, Horn-castle): The Etheredge gold field in Queensland has long been known to be extensive; but no official Reports of new discoveries of gold have been received. The field is a long distance from the coast.

THE MAGISTRACY (ENGLAND AND WALES)—WORKING MEN MAGISTRATES.

Mr. PHILIP STANHOPE (Wendesbury) asked Mr. Attorney General, Whether, having regard to the measure of satisfaction which has been given to the demands of the working classes by the appointment of working men as magistrates in certain districts in England, the Lord Chancellor would be willing to issue a circular to Lord Lieutenants of Counties, urging upon them the desirability, particularly in populous districts, of making further nominations of working men to the Magisterial Bench?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir RICHARD WEBSTER) (Isle of Wight): The Lord Chancellor would not be willing to issue any such Circular to the Lord Lieutenants of counties as is suggested in the Question. In ordinary course, the Lord Lieutenants recommend to the Lord Chancellor gentlemen whom they consider most suited in each district, having regard to all the circum-

stances of each case; and the Lord Chancellor is not prepared to advise them to recommend any one class more than another.

WATER SUPPLY (METROPOLIS)— LEGISLATION.

MR. JAMES ROWLANDS (Finsbury, E.) asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether the Government propose to introduce any measure for the relief of London water consumers from the charges laid upon them under the existing system?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL) (Paddington, S.): This Question ought rather to have been addressed to my right hon. Friend the President of the Local Government Board; but as he is unavoidably absent, all I can say is, that the matter has not yet come directly under the notice of Her Majesty's Government. It is, undoubtedly, a matter of great importance; and I do not think it would be possible for the Government to refrain for any great length of time from considering it in a practical manner.

SCOTLAND—THE CROFTER COMMISSIONERS—PUBLIC SITTINGS.

MR. MACDONALD CAMERON (Wick, &c.) asked the Secretary for Scotland, Whether he will inform the House as to the cause of the delay in the public sittings of the Crofter Commissioners in admitted crofting parishes; and, when it is proposed that they should commence their public sittings?

THE SECRETARY FOR SCOTLAND (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.): There has been no delay in the matter referred to by the hon. Member. The Crofters Act received the Royal Assent on June 25. The Commissioners shortly afterwards entered on their duties, and have been very actively engaged in inquiring as to the parishes to which the Act will apply, in settling and printing the legal forms of procedure and record necessary for working the Act, and in making arrangements with the public Departments for carrying on the business of the Commission. These preliminary matters have now been virtually settled, and the Commissioners hope to commence their public sittings at Dornoch in the first week in October.

POST OFFICE (SCOTLAND)—COMMUNICATION BETWEEN DORNOCH AND BONARBRIDGE.

MR. MACDONALD CAMERON (Wick, &c.) asked the Postmaster General, Whether he will be prepared to advise the Treasury authorities to consent to the substitution of a mail gig between Dornoch and Bonarbridge, provided the inhabitants of these towns find a contractor who will carry the mails and parcels for the sum now being paid to the rural postmen and their assistants at present employed by the Post Office between these two towns?

THE VICE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL (Sir HENRY HOLLAND) (Hampstead) (who replied) said, if the hon. Member would put his proposal in writing and send it to the Postmaster General he would carefully examine it, and see if the request could be complied with.

SCOTLAND—THE HEMPRIGG TRUSTEES, WICK—ENCROACHMENT ON RIGHTS OF WAY.

MR. MACDONALD CAMERON (Wick, &c.) asked the Lord Advocate, Whether his attention has been called to an article in *The John o' Groat Journal* of the 8th instant, which complains that the trustees of the Hemprigg Estates, in the vicinity of Wick Lane, have infringed the immemorial rights of the people of that burgh by erecting barbed wire fencing along the river's bank, which fencing encroaches on the public right of way; and, whether Her Majesty's Government will consider the expediency of taking such action as will enable the people of Wick to recover what they regard as their ancient rights, and further prevent the possibility of encroachments being made by private individuals upon the rights of communities?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. H. A. MACDONALD) (Edinburgh and St. Andrew's Universities): I have not seen the article to which the hon. Member's Question refers. But, assuming the correctness of the statements in the Question, they relate to matters which can only be dealt with by the Civil Court. Neither Her Majesty's Government nor the Crown Departments would have any *locus standi* in proceedings relating to a right-of-way along a river bank, and

any members of the public can competently sue a proprietor who interferes with them in their exercise of such a right where it exists.

FISHERY BOARD (SCOTLAND)—PAY OF OFFICERS.

MR. MACDONALD CAMERON (Wick, &c.) asked the Secretary for Scotland, Whether it is true that the Scotch Fishery officers memorialised the Fishery Board for an increase of pay and travelling allowances in consequence of greatly increased duties; and, if so, whether the Board refused to entertain the said Memorial; whether, in addition, a deputation of fishery officers was received by the Board, and a promise given them that their grievances would receive early attention; and, whether the Fishery Board have taken any steps for the amelioration of the condition of the officers?

THE SECRETARY FOR SCOTLAND (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.): It is quite true that the officers mentioned by the hon. Member memorialized the Fishery Board for an increase in their pay and travelling allowances. The Board, after hearing the deputation which waited upon them, went fully into the question, but as regards salaries did not see their way to making any recommendation for the consideration of the Treasury. As regards the travelling allowances, the Board could not recommend that any change be made in the rule laid down by the Treasury that these allowances were not to be productive of profit; but if it can be shown that they are productive of loss to the officers the matter will be reconsidered.

BRITISH NORTH AMERICAN PROVINCES—NEWFOUNDLAND—DISTRESS IN LABRADOR.

MR. GEDGE (Stockport) asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether he has received any Report as to the alleged wide-spread distress among the fishermen of Labrador?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. E. STANHOPE) (Lincolnshire, Horncastle): I am glad to say that a telegram from Newfoundland informs me that the Government of that Colony have no Report of unusual distress in Labrador except in two places, where relief has been already sent. The fishery, however, is generally much below the average. The

Governor, I am sorry to add, anticipates widespread distress in Newfoundland during the winter, involving heavy demands for Government assistance.

POST OFFICE (ENGLAND AND WALES)—POSTAGE STAMPS—DISTINCTIVE COLOURS.

MR. DIXON-HARTLAND (Middlesex, Uxbridge) asked the Postmaster General, When the new stamps with distinctive colours for the different values will be re-issued to the public in accordance with the Report of the Departmental Committee, and which were stated in March last to be then in preparation?

THE VICE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL (Sir HENRY HOLLAND) (Hampstead) (who replied) said: The Postmaster General is informed by the Commissioners of Inland Revenue that the new postage stamps will be ready for issue on January 1 next.

FRANCE AND MADAGASCAR.

MR. WATT (Glasgow, Camlachie) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If he is aware as to whether he can give the House any information regarding the relations at present existing between France and Madagascar, owing to the interference of the French authorities there in the administration of the latter country; and, if he will institute inquiries so as to enable the Government, if deemed advisable, to make representations to the French Government on the subject?

THE UNDER SECRETARY (Sir JAMES FERGUSSON) (Manchester, N.E.) The relations between France and Madagascar are regulated by the Treaty of February 2 last between the two Governments. So long as the rights of British subjects, as guaranteed by Treaty, are not interfered with, Her Majesty's Government have no ground for making any representations.

WAR OFFICE—ORDNANCE DEPARTMENT—GUARANTEE OF GUNS.

COLONEL HUGHES - HALLETT (Rochester) asked the Secretary of State for War, What guarantee, if any, has been usually given by Messieurs Armstrong and Company, and by Messieurs Whitworth and Company, to the Ordnance Department, in the case of all

Mr. J. H. A. Macdonald

guns which they have had the order to manufacture?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): When contracts are made for guns that are to be partly paid for before they are completed or proved a formal guarantee is usually executed under seal for the ultimate completion of the guns; but in cases where the contracts provide that the guns are to be proved and passed before payment is made no guarantee is taken.

DEFENCE OF BRITISH POSSESSIONS AND COMMERCE ABROAD—REPORT OF THE ROYAL COMMISSION.

CAPTAIN COLOMB (Tower Hamlets, Bow, &c.) asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether the Governments of the Colonies and Dependencies have been furnished with the evidence taken and the Report made by the Royal Commission on the defence of British Possessions and Commerce Abroad?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. E. STANHOPE) (Lincolnshire, Horncastle): The evidence taken and the Report made by the Royal Commission on the Defence of British Possessions Abroad has, in accordance with the custom in those matters, been kept secret; but the Australasian Colonies have been furnished for their confidential use with so much of the Report as affected their interests.

POST OFFICE—TELEGRAPHIC COMMUNICATION BETWEEN THE UNITED KINGDOM AND THE AUSTRALASIAN COLONIES.

CAPTAIN COLOMB (Tower Hamlets, Bow, &c.) asked the Postmaster General, How often and in what periods during the last six years has telegraphic communication between the United Kingdom and the Australasian Colonies been solely dependent upon telegraph lines through Russia?

THE VICE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL (Sir HENRY HOLLAND) (Hampstead) (who replied) said: I am informed that during the last six years on one occasion only—namely, between the 7th and 16th of the present month—has telegraphic communication between the United Kingdom and the Australasian Colonies been dependent solely upon the telegraphic line through Russia.

RAILWAY COMPANIES—RETURN OF RATES.

MR. DIXON-HARTLAND (Middlesex, Uxbridge) asked the Secretary to the Board of Trade, When the Return ordered to be made by the House on the 10th April last, as to the charges made by Railway Companies in the United Kingdom for the rates on imported and home produce, will be in the hands of Members?

THE SECRETARY (Baron HENRY DE WORMS) (Liverpool, East Toxteth): The Return in question is not completed, as the following Companies have not yet replied—the London and North Western, the London, Brighton, and South Coast, the London, Chatham, and Dover, the Great Eastern, the Great Western, the Great Northern, the Manchester, Sheffield, and Lincolnshire, the South Eastern, the Caledonian, and the Belfast and Northern Counties. All these Companies state that the Returns are in preparation. As soon as they are received the Return shall be laid on the Table.

PRISONS (IRELAND)—DEATH OF THOMAS FITZGERALD, A CONVICT, IN MOUNTJOY PRISON.

MR. SHEEHAN (Kerry, E.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether Thomas Fitzgerald, convicted at the Cork Assizes in December 1885, was found dead in his cell in Mountjoy Prison on the 13th inst.; whether an inquest was held; and, if so, what verdict was given; whether he made any statement shortly before his death relative to his guilt or innocence on the charge for which he was convicted; and, whether it was notorious to the authorities that Fitzgerald was subject to epileptic fits, and if any consequent vigilance was observed in his case during his imprisonment?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH) (Bristol, W.): Thomas Fitzgerald was not found dead in his cell at Mountjoy Prison. He died on the 6th instant of typhoid fever in the hospital ward of Maryborough Invalid Prison, to which he had been removed in March last with a view to special attention being given him on account of epileptic fits to which he was subject. An inquest was held, and the verdict was that the cause of death was

typhoid fever, the jury adding that they believed that he received all the care and attention necessary for one in his condition. He does not appear to have made any statement as to the charge on which he was convicted.

**ELEMENTARY EDUCATION ABROAD—
MR. MATTHEW ARNOLD'S SPECIAL
REPORT.**

MR. PICTON (Leicester) asked the Vice President of the Committee of Council, Whether he has considered Mr. Matthew Arnold's Special Report on Elementary Education Abroad, with a view to acting upon any of the suggestions contained therein, and particularly whether the Education Department will use its influence to secure a graduation of the number of hours of schooling in each week, in accordance with the ages of children, as described on pages 11 and 13 of the Special Report; such farther modification of payment by results as may be necessary to facilitate the introduction of methods of teaching described on page 13 as "more gradual, more natural, more rational, than" those of English schools; the replacement of the pupil teacher system by some such method of training teachers as that described on page 16, in the case of Saxony; the abolition of school fees, as suggested on page 24; the organisation of secondary instruction, as recommended on page 25?

MR. BAUMANN (Camberwell, Peckham) asked, whether the attention of the Vice President had been called to a resolution passed by the Council of the Metropolitan Federation of Radical Clubs calling upon persons who sent their children to board schools under the control of the London School Board to discontinue the payment of school fees on and after October the 4th, and also to refuse to sign any paper in reference to school fees; and if, in the event of a strike against school fees, the Education Department intended to take any measures to enforce the law?

THE VICE PRESIDENT (Sir HENRY HOLLAND) (Hampstead): The attention of the Department will, of course, be directed to the suggestions contained in Mr. Arnold's interesting Report; but, pending the Report of the Royal Commission upon Elementary Education, I am not prepared to say how far it may be desirable to carry any

of them into effect. I may, however, add, as to one part of the Question, that Mr. Arnold suggests the abolition of school fees on political rather than educational grounds. With reference to the Question of the hon. Member behind me (Mr. Baumann), I do not see how it in any way bears on the Question upon the Paper; but if the hon. Member puts it down I will answer it.

**LAND (IRELAND)—THE BOARD OF
WORKS—LOANS TO CERTAIN TENANTS.**

MR. E. HARRINGTON (Kerry, W.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the Board of Works in Ireland have refused to sanction loans to improving tenants whose holdings may happen to be on estates which are in Chancery because they hold under nominal leases, though practically they are tenants from year to year?

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.) (who replied) said, perhaps the hon. Member would allow him to answer the Question. The Question appeared to refer to applications for loans by tenants under leases for seven years pending proceedings in Chancery. On the expiration of such leases the tenants holding under them had, the Board of Works were advised, no rights, and their interest in the lands ceased. There was, therefore, no sufficient security on which to lend.

MR. E. HARRINGTON asked if the hon. Gentleman was informed that they would not be future tenants under the Land Act?

MR. JACKSON: Perhaps the hon. Member would be good enough to put the Question down on the Paper.

**MINES REGULATION (IRELAND)—IN-
SPECTION OF THE MONTEEN COL-
LIERY, CO. KILKENNY.**

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, If it is a fact that no inspector has been seen at the Monteen Colliery, Castlecomer, in county Kilkenny, for fifteen months; and, whether he will cause inquiry to be made as to the sufficiency of the existing arrangements for the duty of inspection in that and neighbouring collieries?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.), in reply,

said, he was informed that the Monteen Colliery and other collieries in the neighbourhood were visited by the Inspector in July, 1885. The Inspector had also visited this district—not actually the Monteen Colliery—three times this year. Inspections were made in this district as frequently as in other parts of the United Kingdom, and they could not be increased consistently with existing arrangements; but in the case of any complaints or confidential communication to the Home Office special inspection and inquiry should be made.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked if he was to understand that 14 or 15 months was the average period for the inspection of collieries not only in Ireland, but also in England?

MR. MATTHEWS: Ordinarily that is the average time within which inspection takes place in each district; but I am not able to answer for each particular colliery.

OWNERS AND OCCUPIERS OF LAND (ENGLAND AND WALES)—INCIDENCE OF TITHES.

MR. KENYON (Denbigh, &c.) asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether the Government are willing to consider the present Law with respect to the incidence of tithes, with a view to removing the liability from the occupiers to the owners, upon terms just to the payer and receiver?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL) (Paddington, S.): Her Majesty's Government are fully sensible of the great gravity of the question alluded to by the hon. Member; and they will give their attention to the subject in the hope of next Session being enabled to introduce legislative changes in the direction indicated by the hon. Member.

THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON PUBLIC DEPARTMENTS — OUTDOOR OFFICIALS OF CUSTOMS AND EXCISE.

MR. MATTHEW KENNY (Tyrone, Mid) asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, If he will state whether the out-door officials of the Customs and Excise Departments will be brought under the scope of the inquiry of the Royal Commission on the Public Departments?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL) (Paddington, S.): I have to remind the hon. Member that the Commission to which he alludes is appointed to inquire into the establishments of the Civil Service generally; and obviously the class of servants he alludes to is within the scope of that Commission.

THE LANDOWNERS OF LONDON— A RETURN.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE (Bradford, Central) asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether the Government will be prepared to direct a Return to be made of the Landowners of London, in extension of the Return of the Landowners of the United Kingdom; the Return to show the names of freeholders, including ground landlords, the nature and present rateable value of their properties, and where possible the amount of the ground rent?

THE PRESIDENT (Mr. RITCHIE) (Tower Hamlets, St. George's): I am told that information of a reliable kind, such as is desired by the right hon. Gentleman, will be very difficult to obtain, and will certainly involve very considerable expenditure. I will, however, cause inquiries to be made on the subject.

CRIME AND OUTRAGE (IRELAND)— RENEWAL OF THE RIOTS AT BELFAST.

MR. EWART (Belfast, N.) asked the Chief Secretary for Ireland the following Question, of which he had given him private Notice:—Whether or not the statement in *The Times* this morning is correct, with respect to an attack by a riotous mob on the Davis Street Police Barracks, Belfast, last night, the object being to release a prisoner; and, whether he can give the House any further information on the subject?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL) (Paddington, S.): My right hon. Friend has left the House; but it is obvious that that is a Question of which Notice ought to be given.

CHANNEL FISHERIES—FISHERIES REGULATION, 1843—VISIT OF FRENCH FISHING SMACKS TO GREAT YARMOUTH.

SIR HENRY TYLER (Great Yarmouth) asked the Secretary to the Board

of Trade, Whether his attention had been called to the fact that some French fishing smacks had put into Yarmouth on Saturday last, and disposed of their fish there; whether English smack owners were precluded from doing the same thing in French ports; and, whether such a state of things was not prejudicial to British fishing interests?

THE SECRETARY (Baron HENRY DE WORMS) (Liverpool, East Toxteth), in reply, said, that he had only received Notice of the Question of his hon. Friend when he reached the House. Telegrams in respect to the subject had been received at the Board of Trade on Saturday night, and instructions were immediately sent to the officer of the Department at Yarmouth to hold an inquiry into the matter. The Report of that officer had not yet been received.

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.) asked the noble Lord the Leader of the House for some information with respect to the course the Government proposed to adopt on the several stages of the Appropriation Bill?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL) (Paddington, S.): We shall ask the House to read the Appropriation Bill a second time this evening, and it will be put down as the first Order for tomorrow. The third reading we will take on Wednesday, and that will admit of the Prorogation taking place on Friday, or at latest on Saturday.

LAW AND JUSTICE—A COURT OF CRIMINAL APPEAL—LEGISLATION.

MR. SHIRLEY (Yorkshire, W.R., Doncaster) asked Mr. Attorney General, Whether the Government would consider the advisability of bringing in a Bill to establish a Court of Criminal Appeal, so that innocent persons might have greater security than at present?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir RICHARD WEBSTER) (Isle of Wight): The question of the establishment of a Court of Criminal Appeal is undoubtedly one of very great importance; and Her Majesty's Government will certainly consider whether it will be in their power to bring in a Bill to deal with the matter.

Sir Henry Tyler

EVICCTIONS (IRELAND)—THE LATEST STATISTICS.

MR. PARNELL (Cork): I wish, Sir, to ask the Chief Secretary for Ireland a Question, of which I have given him private Notice—namely, Whether he can give the House any information with regard to the number of evictions which have taken place in Ireland since the date of the last Return—that is to say, since the 30th of June, which is the last Return that we have?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH) (Bristol, W.): I have done my best to obtain the information which the hon. Member asks for, although I only received his Notice at 4 o'clock. The figures which I now give are only approximate, and of course the House is aware that the Returns of evictions include evictions for a great many causes, and in a great many cases besides those for non-payment of rent. Since the 30th of June 1,037 families, including 5,300 persons, have been evicted. Out of those 651 families, including 3,636 persons, had been readmitted as tenants or caretakers. The balance, therefore, actually evicted is 357 families, including 1,675 persons.

MR. PARNELL: Can the right hon. Gentleman tell me up to what date that information comes?

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: I believe it is up to the end of last week—that is to say, practically up to date.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

TENANTS' RELIEF (IRELAND) BILL.

(Mr. Parnell, Mr. Sexton, Mr. Dillon, Mr. T. P. O'Connor, Mr. Pinkerton, Mr. Mahony.)

[BILL 47.] SECOND READING.

[FIRST NIGHT.]

Order for Second Reading read.

MR. PARNELL (Cork): It has been frequently stated, Sir, that an unmistakable mandate was conveyed by the result of the General Election against the concession of self-government to Ireland. I desire to take the liberty of saying that, in my judgment, another and still more unmistakable mandate was also conveyed by the result of the General Election, and that was a mandate to the House of Commons that they should show themselves equally willing

and equally able to provide for the wants of Ireland, and to redress her grievances as her own Parliament would do. I cannot think, Sir, that any argument drawn from the lateness of this Session—in view of the fact that a House has been returned of Members many of whom are fresh, most of whom are vigorous and young, and in view of the fact that the House has only been met together for a short period of six weeks since its election—ought to cause the House to feel that it has had too much or too hard work to do, and is entitled to a holiday immediately, especially if I can substantiate and make good my case that a state of urgency exists in Ireland with regard to the relations between the landlords and the tenants of that country. Nothing was more remarkable, no argument was stronger than those arguments which were addressed to the different constituencies by Members of the Liberal Party who described themselves as Liberal Unionists, in which they affirmed their belief that England was both able and willing to redress Irish grievances and to attend to her wants. I think, Sir, I am right in calling upon Gentlemen who used those arguments to the English constituencies now to consider my case; and if I am able to make a case for immediate interference by the Legislature, then they ought to consider how far they will be justified in asking the oppressed and impoverished Irish tenants to wait for fully five months before even they consider this question. My measure, Sir, is a simple one. It consists of three provisions. The first and the most important of them undoubtedly is—because it is directed to the more immediate and pressing necessity of the case—that which provides that any tenant of a statutory tenancy who has had his rent fixed prior to the last day of the year 1884 may apply to the Land Commission to abate his rent, and that the Land Commission may abate the rent, provided two requirements are satisfied. The first of these requirements is that the tenant shall show—before he is entitled to make the application, before the Land Commission can take any action to relieve him—that he has paid half the rent ordinarily payable in respect of the year 1886, and half of any antecedent arrears thereto. The second requirement necessary in order to entitle

the tenant to relief from the Land Commission—the second imperative requirement is, that he shall prove to the satisfaction of the Land Commission that he is unable to pay the remainder of his rent without deprivation—I observe that in some versions of the Bill which have appeared in the Press the word “depreciation” has been substituted for “deprivation”—“of the means necessary for the cultivation and stocking” of the holding. Then, if the Court, after these two requirements have been satisfied, makes an abatement, it is to apply to the rent ordinarily payable in the year 1886, as well as to the antecedent arrears, and also to the rent which would ordinarily become payable in the ensuing year—that is to say, in 1887. The second main provision of the Bill is one providing for the admission at once of all leaseholders to the benefits of the Land Act of 1881—that is to say, of the rent-fixing clauses of the Land Act of 1881—who would, on the expiration of their leases, be entitled to apply to have their rents fixed. There are certain exceptions by which it is intended to provide for the cases of beneficial leases where valuable consideration has been given, and also to except middlemen from the operation of the Act, whether they desire or whether they do not desire to come under its operation. Lastly, the exceptions contained in the 58th section of the Land Act of 1881 are re-enacted. The third and last provision of this Bill is that for suspending all ejectment proceedings—proceedings for the recovery of rent—upon payment of half the rent and arrears due. This Bill, with the exception of the provisions regarding the admission of leaseholders, is a temporary Bill, directed to provide against a temporary emergency. It is intended to meet the depreciation in prices, which we undoubtedly cannot prove will be permanent. We only know, so far, that this depreciation in prices began in 1885, and it has gone on without any signs of recovery—indeed, showing signs to the contrary from that time until now. We cannot prove that this depreciation in prices will be permanent; but we have reason to fear that it will be. As, however, we cannot prove the permanency of this depreciation, we simply ask that the House shall take action for the limit of time which has reference to the rents due in November,

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and also for the further period which must elapse before the House can take any action on the Report of the Commission appointed by the Government for the purpose of inquiring into this matter. We abstain entirely from prejudging the proposals of the Government, because we do not suggest action beyond the limit of time I have mentioned. But we take the fact of this admitted depreciation in prices since the bulk of the judicial rents were fixed, the damaged harvest, together with the potato blight which has, unhappily, set in to an alarming extent in Ireland; and we propose a remedy for this state of affairs pending the time that the House will be able to take action in the next Session of Parliament on any proposals or Report that may be submitted by the Royal Commission appointed for that purpose. This time cannot be until next November twelvemonth. Parliament is to adjourn now for five months, and it will not meet again until, I suppose, the middle of next February. In the case of the Land Act of 1881 and the Arrears Act of 1882 the remedial action of those measures did not begin to come into effect until the November following the Session in which they were passed—that is to say, the Land Courts were not at work in Ireland until the November of 1881—the Land Act having occupied nearly half of the Session—and the Arrears Act did not come into operation until the November of 1882, having been passed in the Session of that year. Therefore, unless the House accedes to my proposals the tenants and the landlords in Ireland will, practically speaking, be left *in statu quo* until next November twelvemonth. Another twelve months' rent will then become due, in addition to the six months' rent which will fall due in this November, and which we seek to provide against by this Bill. I take the last day of the year 1884 as the date within which the tenants must have had their rents fixed in order to entitle them to apply for an abatement, because the fall in prices commenced at the beginning of 1885. And although the Land Commission does not appear to commence to recognize that fall in prices until the commencement of 1886, and, justly speaking, the tenants whose rents were fixed in 1885 should also have been admitted to the benefits of this Bill, yet as those

tenants are few in number, and as the date coincides with the date of the commencement of the depression, I have thought it better, and perhaps fairer, under all the circumstances of the case, to take that far back date as the date of the limit. Now, it may be objected, in the first place, and probably will be, against my Bill that inability of the tenants to pay their rents will be a matter of exceeding difficulty and most tedious to ascertain. Now, Sir, we have some experience to teach us regarding this matter. It is from the Arrears Act of 1882 that this clause which I am now considering has been very largely taken. Under that Act inability to pay was a necessary condition for the action of the Land Commission, precisely the same body that is chosen by this Bill—

“Inability to pay without loss of the holding or the means necessary for the cultivation thereof.”

I have substituted or adapted for those words the expression—

“Inability to pay without loss of his holding or deprivation of the means necessary for the cultivation and stocking thereof.”

Now, in the working of the Arrears Act the Court of the Land Commission satisfied itself within a period of four months of the inability to pay their rents of nearly 200,000 tenants. So that it is not a question that we can be in any doubt about, that this matter of inability to pay can be decided expeditiously and fairly, for its practicability has been already proved for us by the working of the Arrears Act of 1882, an Act than which no measure ever passed by Parliament for Ireland has ever proved more satisfactory to both parties. The number of tenants involved will not be so great in this case as in the case of the Arrears Act; and in all probability before three months have elapsed, after the Land Commission has completed the necessary preliminaries, the question of the inability of the tenants to pay will be satisfactorily decided without any trouble or practical difficulty. Then, Sir, we have the further condition that the tenant must pay one-half of the rent to the landlord or into Court before he is qualified to apply to come within the provisions of the Act. Now, that condition is also mainly adapted or copied from the Arrears Act. In that case the tenant was not required to pay so large a proportion of the rent and

arrears as I am requiring him to pay under this Bill. He was only required to pay one-third of the rent and arrears; the landlord had then to give up one-third, and the State advanced the remaining third. I provide that the tenant shall pay one-half of the rent and arrears—the State paying nothing—and then that the Court shall estimate how much of the remaining half shall be paid by the tenant, and how much shall be lost to the landlord. Now, I have shown that in these two main provisions this Bill closely follows the Act in Ireland which proved most satisfactory and speedy in its working. The only practical difference I make is this—that the State shall not be a loser in the transaction. Well, Sir, the clause regarding the suspensory proceedings while the judicial inquiries are proceeding, which will probably amount to about two or three months, is one which is taken verbatim from the Arrears Act of 1882. It is a clause which worked very satisfactorily. No complaint was ever made of it, and it was found that evictions and proceedings in ejectment could be stayed under that clause without any practical loss whatever to the tenant, and that it enabled the Arrears Act and the Land Act of 1881 also to be worked in a much smoother way than otherwise would have been the case. It has been argued, and may be argued again, in reference to this Bill that the Civil Bill Courts in Ireland have already power to grant stays in the execution of decrees; but there is a wide difference between the power to grant a stay in the execution of a decree and the power to suspend or postpone proceedings, which was provided by the Act of 1882, and also provided by this Bill. In the one case, the case already provided for by the rules governing the proceedings of the Civil Bill Courts, the proceedings are not suspended or postponed until after the decree has been granted. It is only, if I am correctly informed, the execution of the decree—that is to say, the actual ejectment—that can be stayed by the Court; the Court has no power to stay the proceedings themselves. Such a power was found necessary in the working of the Arrears Act. It was agreed to by all Parties in this House, and passed by the House of Lords without any objection. I do not seek to push the matter any further than was intended by

the Arrears Act of 1882; but I claim that it is absolutely necessary that this suspensory power to that extent should be given in the present instance. If you only go as far as the power which already exists you will have the infliction of large and heavy costs upon the small tenants, against whom proceedings are taken. These costs, in many cases, amount to more than the entire rent. I would say in the case of the majority of the tenants against whom action is taken that the costs of ejectment proceedings in the Civil Bill Courts amount to more than the rent. They amount to £2 16s. for each ejectment; the rent in the majority of cases would not probably amount to that sum—I mean in the case of the smaller holdings, which are some 400,000 in number. It is no advantage to the unfortunate tenant who is unable to pay his rent to have an ejectment decree taken against him, and to have his rent more than doubled by the costs of ejectment proceedings—in fact, in the case of the Arrears Act, many tenants have had decrees granted against them before the Act came into operation. In the case of some thousands of tenants in the North and West of Ireland the Arrears Act was altogether nugatory and useless, because the costs exceeded the two years' rent that was got rid of under the Act. So that I hope the Government and the House generally will admit that if any action is to be taken at all it will have to be an action suspending the proceedings in ejectment, and not waiting until after the ejectment decrees have been obtained and additional cost heaped upon the tenant. Now I wish to say a word with regard to the leaseholders. It may be said that the provision with regard to the admission of leaseholders is out of place here; that, this being a temporary measure, the leaseholder ought to have no part to it. I say in reply that the leaseholders have waited long enough, and too long, and that I will be no party to perpetuate the horrible injustice—an injustice which is now, owing to the depreciation of prices, becoming crushing—caused by their continued exclusion from the Act of 1880. It is a marvel to me how they have continued to exist during the years since 1881, and to retain the roof over their heads. I have no doubt that a large number of the outrages committed in

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the last few years, and more especially during the first year or two after the Land Act of 1881 commenced working, were committed in reference to rack-rented leaseholders. These leaseholders are rack-rented in a way beyond the ordinary standard of rack-renting in Ireland. They are, many of them, paying 50, 60, and 70 per cent above the Poor Law valuation. In the case of a great many, undoubtedly, arrangements have been entered into, after long trouble and contention between the landlord and the tenant, for an abatement of rent. In the case of a good many others they still remain crushed under impossible rents; and if we do not want to see the flower of the Irish tenantry crushed out of existence, then I say something ought to be done, and very speedily, for them to enable them to have their rents reduced in the same proportion as the Land Commission have been reducing rents since the commencement of this year. Now, I have gone over the provisions of the Bill, and I have dealt with the difficulty which will be raised about the question of inability to pay rent. It will now be necessary to say a few words with regard to the question of the fall in prices, which is, of course, what we base our contention upon. Now, Sir, sometimes it has been denied that there has been any fall in prices at all. Others say that there has been some fall in prices, but not so great as alleged; while others again say—and this is the most preposterous of all—that the Land Commission, in fixing the rents in 1882, 1883, and 1884, took into their consideration the fall in prices in 1885—that they scented and foresaw the reduction which came in 1885, and fixed the judicial rents so as to allow for that reduction. I think I shall show, first, that the depreciation of prices has not been exaggerated; secondly, that the Land Commission did not, in fixing rents in 1882-4, take into consideration the fall in prices in 1885 and 1886; and, thirdly, that the Land Commission are now taking cognizance, for the first time, of the fall in prices which began in 1885 and has continued steadily since. The fall has been very marked in the principal articles of produce in Ireland. These articles are butter, beef, pork, mutton, wool, two-year-old stock, and one-year-old stock. I find from a Return which has been carefully compiled from prices given in

The Irish Farmers' Gazette—and let me explain that *The Irish Farmers' Gazette* is not a Nationalist but rather a landlord's paper—for each month of the year 1885, that butter, which for the six years ending in 1884 sold at 103s. 6d. per cwt., was in 1885 sold at an average price of 75s. per cwt., or a fall of 27 per cent. The price of beef averaged in the six years 67s. per cwt.; but in 1885 it was 56s. per cwt., or a fall of 15½ per cent. This is one of the articles which has the least to do directly with the prosperity of the Irish tenants, for a great number of the tenants make no beef; they sell their cattle as young or store stock to a few large graziers in Ireland, or send them to English farmers who fatten. Pork, which was 54s. 7d. in the six years, was in 1885 down to 43s. 6d., or a fall of 20·3 per cent. Mutton, which in the six years averaged 79s. per cwt., was down to 65s. 5d., or a fall of 18·4 per cent. Wool, which in the former period was 11d. per lb., had fallen to 8d., or a fall of 27 per cent. Two-year-old stock, which in the former period were sold at £12 10s. per head, were down to £10 per head, or a fall of 20 per cent. I may state that, although we have not been able to make a Return for 1886 with regard to two-year-olds, there can be no doubt that this class of stock has suffered a very large depreciation. ["No!"] It is all very well for the hon. and gallant Member for North Armagh (Colonel Saunderson) to say "No," and shake his head; but he will not go back and shake his head at the tenant farmers of Ulster. Speaking as a practical man, I say that two-year-old stock has depreciated since 1885 a further 15 to 20 per cent at least. Nothing in the fall of prices in agricultural produce is more remarkable or sudden than the fall in store stock, which the Irish farmers chiefly depend upon for the payment of their rent and their subsistence. One-year-old stock since the close of 1884 is also down 22 per cent. Now, Sir, this shows an average fall considerably above 20 per cent in the chief articles of produce raised by Irish farmers; and with the exception of butter there has been no rise in any of these articles during the six months of this year. [An hon. MEMBER: Wool.] It is chiefly foreign, and it has only very recently risen. With regard to butter, there is a larger demand only within the

last few weeks because the Irish farmers have no butter to sell. Let me say that owing to this fall in prices the Land Act of 1881 has proved absolutely of no benefit whatever to the Irish farmer. I say it would have been far better for the Irish tenant farmers if the old prices had remained as they were prior to 1878; and if there had been no Land Act the Irish tenant farmer would have been at the present day in a much better position than he is now. There has been a fall since that year in the principal articles of 22 per cent, and the rent has been reduced under the Land Act by 19 per cent, so that the farmer is 3 per cent to the bad; and this without taking into account the very considerable rise in the price of labour owing to the emigration of a large number of labouring men. But the decisions of the Land Commissioners are a much higher testimony than the statistics I have quoted, strong as those figures are. What do we find has been their action during the six months of the present year? I find that a great and startling reduction in the rents has taken place as compared with the reductions made previously. I find for the months of January, February, March, April, May, and June, in 1886, in Ulster the reductions have been 9 per cent below the valuation; whereas, previous to 1885, in Ulster the reductions only averaged 4·2 per cent below the valuation. There is a much larger difference, however, in the other Provinces. In Leinster the reductions this year have averaged 18 per cent below the Poor Law valuation as compared with the previous reductions of 15·3 per cent above the valuation, or a difference of 33 per cent in the judicial rents fixed before the fall in prices and those fixed since. In Connaught the reductions in the judicial rents averaged 7 per cent below the valuation for the six months this year, as compared with 13·2 per cent above the valuation for the years previous to this, or a difference of 20·2 per cent. In Munster, where the reductions prior to 1885 were 25·8 per cent over the valuation, we find that it is now 1·4 per cent above, or a difference of 24·4 per cent, as compared with the rents previous to the depreciation in prices. Well, Sir, that is a very important piece of testimony, and I shall be very curious to hear the reply from the Government Benches.

The average reduction all over Ireland below the Poor Law valuation is 9·5 per cent for the six months. The average reduction in the year, as compared with the rents reduced previously, is 18 per cent. Then, again, the amount of reductions is larger. Not only is the relative standard of the rents smaller, but the amount of the reductions, as compared with the original or former rents, is much larger than it was in the previous years. Up to August, 1885, the reductions averaged 19·4 per cent of the old or former rent. In the first six months of this year the reductions averaged 28 per cent of the former rent. It is a common saying with regard to Irish landlords that it is necessary for Parliament, over and over again, to interfere to compel them to do that unwillingly which the English landlords do willingly. We have information with regard to the reductions which have been going on upon many estates in England. An hon. Member for one of the Home Counties gave it as his information the other day in the course of debate that many English landlords find it very difficult to get any rent for their land at all, and that very large reductions have been made. Some recent reductions have been recorded in *The Land Agent's Record*. On the estates of Lord Lonsdale, in Westmoreland and Cumberland, the reductions have been 20 per cent. On Lord Zetland's estates they have been 20 per cent on the half-year. On the estates of the Duke of Sutherland, in Scotland, they have been 40 per cent. The tenants of Lord Fitzhardinge, in Gloucestershire, have received a permanent reduction of 20 per cent; Mr. Wise, of Leamington, has allowed a reduction of 25 per cent; and Dr. Morrison, of Yorkshire, has reduced his rents, based on the current rates of 1884, by 50 per cent. I believe I may call the Secretary of State for War (Mr. W. H. Smith) as a witness, because he has abated 40 per cent of the rent due from his tenants. Some of the Irish landlords are doing the same thing as the English landlords. Let me give an example. Earl Fitzwilliam has given a reduction to his tenants for the present year of 50 per cent on the old rent. Wicklow is one of the better-off counties of Ireland, and Lord Fitzwilliam's are not among the worst-off tenants in the county. Yet his Lordship has recog-

nized the pressure of the time, and has given directions that 50 per cent of the rent is to be returned to his tenants. This is on a large estate, and on the large estates, according to the evidence of Sir Richard Griffiths, the rents average only about the Poor Law valuation; consequently, the reduction given by Earl Fitzwilliam to all his tenants alike, including leaseholders, will come much under the Poor Law valuation. The Return of evictions up to the last day of June has not been issued to Members, although it has been presented; but we have just received from the Chief Secretary information which comes down to the end of last week. It has been argued that, because there was a diminution in the number of evictions in the last quarter of last year and the first quarter of this year, there is therefore no immediate necessity for the action of Parliament; that the landlords are not evicting their tenants in Ireland, and that there cannot be any pressure now. We have had experience to show us that whenever there have been seasons of depression in Ireland, and whenever there have been starvation, distress, and inability to pay rent, evictions have mounted up. We have evidence, on the contrary, that whenever tenants have been fairly well able to pay rent evictions have been very few. In 1849, the season following the terrible famine of 1846-7-8, there were evicted 16,686 families and 90,000 persons; in 1850, another bad year, there were evicted 19,000 families and 104,000 persons; in 1851, 13,000 families and 68,000 persons. Thus, in those three years, there were evicted 50,000 families and 252,000 persons. Let me compare with that period some good years. In the 11 years from 1865 to 1875 the average annual number of evictions was only 629. If I come down to a more recent period of distress, and in some places of famine—for instance, 1880—I find that the number rose to 2,102 families, or 10,000 persons; in 1881, the year before the Land Act came into operation, to 3,415 families, or 17,000 persons; in 1883, to 3,643 families and 17,000 persons; in 1884 to 4,000 families and 20,000 persons. It will be argued, by some at least, that as the figures were not maintained in the last quarter of 1885 and the first quarter of this year, there is no pressing necessity for the Bill, because there is no

likelihood of numerous evictions. My contention is, and it is a just one, that the comparatively small number of evictions in the end of 1885 and the commencement of 1886 was not due to the fact that there was no distress and inability to pay rent, but was due to two distinct causes. One cause of the reduced number of evictions in the last quarter of 1885 was that Lord Carnarvon addressed a public appeal to the Irish landlords to refrain from eviction, to meet their tenants half-way, and to be very cautious how they used the terrible penalty of eviction. The other cause which had a bearing upon the number of evictions in the first quarter of 1886 was the fact that the right hon. Gentleman the senior Member for Newcastle (Mr. John Morley) was Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, and by his speeches and declarations in this House distinctly discouraged evictions. There was also the reason that matters were in suspense; the landlords were waiting to see what offer the Government were going to make them, and they were consequently indisposed to press their claims to the utmost extremity until they saw what their future permanent position was likely to be. These two causes are no longer determining factors in the situation. Lord Carnarvon has ceased to be Lord Lieutenant, and has been replaced by a Nobleman of whom little is known except what is bad; the senior Member for Newcastle has ceased to be Chief Secretary for Ireland, and he has been succeeded by a right hon. Gentleman who has announced that he is going to leave the unfortunate tenants to their fate, and that any loss must fall, not on the landlords, but rather on the State. That these causes have ceased to be determining factors is proved by the statistics coming down to the 30th of June, but not yet published; and also by the further information the Chief Secretary had just given as to the evictions which have taken place since the end of June. They disclose a very alarming state of things. In the quarter ending March, when the right hon. Member for Newcastle was Chief Secretary, there were only 698 evictions of families, comprising 3,477 persons. In the quarter ending June, when the fate of the Home Rule Bill and the Land Bill was absolutely certain, the evictions mounted up to 1,309 families—as nearly as possible

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double. In the two months and a week which have elapsed since June 30, I find there have been 1,037 families evicted, or 5,311 persons. These figures are very alarming. They show that landlords have commenced to evict, and that probably 1,500 families have been evicted in the current quarter. If the rate of increase continue, the evictions will probably reach 2,000 in the next quarter. That will be higher, I think, than in any quarter during the last 20 years—higher than any quarter since 1851. The highest average in 1884, which was the worst year since the passing of the Land Act, did not come up to the average which will be shown by the quarter ending the present year. These Eviction Returns are very instructive reading. We have heard something of the relation between outrages and evictions. In Munster, in the quarter ending June last, there were 428 evictions, and of these 187, or nearly one-half, were in the county of Kerry. I ask whether these evictions do not partially explain the disturbed state to which that county has been reduced? As compared with the whole Province of Munster the evictions in Kerry were more than one-half, as compared with Connaught they were nearly one-half, and they largely exceeded the whole number in Leinster. If the Government sent down a Land Commissioner to Kerry armed with the powers provided by this Bill, so that the tenants, upon payment of half the rent, would be secured from eviction, they would have done more for the peace of Kerry than all the General Bullers that could be sent down. Some attempt will be made to show that half the evicted tenants are, as a general rule, admitted as caretakers. Now, among all the Returns granted by Parliament relating to Irish affairs we have never had a Return informing us what becomes of the caretakers. Some hon. Gentlemen on the opposite side who desire to take a roseate view, say that they are almost universally readmitted as tenants. I have great reason to doubt the accuracy of that statement; but even if it is accurate, they are not admitted as tenants under the Act of 1881. They are admitted with the provisions in their favour in that Act broken, destroyed, and taken away. ["No!"] Unless the tenant redeems within six months after his eviction he forfeits his rights

and sinks to the *status* of "a future tenant," which only carries with it the right to sell his miserable holding if he can get a person to buy it, so that only a small number of the evicted tenants find themselves with the rights which the Act of 1881 conferred upon them. But we have reason to believe that a large number are never readmitted as tenants. They drift away by degrees. Being as caretakers deprived of the right of cultivating their holdings, they are compelled to resort to the towns, where they try to set up a little trade or small business, if they have means or skill, or they sink to the level of a day labourer. Nothing is more piteous than to trace the history of an evicted tenant. He sinks from a position of prosperity to the *status* of a caretaker. If he fails to redeem within the prescribed time he can only be admitted as "a future tenant," and if not admitted by the grace of his landlord he must go, as I have said, to a neighbouring town, and become a small tradesman, and thus you see in the Irish towns a great many men who themselves as well as their fathers before them paid large rents broken down and destroyed owing to the refusal of the Legislature to provide for seasons of temporary but severe distress and pressure. I think I have gone in anticipation through the principal arguments which will be used against this measure. It is a measure essential in the present condition of the Irish tenants. It does not go as far as the Arrears Act of 1882, which compelled the tenant to pay only a third of the rent and arrears. It compels him to pay half the rent before he can have recourse to the relief provided by the Courts of Law. It compels him also to prove his incapacity to pay the balance of his rent in the same way as the tenant was compelled to do by the Arrears Act of 1882. In fact, it is an almost exact copy of that Act, and it is a measure which I recommend, from my knowledge of the situation of Ireland, as one well calculated to pull matters smoothly through during the coming winter and during the interval which must elapse before this House can turn its attention to the settlement of this great Irish Land Question. I have the utmost confidence, if Parliament adopts this measure, that it will be richly rewarded by the result, and that it will be better for

the landlords themselves. I believe that a great many of them will give this reduction; but there will be a minority, whether large or small, as there always has been from one cause or another, disposed to exact the last shilling, the last pound of flesh. It is against this minority that Parliament will have to provide, as it had to do before in 1870 and 1881. Not that the majority of Irish landlords are necessarily just, for the Act of 1881 showed that there were among them almost as few just men as there were in Sodom and Gomorrah, for in almost every case where the conditions of holdings were brought under the notice of the Land Commission a reduction was given. In almost every case, therefore, where the proceedings of Irish landlords formed the subject of the deliberation of the Land Courts these landlords were deemed to have been exacting for many years unfair and even exorbitant rents. I think we have a right to say that the Irish tenants shall not be left defenceless and at the mercy of the landlords during the coming winter. The history of Irish landlords is a history of which they cannot be proud. Had it not been for the conduct of this class in dealing with the Land Question, you possibly might have conciliated the Irish people to your rule. These men whom you have put in as stewards have been false to their trust, and have oppressed, ill-treated, and rack-rented their tenants. Theirs is not a history where the question is to go by default in their favour. If it is to go by default it ought to go against them. The House would do well—and I earnestly entreat the House—before leaving for its holidays to consider this question, and to see whether they cannot further this Bill as a stay upon the troublesome times which otherwise are sure to come in Ireland. I do not wish to enlarge upon that side of the question. It is an argument which in many respects is not a worthy one. I prefer to base my claim on the case I think I have made out—that there has been a large depreciation in the prices of agricultural produce; that this depreciation has been so great that many tenants will be unable during the coming winter to pay their full rents; that you have in Ireland a Land Commission well qualified to investigate this question, which can adjudicate upon each of these cases; at all

events, it can decide on them temporarily and for the next year, and during the time that must elapse before your Land Commission and Parliament can get to work. I have the utmost confidence that the justice of Parliament and of this country will not permit this Bill to be lost; but that this House will, as I now ask it to do, read this Bill a second time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Parnell.*)

MR. PENROSE FITZGERALD (Cambridge), in rising to move, as an Amendment, that—

"In the opinion of this House, it is inexpedient at the present time to make any further alteration in the Irish Land Laws,"

said, that the task which the hon. Member for Cork (*Mr. Parnell*) had set himself was not an easy one, and he felt he should find it very difficult to follow the hon. Member accurately through the figures he had given to the House. He had set himself to prove that the value of agricultural produce in Ireland had gone down so much since the Commissioners under the last Act settled the rents, that it was impossible for the Irish tenants to pay the judicial rents, reduced as they were at that time on an average of from 19 to 23 per cent. Secondly, the hon. Member felt it his duty to explain to the House that, at the present moment, there was no other legal means except the proposed Bill by which a tenant in Ireland could get any further reduction of his rent. He, however, did not think that had been proved. At present, if tenant and landlord agreed, say, to 20 years' purchase of a holding, it was perfectly competent for the tenant, on making that agreement with his landlord, to receive an immediate reduction of something like 20 per cent on his judicial rent. Therefore, there was now in existence means by which tenants could get an almost immediate reduction in their judicial rents. There was another point, the most important of all. Before being convinced by the argument of the hon. Member he would like to have it distinctly shown that there was any means which the hon. Member had discovered by which the Land Commissioners could distinguish between those tenants who could not and those tenants who would not pay

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their rents? That was the strongest and most important point that all landlords had to deal with, and it was one that it would be impossible for the Commissioners to decide justly. With regard to Clause 2 of the hon. Member's Bill, which dealt with leaseholders, it was necessary that it should be proved to the House that leaseholders were in such a position that there could be no postponing of the consideration of an alteration of the Bill of 1881. He did not think that they were in such a position. He might, perhaps, say that when the Royal Commission which was about to be appointed had made its examination and had presented its Report, he certainly should not be prepared to prevent leaseholders being admitted to the Act if the Commission recommended their admission. Hon. Members opposite knew that all along he had felt very grave doubts whether it was at the present time, and after the Act of 1881 had been passed, just to exclude leaseholders from that Act. By that Act, in his opinion, one injustice had been committed, and now they were bound to commit a second in order to prevent a third. With regard to the 3rd clause of the hon. Member's Bill, he must use the same sentence as he had used with respect to the first. How could the Commissioners in Ireland find out, after what had happened in the last seven or eight years, the difference between inability to pay and the determination not to pay, because the latter had been ordered? That was the one reason, and the strongest and the sufficient reason, for the House to reject the Bill. It was, he contended, absolutely impossible that any Commissioners could ascertain which were the tenants who could not pay and which were the tenants who would not pay. Then, again, he did not think that it had been proved to the satisfaction of the House that all landlords were about to evict suddenly, harshly, and unjustly. The difficulty which landlords had experienced of getting new tenants for their land, and the difficulty of working their land themselves under existing circumstances, had been such that very few landlords, and certainly not those who came under the head of good landlords of the old class, would be at all inclined to evict during the coming winter if their tenants could make a return equivalent to something

like that which the hon. Member for Cork had proposed. As to the process by which the Commissioners had based their reduction of rents, and which the hon. Member for Cork asked the House to go into now, he might say that, in 1885, both the yield and the price of agricultural goods in Ireland settled the rents which were paid. In the autumn of 1885 and in the spring of 1886 the rents were determined both by the yield and the price of agricultural commodities in 1885. The cereals of 1886 were as yet in the field, and they did not exactly know what the yield was, nor could they exactly predict what the price would be. He would ask the House, therefore, whether it was sufficiently satisfied in this matter that the case was so dangerous a one or so urgent and pressing that there should be at once anticipatory legislation with regard to the yield and the price of the agricultural commodities of 1886 in the autumn? It was very much more difficult to get at the price of cattle. He begged that hon. Members would not think that he denied that there had been a fall in the price of cattle. He was not such a fool as to deny that, because he knew very well that there had been a fall. But he maintained that cattle fat and fit for the butcher had not fallen in price, but had fetched a fair price. Stores had fallen to a certain extent, and indeed considerably during the last year; but there was already a rise at the present moment. Half-starved stores had certainly fallen considerably, and had been almost unsaleable in 1885. But it should be remembered that in 1885 there was a very trying and a very severe and hard winter in England, and when there were no roots, no turnips, and no hay, or very little, in England, the price of stocks of all sorts fell in Ireland rapidly. Therefore, in 1885, when there were no roots and no hay in England, they had a direct reason why stock fell in Ireland as it did fall. This year there were abundant crops of turnips and mangolds in England, and hay was cheap and plentiful. This was also the case in Ireland. It would be necessary, therefore, for those farmers in England who wanted to fill their yards with stock, to come to Ireland and buy two-year-olds and three-year-olds in the autumn. Hence he did not think that

in Ireland there would be anything like that pressure which the hon. Member for Cork looked forward to during the coming winter. He was very glad to hear what had been said about the reductions by landlords in England; but he would point out that in England the lands which had suffered most were as a general rule the heavy clay wheat-growing lands. The yield and the price of wheat from such lands had suffered most. There were 2,500,000 acres of land under wheat in England, and only 70,000 statute acres under wheat in Ireland, which showed that the great depression in this country had been produced by wheat, which had comparatively very little to do with the position of agriculture in Ireland. Barley had maintained during the past two years an average price. Oats also had remained very much the same during the last two or three years, and wool in Ireland had decidedly gone up in value. As the hon. Member for Cork had used *The Irish Farmers' Gazette* as a means of persuading the House to pass his Bill, he would read to the House what the commissioner of that *Gazette* had stated with regard to the prospects of the crops. Of 59 reports on the wheat crops, he said that 37 were average, 16 were over average, and six under. Of 58 reports on the barley crop, 30 were given as average, 19 as over, and nine as under. With regard to oats, there were 92 reports, and 42 were average, 40 were over, and 10 under. Of flax there were 28 reports, of which 12 were average, nine were over, and seven were under. Of 91 potato reports, 53 were average, 34 were over, and four under. Of 92 turnip reports, 34 were average, 40 were over, and 18 were under. Of 87 reports dealing with mangolds, 47 were average, 29 were over, and 11 under. Of meadow, that was, the hay crop, as regarded quantity, 27 reports were average, 61 over, and only three under. Grass and pasture land seemed equally plentiful, 53 reports being average, 52 over, and four under. *The Irish Farmers' Gazette* went on to say—

"Cereals and roots are a good average and hay and grass abundant. The potato disease is reported from various localities. Four and five years ago there were large importations of champignons and magnum bonums, and nearly everyone in Ireland had a complete change of seed. The consequence was we had scarcely any disease in the country the two following

seasons. But we and others warned farmers that these new varieties (for as regards general cultivation in this country even the champion was new) would not long remain impregnable to the attacks of the potato disease, but if grown year after year were sure to fall a prey to it. The turnip crop is good and keep of all kinds abundant, the one general complaint being that it has been very difficult to save old meadow hay on account of the recent wet weather. Now, the wet weather did not begin till the middle of July; and putting aside corcas land, which is quite exceptional and, as far as we know, confined to one locality, that is surely late enough for the general run of meadows to be saved."

This was a report of the prospects of this autumn, drawn from the same source as the hon. Member for Cork had drawn some of his statements. Now, with regard to the prices in 1885—he had no authentic Return of the prices in the present year—he would compare them with the prices in Ireland in 1852, which was the year of Griffith's valuation. In 1852 wheat per 112 lbs. was at 7s. 6d., and the average price in 1885 was 8s. 5d. Oats in 1852 were 4s. 10d., and the average price in 1885 was 8s. Barley in 1852 was 5s. 6d., and the average price in 1885 was 7s. 5d. Flax in 1852 was 49s., and the average price in 1885 was 55s. Butter in 1852 was 65s. 4d., and the average in 1885 was 95s. Beef in 1852 was 35s. 6d., and the average price in 1885 was 55s. Mutton in 1852 was 41s., and the average in 1885 was 56s. Pork in 1852 was 32s., and in 1885 the average was 46s. 6d. Milch cows in 1852 were from £8 to £14, and in 1885 from £11 to £20. Two-year-old cattle in 1852 were from £4 to £8 10s., and in 1885 from £7 to £13. One-year-old cattle in 1852 were from £2 10s. to £5 10s., and in 1885 from £4 to £8 10s. Lambs in 1852 were from 18s. to 26s., and in 1885 from 18s. to 50s. He wished to point out the extraordinary and increasing divergence between the top and bottom figures; and he submitted that the Returns showed that if good farming and strict attention to business paid well 20 years ago, it paid nearly twice as well now. In every commodity it was the worst sorts that foreign competition told most heavily against; but against any competition our best produce, he believed, could hold its own. He would now consider the aspect that was given to the case by the Returns of the joint-stock and savings banks. In 1876—a

very good year—the amount in the savings banks, which were used by the smaller tenants and the shopkeepers, was £3,100,000; in 1885 it was £4,200,000. Since 1881 the advance in the amount paid into these banks had been continuous, although the population had been decreasing. The figures in the case of the joint-stock banks, which were used by the larger tenants and some of the landlords, had also shown a continuous upward tendency, except in the years 1879 and 1880, when then there was a decided check, owing, no doubt, to the difficulty of collecting any rent in those years. In 1840 the sum deposited in the joint-stock banks was £6,000,000; in 1849, £7,500,000; and in 1885, nearly £29,000,000. Now, it was, no doubt, impossible for poor tenants to pay two rents. The difficulty which faced them was that two bodies were endeavouring to get rent from them—the landlords on the one side and the Land League on the other. Since the foundation of the League, in 1879, the receipt of £360,714 had been acknowledged in the public Press by the treasurer. He would not take any of the romantic sums which were said to go into the fortunate pockets of hon. Gentlemen opposite; but he was merely taking what was acknowledged by the treasurer during those years; and this showed that subscriptions were flowing into the coffers of the League at the rate of £52,000 a-year. [Several Home Rule MEMBERS: Does that come from Ireland?] The House was once more asked to make it impossible for landlords to collect their rents; but no proposal was made to make it impossible for the Land League to collect theirs. They had often heard that to be skinned was nothing to eels when they were used to it; but he did not think that the wildest naturalist ever expected the eels themselves to aid the operation. He thought this double rent was one of the reasons which made it impossible for the tenants to meet their proper obligations. It was curious that the amount spent upon alcoholic liquors in Ireland in 1885 exceeded the amount spent in 1884 by £341,000; and that was about the sum by which the rents of the landlords were reduced through the operation of the Land Act. While hon. Members below the Gangway opposite were trying to persuade the

House that it was impossible for tenants to pay the judicial rents, many tenants were doing their best to show that this was not the case, because they were ready to pay very high sums for tenant right—in other words, they were ready to pay large sums as a preliminary to the payment of the very rents which were said to be too high. He saw in the Bill of the hon. Member for Cork the same dangers as were contained in the measure of 1881. That Act allowed the tenant to sell a tenant right which he might not have bought, and tenants who had only acquired possession of their holdings a year before the Bill was passed, and who had paid nothing for tenant right, were treated with the same generosity as was extended to tenants who had been rooted to the soil for centuries. If the Bill before the House were passed it would be proved that there could be no hope of finality in legislation with reference to Irish land. He objected to the measure on that ground, and also because it would despoil a class of men from whom the Judicial Commissioners had already taken half their incomes. By the operation of this Bill it was hoped to take the remaining half from them. But the House could not keep on halving the incomes of the landlords for ever. An end must come very soon if such measures as this were to be passed by the House of Commons. It was important to bear in mind that the class whom the Bill attacked was the class whom hon. Members opposite had persistently held up to obloquy in Ireland, and threatened with extermination. The House knew that the sentence of extermination had been pronounced, and it was for Parliament to say whether it would assist or prevent its execution. There was an easier and readier way to exterminate landlords than shooting them, which was a process not unattended with danger. They could be ruined by Act of Parliament. If such legislation as was now proposed were favoured, in a very short time few landlords would be out of the work-house. The crime of the landlords in the eyes of hon. Gentlemen opposite—the crime for which they were to be punished with bankruptcy—was a political crime; it consisted in this, that they did not agree with the majority of the Irish Representatives as to the expe-

diency of the policy of separation from England. If he thought in his heart that it would be better for the happiness and prosperity and comfort of Ireland to be separated from England, he should sit upon the Bench opposite, and vote for such a policy. But he did not in his soul think that Ireland would be more happy, prosperous, or contented if separated from England, and he, therefore, refused to be coerced by any means which hon. Members opposite could devise into supporting proposals which must be injurious to the interests of that country. This Bill would prejudice the most important question that was to be left to the Royal Commission about to be appointed by the Government. In 1885, before the very grave necessity which was now said to exist for the reduction of rents arose, in numberless cases tenants, headed by the president and secretary of the Land League, went to the landlords and demanded a reduction of from 20 to 30 per cent. If this Bill were passed, there would be presented to the tenants in Ireland one reason why they should pay more attention to violence and agitation than to good farming, thrift, and industry. God knew they had had enough of that sort of encouragement already, and he implored the House not again to tempt the tenants by showing them that they had more to gain by combined agitation and violence than by industry, honesty, and farmyard manure. Another reason for the rejection of the Bill was that it proposed to benefit one class only; but at the present time poverty rested on the shoulders of all classes in Ireland, and this Bill held out no hope to anybody but the tenant actually in possession of his farm. He would like to point out to the right hon. Gentleman who framed the last Land Act that he himself had said, after the Devon and Beesborough Commissions, that the landlords of Ireland had been tried and found not guilty, and, further, that they could not be called upon to make any further sacrifice. Two Commissions, then, had sat—like Court Martials—to consider the conduct of the landlords, and by both of them the landlords had been acquitted. If this Bill were passed it would go forth as the opinion of the House of Commons that the landlords of Ireland were not going to make any reductions in their rents in the present bad times. That he denied.

Mr. Penrose Fitzgerald

Numerous landlords had already made large reductions beyond the judicial rents, and he believed that many more would have been prepared to do so had it not been for this Bill. He could not look upon this Bill without suspicion considering the quarter from which it had come. The same hand that issued the "No-Rent" manifesto had drawn up this Bill. The "No-Rent" manifesto urged the tenants to pay no rent at all, and he very much feared that this Bill would have the same meaning in Ireland. Everyone knew of the pressure that had been brought to bear on the tenants to make them obey the laws of the Land League. He believed that every single outrage and murder that had taken place in Ireland had been the carrying out of a sentence. It was to be noticed that it was not so much the police or the Sheriffs or the landlords who had been murdered, but the tenants themselves; and the reason for their murder had been disobedience to the laws laid down for their guidance by the Land League. Every additional murder and outrage that took place showed how difficult it was to tear the tenants of Ireland from their allegiance to the laws of the Realm, and to enforce the laws of the League. The one test in Ireland by which they were able to find out the difference between the cants and the wonts was the test of the Sheriff and the writ. This Bill, he contended, if passed into law, would operate as a postponement of the one real and only solution of the Irish Land Question. Landlordism was dead. The last Land Act killed it. The fee simple had been taken from the landlords, but it had not been given to the tenants, and property in land was still divided. There was but one solution of the question. You could not cut the living child in two. The tiller of the soil must be the owner of the soil, and until a peasant proprietary was established in Ireland he saw no way out of the difficulty in Ireland. He did not think he had anything more to say in regard to the Bill before the House; but if he were in Order in so doing he would like to make one remark with regard to the Royal Commission the Government were about to appoint, and that was that he hoped that that Commission would have instructions to inquire fully and thoroughly into everything that could be brought before it as a grievance by Irishmen. He did not

believe in the necessity for this Bill, and he asked the House to look upon it with grave suspicion, to view it as a postponement of the final settlement of the Irish Land Question, and not to give it a second reading. He begged to move the Amendment of which he had given Notice.

MR. C. LEWIS (Londonderry), in seconding the Amendment, said, that he thought it was not unfitting that a Member for an Ulster constituency should do so when it was considered that nearly one-half of the statutory rents settled in Ireland had been in respect of holdings in Ulster. Up to 1885 out of 172,000 applications for judicial rents 82,000 came from Ulster alone. In reality this relief would affect a very small proportion of the tenants of Ireland. There were 565,000 agricultural tenancies, and the number of statutory tenancies created up to the end of 1884 was 156,000, so that 8-11ths of the agricultural tenants of Ireland were outside the operation of this Bill. That fact could only lead to a new grievance and agitation. But if this Bill was necessary for the protection of the impoverished statutory tenants who suffered under judicial rents, how was it that the tenants not under judicial rents required no such protection? The Bill actually started by making a gross and miserable inequality between the two classes of tenants in Ireland by leaving the bulk of them outside the Bill. Then there was an important consideration relating to the morality of the proposal contained in the Bill. Of the 156,000 statutory tenancies, 79,000 were cases in which the rent had been judicially fixed by the Commissioners, while in the remaining 77,000 the rent fixed was mutually arranged between the landlord and tenant, and then ratified by the Land Commissioners. It thus appeared that in nearly half the cases to which this Bill would apply the landlord and tenant had come together and amicably fixed the rent. Was Parliament to treat those agreements as if they were unilateral, binding the landlord while they did not bind the tenant? The landlord and tenant agreed as to the rent after a full consideration of the prices and all the circumstances, and was the tenant to be allowed to escape from this agreement, in consideration for which the landlord had renounced certain rights which as a landlord he formerly pos-

sessed? It would be utterly impossible to keep up a system of morality in commercial transactions if the tenants were to be allowed to break engagements thus solemnly entered into. But what evidence had the hon. Member for Cork given of any necessity for this Bill? Not only had he not proved any case, but he had not attempted to prove any. Figures had been quoted as to the fall of prices; but he did not know whether the House noticed that one cereal—that of oats—which was really the most largely cultivated in Ireland had never been mentioned, though reference was made to the fall in the price of wheat. But while 68,000 acres were last year under wheat, there were 1,350,000 under oats, and in the price of oats there had been a decided rise. A great deal was said about the price of milch cows, and two-year-old stock, and one-year-old stock, and store stock; but how did this affect the small tenants of three or four acres? They had a patch of oats and of potatoes, a pig or two, and plenty of chickens, but no cattle, and this class of tenants were quite unaffected by the fall in the prices of stock. He firmly believed that the Commission which he was glad to find the Government intended to appoint would find that the alleged fall in prices was a bogus fall. Hon. Members would receive very valuable information as to the resources of the Irish tenants upon perusing the agricultural returns for this year. He would, with the permission of the House, compare the condition of things now with that of 1883, as in that year by far the largest proportion of the judicial rents were fixed. The statistics were very simple, but still very pregnant evidence against the hon. Member for Cork. The number of horses and mules in Ireland rose from 561,000 in 1883 to 578,000, showing this year an increase of 17,000. Asses—and a good many were found on the small farms—rose from 189,000 in 1883 to 196,000 this year, an increase of 7,000. Cattle rose from 4,096,000 to 4,184,000, an increase of 90,000; sheep, from 3,219,000 to 3,367,000, an increase of 147,000. Pigs decreased from 1,340,000 to 1,262,000. Goats rose from 2,063,000 to 2,066,000; and poultry increased from 13,362,000 to 13,910,000, or nearly 500,000 of an increase. If the Irish tenant had been in the direst distress, what would one naturally expect? Why, that his pig

[*First Night.*]

would go, and his cattle would go, and his goats and his sheep would go. Again, if the Irish tenant had of late years been going irretrievably to the bad, surely there would be less land in cultivation. But what was the fact? In 1883 there were 4,957,000 acres of land in cultivation, as against 5,033,848 in 1886. The facts relating to the sale of tenant right were also very interesting. He had secured from land agents in the County Derry certain figures with regard to sales of tenant right actually effected during the last 12 months. The returns were at the service of any hon. Gentleman. He found that in one case a farm of 43 acres, at a rent of £20 10s., was sold within the last three weeks for £420, or 21 years' purchase. In another a farm of 69 acres, at a rent of £25 8s., was sold for £385, or 15 years' purchase; a farm of 29 acres, rent £10, fetched £230, or 23 years' purchase; a farm of 52 acres, rent £39, fetched £530; a farm of 70 acres, rent £83, fetched £507, or six years' purchase. He entreated the House to take notice of the next two cases, which were very remarkable and related to a class of farms quite unknown in this country—namely, farms with a rent of from £3 to £5 a-year. The first was a farm of 24 acres, with a rent of £2 18s. 9d., for the tenant right of which £100 had been paid; the next was a farm of 38 acres, at a rent of £4 9s. 6d., and in that instance the tenant right fetched £164; in both of those cases the price given was equal to 31 years' purchase. Further, a farm of four acres, rent £1 4s. 6d., fetched £20, or 16 years' purchase; a farm of 17 acres, rent £4, fetched £50, or 12½ years' purchase. He had taken the trouble to inquire whether the suggestion made in the debate on the reply to the Address from the Throne was correct, that the persons who purchased those tenant rights were what might be called American returned Irish idiots, who bought them merely for the sake of becoming the owners of a piece of their native soil, and threw their dollars on the auctioneer's table as if they did not care what they paid. He was in a position to state that the purchasers in the cases he had mentioned were, for the most part, neighbouring farmers, who had long been farming in the county of Derry, and were consequently thoroughly acquainted with the value of

the property they were buying. It might be said that he had given only a few instances; but they were all within the last 12 months, and were mostly within the present year, and were, many of them, in August last. These were matters which were well known in Ulster. They had been repeated *ad nauseum* in the local Press. The real facts of the value of property in Ireland were kept back from the people of England; but they were very much at variance with the state of affairs which hon. Gentlemen opposite alleged to exist in Ireland. In the face of that conflict of testimony he thought the Government had taken the only course which, as a Government, and as business men, they could have taken, and had determined to test the statements on the spot and not allow the country and the House to be deceived, or allow contracts to be departed from which ought to be honourably fulfilled. He reminded the late Chief Secretary for Ireland of a case to which he had called his attention when the late Government were in Office. It was the case of a man on Lord Kingston's estate, who had gone to the agent to pay his rent, but when there, the local priest had addressed the tenants, urging them not to pay their rents. The tenant, therefore, although he had brought his rent with him, instead of paying it, went off on a drunken orgie, and, having been arrested by the police, a bank deposit receipt for £200 was found in his pocket. These facts were contained in the answer given to him in that House last March, and hon. Members could see it recorded in *Hansard*. He mentioned that case, because the Land League were telling the tenants that they should all of them make an offer of a certain percentage only of their rents to the landlords—those who could pay and those who could not, without distinction—and they were to be subjected to all sorts of disagreeable consequences if they dared to pay more even under process of law. Hon. Members must have been struck with surprise at the number of testimonials that were being promoted in Ireland at the present time, notwithstanding the pinched condition of the poor tenants. Indeed, what might be called a testimonial fever had broken out among the poor farmers of Ireland. He had taken up a single number of *United*

Ireland, and found there accounts of the progress of testimonials to patriots, which were being subscribed by those tenants who had been by stress of circumstances rendered unable to pay their rents. There was the "Sexton Testimonial Fund," which appeared to have been handed about for signature at several National League meetings, with exhortations from the president that they were to be liberal with their subscriptions. Yet the House and the country were told that these poor tenants could not afford to pay £1 or £2 of their rents. Then there was the "Lynden Testimonial." That gentleman was, he believed, a Provincial patriot, who was well known in the County Kerry. Then there was the "Holden Testimonial." Those were "dark horses," in the sporting sense, because they were not told what those gentlemen had done. It was considered to be quite sufficient to be told by the president that they were worthy subjects for the patriotic contributions of poor tenants unable to pay their rents. Then there was the "William O'Brien Testimonial Fund," and the "Thomastown Brass Band Fund." Well, there was indeed a great deal of brass about those funds, and especially the promoters of them. Then, there was an attempt to get up a "Gibson House Fund," which did not appear to be a success. There were other testimonials to the living and memorials for the dead. Then they went away from ambitious patriots and Provincial agitators to "The Boyle Town Commissioners Election Petition Indemnity Fund." Thus they went from "grave to gay," from "lively to severe." Altogether there were eight testimonials reported as going on in full progress among those miserable, poverty-stricken tenants in the month of June. Before sitting down he would say a word or two as to the fallacy of the parallel which the hon. Member for Cork had endeavoured to draw between the Arrears Act of 1882 and the Bill now before the House. The two Bills were as different as light from darkness. The basis of the former Act was the payment by the tenant of a whole year's rent—that the tenant was to be, to some extent, solvent. There was another very remarkable mistake which the hon. Member for Cork had made. He said the Courts would be able to settle the

whole of the cases to be brought before them in three months, as had been done under the Arrears Act; but all that had been done under that Act was that the Government had to take care that they were not defrauded; for the landlord and tenant, in almost every instance, came before the Court with similar interests. It would take a very much longer time under the proposed Bill, because the Courts would have to decide between conflicting statements. He did not believe that it could be seriously suggested that any number of Commissioners could deal with 160,000 cases in three months. It would obviously be to the interest of the landlord to say that the tenant could pay, and to that of the tenant, even if he had the rent in his pocket, to prove that he was unable to do so. The present Bill was illusory both to the Irish people and to the English people. It was never intended to pass, but, like the famous green spectacles, only intended to sell. It would be impossible for the Bill, if it were passed in a month's time, to come into operation to any appreciable extent this year. He ventured to think that not 10,000, no, not 5,000, cases of distressed tenants could be dealt with by the Land Courts before Christmas, and therefore it was impossible to believe that the Bill was seriously introduced. It was merely an excuse to enable the hon. Member for Cork and his Friends to go to the people of Ireland and say that Parliament had refused them something. He pointed out also that the 1st clause of the Bill contained an extraordinary proposition. It had no regard to the actual value of a man's property, to the yield or nature of the crops, to the cost of production, or to the extent of relief a tenant might enjoy in the general depression of prices enabling him to buy articles at a less price than prevailed two or three years ago. No such test as this was provided. One of the conditions which the Court had to consider was that where the tenant was

"Unable to discharge the remainder of such rent or arrears without loss of his holding or deprivation of the means necessary for the cultivation and stocking thereof."

But the tenant might have lent all his money the day before to a relative. He might have spent all his money in drink for the purpose of a carouse in a neighbouring town, or he might have de-

pleted his estate in any of the various ways which improvident men adopt when the money of other persons is concerned. Yet, provided he possessed the qualification of poverty, no matter whether brought about by wilful proceedings or wasteful conduct, the law was to step in to save him from the consequences of his improvidence. The conduct of the hon. Member for Cork and his Friends reminded him of what Bacon said of the generosity of some men in leaving large legacies to charity when they died. If this Bill passed hon. Members opposite would go to the people of Ireland and say—"See what a generous Bill we have passed for the benefit of Irish tenants." Yes; but they never put their hands into their own pockets. All they did was to pick the pocket of the Irish landlord. Parliament had already adopted a generous measure of relief to Irish tenants at the expense of the unfortunate Irish landlords; and the present Bill was another generous measure of relief for the purpose of sustaining in poverty a number of persons—if the case was a true one—who ought, for the sake of their families, to try and better their position by removing elsewhere. It was apparently a matter of no importance nowadays what had been said by statesmen in former days in reference to matters of this kind. But he was really astounded when he looked back on the speeches of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian delivered in 1870 with reference to the Law of Contract, and the contempt and derision which he heaped on the idea of rents being treated in this manner. It surprised him also to see how easy some right hon. Gentlemen bore the yoke which they had put on themselves. He was inclined to think that all our difficulties in Ireland in reference to the Land Question had arisen from doing what the right hon. Gentleman expressed his pride in proclaiming that he had done—namely, in banishing political economy to the planets of Jupiter and Saturn. They could not defy the laws of supply and demand; they could not defy the laws of political economy. These laws obtruded themselves on our notice at every turn in dealing with a question like this, and it was in the power of no statesman to destroy them. If he were asked to suggest what proper expedient should be adopted to bring

back the Land Laws of Ireland to a proper position, he would have no hesitation in declaring that we should call back the laws of political economy from Jupiter and Saturn for a short time. It would be interesting to see what effect the operation of the laws of supply and demand would have on the solution of this question. The House ought not to suppose that a factitious way of dealing with a great and perilous question like this could be resorted to, and as was suggested by the adoption of this Bill. If this Bill were passed into law every tenant in Ireland would immediately conclude that the rent having been once reduced it would always remain reduced. The House was familiar with the powers of agitation possessed by hon. Members opposite. If it were found desirable or expedient to renew the Bill at any time, an agitation to this end would immediately be forthcoming, enforced in all the various ways in which the present measure had been launched before the public. The Nationalist Press had said that it was to be war to the knife if the House did not pass this Bill. They were so much accustomed to this kind of language in the past as not to feel any great surprise at it now; but he hoped, at all events, that the House was equal to the performance of its duty. The landowners of Ireland had suffered much, and probably would have to suffer more than they had hitherto done; but that was no reason why they should be deserted. He could not refrain from asking the House, when it was called upon to pass a measure like this, where was its sympathy for the tenant farmer of England or for the suffering shopkeeper in London? He believed that the production of this measure was simply part of a system by which an attempt was being made to terrorize Parliament into granting legislation which they were justified in resisting to the uttermost. He called upon the House to notice the circumstance that the hon. Member for Cork had not attempted to produce the smallest amount of proof in favour of the Preamble of the Bill. The hon. Member had maundered over the depreciation of prices in many articles which did not in the least affect the ability of the vast majority of small tenants in Ireland to pay their rents. As to leaseholders, he remarked that there was no reason why, if Parliament dealt with judicial rents in

the way proposed, the lessors should be asked to surrender their leases, and come within the operation of judicial rents. As matters were sought to be arranged the landlord would no longer possess the security of the judicial rent; he would practically place himself on an inclined plane, at the bottom of which would be found "No rent." It was, he thought, really time that the Legislature found out some way of thoroughly grappling with the evil, and the sooner it devised a way of saying to hon. Members from Ireland, "Thus far we have gone, but no farther," the sooner would peace and prosperity be restored in Ireland.

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "in the opinion of this House, it is inexpedient at the present time to make any further alteration in the Irish Land Laws,"—(*Mr. Penrose Fitzgerald*),

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

MR. LAWRENCE GANE (Leeds, E.) said, that he claimed the indulgence which he knew the House always extended to a new and untried Member, especially when representing, as he did, a large working-class constituency, where great interest was felt not only in the Irish Question generally, but in the Bill before the House. The Bill commended itself to him as likely in a great measure to remove the bitter feeling now existing between Ireland and England, and to solve the problem which now presented itself before Parliament for solution. Hitherto, hon. Members on the Conservative side of the House had spoken in a spirit which almost put them out of court in tendering advice on the question. The hon. Member for Cambridge (*Mr. Penrose Fitzgerald*) looked at the measure avowedly with suspicion because of the quarter whence it came; but that was an attitude and condition of mind which really disqualified a man from forming a valuable opinion on any great question like this, which appealed to the sense of justice of both sides of the House. The question was not "Whence comes the Bill; whose brain devised it; what fingers held the pen that drew it?"

but "Is the Bill founded on statesmanship, on justice, on wise policy?" If it be, surely it mattered not from what quarter of the House it came, the House would judge it on its merits. If every line was to be looked upon with suspicion because the Bill came from the hon. Member for Cork (*Mr. Parnell*), it was impossible for the measure to be estimated rightly. Dangers were always discernible to the minds of the panic-stricken; and he therefore submitted that the moment a man looked on a measure like this and decided that because it had come from a given quarter it must be regarded with dread and suspicion, from that moment he disqualified himself to estimate the Bill aright or to offer really trustworthy counsel to the House with regard to it. From beginning to end they had had from the Conservative Benches the most piteous appeals on behalf of the landlord class. The question had not been whether there was really a case for the measure, whether famine was likely to occur, and whether there would probably be numerous evictions in Ireland during the winter. Those matters had been rudely thrust aside, and the principal ground on which the House had been appealed to to reject the Bill was that it would affect injuriously that admirable, that meritorious class of men, the landlords. From beginning to end it had been a mere question of rent, rent, rent. But those who had drawn up the Bill had inserted certain essential conditions, and unless those conditions were fulfilled the measure would have no operation whatever. The conditions were certainly not lacking in stringency; and unless a clear case were shown before the Court, no relief whatever could be rendered. That being so, surely no very great harm could be done. No relief was to be given haphazard. There was, admittedly, a great financial problem to be solved. On every hand it was confessed that unless something was done during the coming winter there would be almost numberless evictions in Ireland. These evictions would cause not merely widespread distress, but bitter and harsh and lasting class feeling, which Conservative Members seemed to desire to put an end to. Well, it was a very easy thing for those who opposed the Bill to show that it was not needed, if such were really the case. Had prices fallen, or had

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they not? That was simply a question of fact which could be easily ascertained. If they had not, then the proposal of the hon. Member for Cork fell to the ground. In his hearing to-night only one article had been named as not having fallen in value; and if that were so, and if landlords on every hand were reducing, or stating that they were willing to reduce, their rents, surely they were themselves proving that there was some case for the House to consider. The landlord which had been sketched to the House by hon. Gentlemen opposite was a being of perfection—wise, kind, generous, and yet so ill-used! One would think that the landlords of Ireland had been men living from hand to mouth, men almost despoiling themselves of the comforts, if not the necessities, of life; men whom legislation had affected most harshly year after year. But he submitted that there was something more important by far than even landlords' wrongs. They were asked—"What would be said in Regent Street supposing tradesmen there found themselves in difficulties?" He thought, at all events, the House knew very well what would not be found. They would not find these tradesmen turned out into the street with their wives and families. The House were asked to deal with an avowedly exceptional state of things. In days gone by, again and again, the House, by legislation, had recognized that it must deal with the Irish Question according to the facts which presented themselves for consideration at the time. As to political economy, why, man was not made for it. On the contrary, political economy was made for man. The question was were there men and women and children who would starve by thousands on all sides in Ireland unless this measure were adopted? Regent Street might be dealt with when its condition approached that of the Irish agricultural districts. Surely no one could charge the poor peasantry of Ireland with lack of industry and thrift. We were told again and again how they exercised thrift at home, how they saved in America for the needs of their relatives, and how they eked out their miserable earnings with the result of the harvesting in England. It was then said that their savings were spent lavishly in purchasing their holdings. But, if this

were so, surely neither thrift nor industry were lacking in the Irish tenant. Again and again they saw—as they had seen it to-night—property regarded as more sacred than human life and human weal, and he maintained that if political economy demanded that, then the sooner such political economy were, as it had been said, relegated to Jupiter or Saturn the better. There was surely something more than rent to be considered. He appealed to the House to consider fairly, altogether irrespective of the consideration of whence the Bill came, whether or not there had been this alleged fall in prices, and whether or not there was this alleged probability of evictions. If that were proven, surely this measure was not so very dangerous. It would not remit the rent. It only prevented, in certain special circumstances, the rent from being distrained for in a harsh and cruel way. It left the matter for settlement by a duly constituted Court. If the view of hon. Gentlemen opposite were correct, and the Bill were as harmful as they endeavoured to make out, why were not those hon. Members prepared with some counter proposal? Surely something must be done during a long and trying winter; and yet, if the Bill were not passed, nothing would be done except in so far as the individual landlord might himself give relief. But Parliament had to do with the landlords who would not give relief to the tenants voluntarily. The law was not made for the righteous, but for the ungodly; and the object in the proposed legislation was to bring pressure to bear upon the landlord who ought to act in a certain way, but would not do so. Was it any answer to say that there was an abundance of money in the hands of some tenants? But it did not follow that because this was the case that there were ample means in the pockets of all the Irish peasantry. There was nothing to show that there were not thousands of these poor people who had a hard battle to keep the wolf from the door every day. If during the coming winter in many districts of Ireland there were this cruel and bitter distress, which had been foretold, and the House rejected the only measure which at present attempted to deal with the trouble—if, then, evictions became as frequent as they had been in the past, what guarantee had the House that

all the past evils also would not be reproduced? And if they were, there would be something far worse than material distress to deal with. The spirit of Ireland would be still further embittered towards us. The people of that country were at present looking to this House hopefully, and he asked hon. Members to approach the question apart from considerations of the quarter from which this Bill emanated, and to look at the matter fairly and kindly, believing that those who advocated it were as honest as those who held different views. Their arguments might be fallacious; then let their fallacy be shown; but let no Bill of this kind be met with the insinuation that it was going to be used for dishonest purposes. As to the ruin and desolation which the Bill would bring in its train, he thought some of the panic-stricken cries they had heard to-night from the opposite side of the House were almost amusing. He submitted that the Bill, so dreaded by hon. Members opposite, was an honest, a healing, and a kindly measure. Though it was small, and its provisions only temporary, yet its results might be incalculable, and a new herald of better and brighter days for Ireland.

Mr. BARTLEY (Islington, N.) said, it might be taken for granted that the views and the interests of hon. Members on the Government side of the House were quite as wide and keen on this Irish Question as those of hon. Members who sat below the Gangway opposite. An idea seemed to prevail in some quarters that only one section of the House took any interest in the welfare and prosperity of Ireland; but such an idea was by no means correct. The great question was, would this Bill promote the welfare and prosperity of Ireland? It provided for three things; but its chief clause was that which provided that tenants who professed that they could not pay their rent, and who proved their inability under certain conditions, should be allowed to pay half their rent for the current year, and that all evictions, as far as such tenants were concerned, should be stayed. In order to justify this most revolutionary measure, the Preamble stated that there had been great depreciation in the value of agricultural produce since the greater number of the judicial rents were fixed. All must agree, however, that the hon. Member

for Cork, in his somewhat laboured address, did not justify the position he had taken up, nor in any way attempt to prove the Preamble of his Bill. The hon. Member for Cambridge, on the other hand, had adduced statistics and evidence to show that, although a certain number of articles of agricultural produce had decreased in value, still it was not proved that there had been a great general depreciation during the last three or four years; and, indeed, everything tended to show that, although there might have been some depreciation up to last year, things were improving at the present time. They must remember that when the rents were fixed under the Land Act, they were fixed for 15 years, and it was inconceivable to suppose that in fixing the judicial rent the possibility of fluctuations in the price of produce was not taken into account. They had a right to consider what would be the effect of this measure on the tenants. There were three classes of tenants in Ireland who would be influenced by the Bill. First of all there were those who could pay their rents, but who would be intimidated and prevented from doing so by the action of the National League. Surely to relieve these of half their rent would be a most immoral and wrong state of affairs. Although the hon. Member for Cork stated it was his intention that only those who were so poor that they could not pay should be included, he did not think it required much argument to prove that if this Bill became law practically every tenant in Ireland would take advantage of it. It would not be fair to the landlord that such an opportunity should be given, and it could only give rise to fresh agitation. Then there was a second class of tenants—namely, those who could pay their rent if they made an effort, but whom it would be very difficult indeed to induce to do so. No doubt, the greater number of the tenants in Ireland were somewhat pinched in circumstances, and this class would be encouraged in every possible way to take advantage of the provisions of this measure. He asked if the Legislature ought to give them such encouragement? By so doing they would strike at the root of every kind of industry, and reduce Ireland to a state of chaos. If it were justifiable for the Legislature to reduce the lia-

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bilities of tenants in regard to their rents, why should not their liabilities be similarly reduced in regard to the debts they owed to tradesmen? Indeed, it seemed to him that the landlords had a greater claim to consideration by that House than the tradesmen, inasmuch as a landlord was obliged to give credit for his rent, whereas a tradesman need not do so unless he pleased. There was a third class of tenants whom this Bill was supposed especially to refer to — namely, those poor, wretched, miserable tenants who could not possibly pay their rents. Of course, every Member of that House sympathized with such tenants, and would do their utmost to improve their condition. But he asked whether the Bill would do any particle of good to such tenants? He did not think it would. He considered that emigration and migration would do more for that class than any such Bill as this. Mr. Tuke, in his pamphlet on the Potato Question, mentioned a place where there were 110 houses, the rents of which ranged from 3*s.* to 5*s.* There were only three tenants who paid over £2, and the average rent paid by the tenants was 6*d.* a-week. This Bill would reduce it to 3*d.* Would such a measure place these tenants in a position of prosperity and happiness? However much rents might be reduced, the misery of the poorer class of tenants in Ireland would not be alleviated. This Bill, instead of benefiting, would only prolong the misery of the poorer tenants, for it was unreasonable to suppose that those who could not now pay 6*d.* a-week rent would be able to thrive if their rent were reduced to 3*d.* The effect which the mere introduction of this Bill into the House would have would be to still further stereotype the chronic misery which existed in Ireland; to retard the real and only lasting means by which Ireland might be made prosperous; to keep open the sore of discontent, and to retard the beneficial operation of the purchasing powers of Lord Ashbourne's Act. Moreover, the Bill would tend to increase the value of tenant right in Ireland, the excessive growth in the value of which was one of the great evils of the Land Act of 1881. But the introduction of the Bill would greatly benefit the National League. It would tend to impress the tenants generally with the power of the League, and it would en-

courage the tenants of small, miserable holdings to hope that, if they only trusted the National League, they would, one day or other, be able to live on their holdings. This was a futile hope, and without a complete change in the small holdings, it was impossible for the small tenants to live. Another effect of the Bill would be to encourage and promote the Irish-American Question in the House. Everyone who had the welfare of Ireland at heart should resist this measure. The hon. Member for Cork might say that while we recognize the misery of Ireland we do not attempt any remedy for it. That was not the case, for he believed that the Government were determined to do everything in their power to stop it. But the number of evictions had been greatly exaggerated. They only amounted in six months to 860 in 500,000 tenants, or about 1½ per 1,000. Moreover, the number of evictions was enormously increased by the action of the National League, and without their action evictions would be comparatively few. In the case of those tenants who could not keep themselves on their present holdings, the only plan was to remove them and give their places to others. He believed that the Government was on the right tack in improving the agricultural position of Ireland. If Her Majesty's Government were not in earnest in this matter, they would have to reckon, not only with hon. Members opposite below the Gangway, but with their own supporters, for this Parliament was determined, if it could, to solve the great Irish Question. But he believed Her Majesty's Government were in earnest in seeking the true remedy for the chronic misery in Ireland. Ireland did not want heroic remedies; it had had too many of them. Five years of real statesmanship, without heroics, would do a great deal to put Ireland in a different position. He believed that Her Majesty's Government was now on the right tack, and that the anxiety of hon. Members opposite was caused by their fear that the measures which the Government might take would put an end to the Irish grievance. He hoped that the Royal Commission would recommend that steps should be taken for the encouragement of Irish industries, and to improve the condition of cattle farming, horse breeding, fish curing, and deep sea fisheries. An improve-

ment was also necessary in the manufacture of butter, which at present was so badly made. Then migration and emigration were points deserving of the greatest attention. It was impossible for people to make a living in miserably overcrowded districts like parts of Connemara. It was not conceivable that any Act of Parliament would ever make the tenants of the bog lands in many parts of Ireland happy or contented; and, above all, nothing that that House could do would ever enable a man to live upon the proceeds of a small strip of such land. The want of capital was a great source of the agricultural difficulty in Ireland. They had seen the beneficial effects of the introduction of £5,000 for potato seed, and how it had multiplied a hundredfold. If fresh capital could be introduced into the farming industry of the country agricultural distress would be alleviated, and we should get rid of the National League. [*Ironical cheers and laughter from the Home Rule Members.*] If only they could do away with the spirit which that ironical cheer indicated they would free the country from the great obstacle which at present existed to the introduction of capital. That cheer also clearly showed that the object and meaning of this measure was not the improvement of Irish agriculture, but the maintenance of what he believed to be that baneful institution, the National League. The measures which had been indicated by Her Majesty's Government, on the other hand, would tend to restore peace and tranquillity to the country; and, therefore, they had been received with derision by hon. Members opposite. He believed that agitation lived and grew upon Irish misery and poverty, while that very misery and poverty tended to foster agitation. It was because they believed that the measure of the hon. Member for Cork would increase agitation and intensify the misery and poverty of the Irish agricultural tenants that those who sat on the Ministerial side of the House opposed it, and trusted that it would be rejected by the House of Commons.

Mr. PINKERTON (Galway): Sir, it has been asserted, again and again, that this demand upon the part of the holders of judicial leases is a most unjust and unreasonable demand. I am quite prepared to admit that, to those

who have only taken a superficial view of the question, there seems to be an amount of truth in this assertion. If rents had been fixed so as not to trench upon the tenants' improvements; if due consideration had been given to the downward tendency of price; if a fair average had been struck, then I say this demand for a revision would never have been brought forward, and would never have received a moment's serious consideration from any side of the House. But when we consider that those rents were fixed upon the high level of the most prosperous years; that they were fixed by Commissioners who practically ignored the vast interest the tenants had, by their industry, created in the soil; that those Commissioners took, as their standard of value, a valuation that included the building, fences, drains, and reclamation, put upon the land by the unaided efforts of the tenants; I say, when we consider that those rents, in the present agricultural depression, confiscate the property of the tenants, the demand for a revision is both just and reasonable. With your permission, Sir, I shall say a few words with regard to the valuation of Sir Richard Griffith, which was the standard of measuring values with the Commissioners. The instructions issued by Sir Richard Griffith to his assistants laid down fair and just lines to proceed upon, which, if honestly carried out, would have reduced the sum total of the valuation to a very considerable extent; but, in nine cases of ten, those deputy valuers took the rent rolls of the different estates as their guides, and I could prove, in hundreds of cases, never set foot upon the farms they pretended to value. It amounted simply to this—that it was the landlords and agents of Ireland who made the valuation, and not Sir Richard Griffith. I am stating what I know to be true. In my own immediate neighbourhood half-a-mile of the country round was valued from the top of a hill; and, contenting himself with this bird's-eye inspection, the valuator departed, with the happy consciousness that he had done his duty. The tenants in some cases objected to this expeditious method of valuation, and appealed. The next valuator who was sent visited the land in question, and he expressed his regret that he could not set aside the decision of his

predecessor—it would create confusion—but he would lower the valuation enough to cover cost of appeal. At the time of that valuation wheat was the staple crop in England; and English valuers, ignoring the instructions of their chief—that thin cold clay soils producing aquatic plants were to be classed low in the scale of value—regarded all the stiff clay land as splendid wheat soil, and put on a corresponding valuation. When we also consider that the greater part of the country at that time had been lately drained, the result was, as anyone conversant with agricultural matters knows, that new drains, which are all acting well, have the effect of materially improving the appearance of the soil. The country, under these circumstances, presented a very favourable appearance; and lands, dear at 10s. per acre, were, by these experts, valued at 30s. In the 10 years preceding the passing of the Act of 1881 an opinion gained currency among landlords that 25 per cent added to Griffith's valuation represented the fair letting value of the land; and those landlords and agents who were astute enough to see the cloud of depression looming in the distance made every effort to induce their tenants to take leases upon these terms. The tenants whose spirit had been crushed by periodical increases, like drowning men, grasped at this straw of protection; and we can realize the position those men now occupy, when it has been found necessary, in many cases lately in the Land Court, to reduce rents 25 per cent below that valuation. Let it be distinctly understood I am speaking for that portion of Ireland with which I am thoroughly acquainted—namely, Antrim and Derry; and in those counties I hold that the occupiers of lands, which were highly cultivated—as the greater portion was at the time of that valuation—have been plundered since by excessive rents fixed by a valuation based upon their own improvements. In the first place, the ordinary leaseholder, who has got no reduction, has a double claim upon the Government for redress; in the second place, judicial leaseholders, whose rents were fixed by a false standard of value, have a right to the consideration of their claims for a further reduction. I hold that the initial blunder of the Act of 1881 was the exclusion of the leaseholders; by so doing, you were placing a penalty upon the most in-

dustrious and enterprising of the Irish tenants. The improvident farmer, who held from year to year, had a blessed immunity from increases; but the improving tenant, who had good farm buildings, fields well fenced, drained, and cultivated, saw with consternation the result of years of toil confiscated by the stroke of the pen of an incompetent valuator. It has been said the Land Act dealt hardly with good landlords. That is true; but it treated improving tenants with severity; it treated with double injustice the leaseholders whom it excluded; and it did not give sufficient consideration (in the case of those admitted) to what was the result of the tenant's efforts, and what was due to the natural fertility of the soil. I strongly opposed the revision of judicial rents upon the present Land Court methods. I do so still. I do not believe in a perpetual wrangle between landlord and tenant in the Law Courts, which gives the oyster to the lawyer, and leaves the shell to the contending parties. But the proposal of the hon. Member for Cork (Mr. Parnell) obviates this difficulty. The necessary expenditure upon the part of judicial leaseholders has been already gone through; their lands have been surveyed; their claims for improvements have been scheduled; and the value of the land can be fixed for short periods by a scale of average prices. This will entail no extra expenditure, cause no ill-feeling; if prices fall, rent must be lowered in the same proportion; if prices rise, the landlords are entitled to an increase. But I am still strongly of belief that attempts to settle the rent question are only temporary expedients, and that, sooner or later, an end must be put to dual ownership in land. Another argument put forward by the landlord Press is, that prices were as low at the time of Griffith's valuation as they are at present. What does that prove? Why, the cost of production has more than doubled since then. Farm servants are paid exactly double what they were receiving 30 and 40 years ago. The high price of tenant right is also quoted against the claim for reduction of rent. What are the facts with regard to that? The week before last, in my own immediate neighbourhood, upon the estate of Lord Robert Montagu, a highly cultivated farm was sold at seven years' purchase for the goodwill. Now, it is

admitted by everyone who understands the Irish Land Question, that, in the vast majority of cases, the tenant's interest in the soil is equal to the landlord's. I am afraid, however, in this case, the landlord would not be willing to sell his interest in this farm for seven years' purchase. This farm, 10 years ago, would have sold for more than twice as much. Now, what right, in a partnership of this kind, has all the depreciation in value to fall upon the tenant, and what claim can the landlord put fairly forward to escape scot free? I hold a letter in my hand from an extensive auctioneer in the North of Ireland. He says, with regard to the sale of tenant-right, none but choice farms can be sold; a dead lock exists in the sale of middling lots; that over a large portion of land it is doubtful whether the tenant's interest is worth one year's purchase. It is the worst season in the land sales since he commenced the business in 1865; so bad, in fact, that farmers, who are anxious to retire from farming, prefer to hold on, rather than sacrifice their tenant-right interest. It is claimed that evictions are few and far between in the North. I admit that I never saw an eviction; but I have seen several equivalents. I have seen tenants who struggled, year after year, to pay an exorbitant rent, who have hoped against hope, at last forced to sell in order to pay off arrears. An eviction must be an heart-rending scene, if it is worse than seeing the breaking-up of a home, the shipwreck of a lifetime. I have seen men who have toiled for a lifetime, who have been temperate and industrious, forced at last to root up all the tender memories binding them to the home of their fathers, and to transplant themselves in their old age to another land. There are two methods of eviction. I do not wish to say an unfriendly word against landlords individually; there are many of them forced by their necessities to make tyrannical exactions; but it is doubly hard that tenants in whose lives there have been no holidays should be driven to the wall through the extravagance of a landlord or his predecessor in title. This love of the Irish for their homes may seem a matter of childish sentiment; but it is a sentiment it is foolish to ignore. They have, by their unaided efforts, improved their holdings. It is hard for the man who has carved

his farm from the mountain, or reclaimed it from the morass, to understand that it belongs to another who has never spent a penny in its improvement, who in all probability is a stranger to the country, and has no sympathy with its people. We base our claim for relief upon three considerations:—First, the Act of 1881 was not fairly administered, as the Improvement Clause was entirely ignored; secondly, that the Commissioners did not take what they considered a "temporary depression" into account; thirdly, that the exclusion of the doubly-burdened leaseholders is not far short of a crime. To prove that the depression is beyond anything anticipated, I will submit to the consideration of the House a comparison of prices between 1882-3 and those of last year. These prices are beyond dispute, being the average of the leading markets of the North of Ireland; and if anyone can say, in the face of those figures, our demand is unreasonable, he must have a singular notion of what is reasonable and what is not. In 1882-3 oats were 9½d. per stone; potatoes, 4s. 2d. per cwt.; beef, £3 0s. 8d. per cwt.; butter, 1s. per lb.; pork, £2 13s. 9d. per cwt. In 1885-6 the same articles were, respectively, 8d.; 1s. 8d.; £2 10s.; 9d.; £2 15s. 6d. Let us look now at the average price of the seven years preceding the Land Act, upon which the Commissioners relied, to a certain extent, as a guide:—Oats, 10½d. per stone; potatoes, 2s. 7½d. per cwt.; butter, 1s. per lb.; beef, £2 16s. 6d.; flax, £2 18s. per cwt. Hon. Members opposite do not realize the difference this makes in the sum total of a farmer's profit. Let us take as an illustration a farm of first-rate arable land of 42 acres, cultivated upon a seven-year rotation. I am taking this quantity to simplify the calculation. Upon that rotation 12 acres would be in oats, which, at an average yield of 120 stone per acre, the difference of price between 1882 and last year would entail a loss of 15s. per acre, or, in other words, £9. The difference of price in potatoes upon three acres would be £36 10s.; but as the price was over the average we will not take potatoes into our calculation, but suppose them to be consumed upon the farm, and a ton of pork produced, which is £8 5s. per ton less in price, or else one ton of beef, at

£10 13s. 4d. less than in 1882-3. In butter the falling in price would entail a loss of £2 per cow, taking a moderate average of 160 lbs. per annum as a fair yield for each cow, allowing eight cows for the farm—£16. The falling-off in the price of store cattle would entail a further loss of £10. All these inflict a loss upon the entire holding, as compared with 1882-3, of £53 18s. 4d. Now, these are not fancy calculations; the prices taken are from the official records of local markets. The average yields I have taken are quite within the limits upon good land well cultivated. How is this falling-off to be met? For the last year or two it has been met by the most rigid economy on the part of the tenants. The hon. and gallant Member who took it upon him to value the price, and expatiate upon the quality of the dress worn by a tenant's daughter, did not know how little truth was in his statement. It has been met by reducing the number of hands, by putting a stop to reclamation and improvement; and this forced economy has the disastrous result of leaving, in winter time, considerable numbers of unemployed labourers, who suffer in no slight degree from the burden of excessive rents, for every 1s. in excess upon the rents takes 6d. out of the labourer's pocket. If the Government wish to stave off the claim for an independent Parliament for Ireland they ought to treat this question fairly.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. GIBSON) (Liverpool, Walton) said, that he did not intervene at an earlier period in the debate to state the views of the Government, because he expected that some answer would have been given to the very clear and striking statement of facts and figures that had come from the Government side of the House, from his hon. Friend the Member for Cambridge, and from others who had followed him. He thought there had been, up to the present, a certain air of unreality about the debate. It was impossible that the Bill could be accepted by any responsible Ministry; and he ventured to think that the thin appearance of the House at the opening of the debate, and especially the appearance of the Benches below the Gangway, where hon. Members from Ireland sat, and that quarter of the House which the followers of the

right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) used to throng, showed the appreciation which hon. Members had of the real significance of the measure now brought forward. The real interest of the debate was centred in the presence of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian. It was what the right hon. Gentleman meant to say; it was what he intended to indicate that they were all looking forward to. The hon. Member for Cork told the House that his Bill consisted of two sets of provisions. The first set was of a temporary character, and related to the abatement of arrears of rent, the present year's rent and the future year's rent of 1887. There was attached to this a provision enabling every tenant whose rent had been fixed before the end of 1884 to insist upon getting a compulsory credit, whether the Judge in the Court in which the action was laid liked it or not—a credit which was indeterminate in point of duration until his application could be disposed of, which might not be for months, or even years hence. That was the first part of the Bill, and the other part, the hon. Member said, was not temporary. It was a permanent amendment of the existing law; it was the inclusion of leaseholders in the Act of 1881. The hon. Member said that this had waited long enough, and therefore he included it in his Bill. He would deal with this last part of the question first. It was simply out of the question, as the hon. Member well knew, for the Government, after the declarations they had made, to undertake new constructive legislation this Session; and when any measure of that kind was brought forward it would require grave and anxious consideration, and it would receive much elaborate discussion on both sides of the House. It would then be for the Government to determine whether or not they would yield to an acceptance of the views which the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian expressed in 1881, and again and again in subsequent Sessions of this Parliament. This question of admitting leaseholders to the Act of 1881 was brought before the right hon. Gentleman's Government year after year, and from that Government it got a stern and consistent refusal. In 1881 the right hon. Gentle-

man said it would be impossible to strike more directly at the very root of contract as it was understood in Ireland, and that a lease was a binding covenant to pay a certain sum. The right hon. Gentleman thought that the leaseholders enjoyed security under their lease, and as long as it lasted they were bound to pay the rent under it. When the lease fell in the leaseholders were entitled to the status of present tenants; but as long as the lease lasted they were not entitled to revision of rent. It would be the duty of the Government, when the question came before them next Session, carefully and anxiously to consider whether they should assent to the views of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian, supported as they were by his great authority and by much independent reasoning—or yield to the blandishments of hon. Members opposite. There was a reason above all others why the Government could not undertake to consider this question this Session. Whether the leaseholders were included in the Act of 1881 or not, they were not entitled to come within either Clause 1 or 3 of the Bill of the hon. Member for Cork. They might admit them as much as they liked to the Act of 1881; but they would not be entitled by that admission to pay half-rents, nor would they be entitled to the stay of execution under the Bill, because the Bill related to judicial tenants whose rent had been ascertained up to the year 1884. The introduction, therefore, of this Bill was, to a certain extent, an expedient to enable certain hon. Members to say that they supported the Bill for the inclusion of leaseholders which the Government turned a deaf ear to. There was no case of urgency in the case of leaseholders. He now came to what was the real and serious part of the Bill, and that was the part which related to the judicial tenants whose rents were fixed before 1884. The House should bear in mind the vast sea of agitation which lurked behind these proposals if any Parliament could be found insane enough to grant them. Up to December 31, 1884, the tenancies in respect to which the judicial rents had been settled numbered 100,000, the old rental of which was £2,886,000, and the judicial rents £2,352,000. In round numbers this was a reduction of £500,000. There were two ways of

settling judicial rents. One was by judicial decrees, and the other was by agreements between the landlord and the tenant. Up to the month of July last there were fixed altogether in Ireland, by way of judicial decrees, 88,000 rents, and the number settled out of Court was 88,000. They had, therefore, in round numbers, 176,000 judicial rents fixed up to the month of July last. This Bill affected tenancies settled up to the month of December, 1884, amounting to 100,000, leaving uncovered 76,000 tenants whose rents had been settled since; and the hon. Member for Cork had boldly stated in his speech that the tenants whose rents were settled in 1885 had just ground of complaint in the rent imposed on them by the Commissioners, because of the fall of prices, to which the Commissioners did not give full effect. He said that the reason why they were not included was that they were a comparatively insignificant number. Was it to be thought that this 76,000 would acquiesce and enjoy the prospect of the others obtaining what was asked for them? The Bill assumed that *primâ facie* every tenant in Ireland, big or little, no matter what his valuation, whose rent was fixed before the end of 1884 was unable to pay his rent. It assumed that *primâ facie* the amount of reduction that ought to be made was 50 per cent. He asked the House, considering the inquiry which the Government had granted, whether the Bill did not prejudice the results of the inquiry? The effect of one of the clauses of this Bill would be that a landlord would be prevented from touching the holding or the stock of a tenant who had not paid his rent. The landlord, therefore, instead of being a secured creditor, would become a personal creditor only, and would have to look on while the stock and farm were sold by other creditors, shopkeepers and usurers, who so often preyed upon the tenant. But the clause which struck him above all others was that which gave the tenant the right of applying for a stay to the Court. This clause had no parallel even in any Bill hitherto introduced by hon. Members opposite. He did not know whether hon. Members had been struck with the change in the language used by the hon. Member for Cork on September 3 and the language of the Bill. On September 3

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the hon. Member said that power should be given to tenants whose rents were fixed a year or two ago to apply for a revaluation on the basis of prices, and that the suspension of proceedings in ejectment ought to be permitted on payment of three-fourths of the original rent. Now, the hon. Member for Cork suggested that the payment should be one-half instead of three-fourths; but he had not explained why he thought fit to make that change. The proposal of the hon. Member on September 3 was that a discretionary power should be given to the Courts to stay ejectments upon terms; but his proposal now was that the landlord should be prevented from resorting to any legal process. The richest tenant in Ireland, if sued by his landlord, might say—"I am going to apply to the Land Court, although I know that it will be a bogus application; but Parliament says I may, and until my case is determined I intend to keep my money in my pocket;" and the result, in that case, would be the extraction of a compulsory credit from the landlord, who would have to subsist as best he could on half-a-year's rent, although the Court might decide, when the application should be heard a year or two afterwards, that he was entitled to the whole rent. This 3rd clause offered a direct bribe to every judicial tenant to go to Court and apply for a reduction; and should he fail he would still, pending the decision, keep half his rent in his pocket. He would call the attention of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian to his own Land Act of 1881, which they all regarded as a final settlement of the Irish Land Question, and in which the vital principle of the non-disturbance of judicial rents was laid down. The right hon. Gentleman, in introducing that measure, did not attempt to support it on the ground that the mass of Irish landlords were unjust. On the contrary, he recognized that they had done their duty. The Act gave the tenants the right of free sale, a right which was not enjoyed by the Highland crofter, perpetuity of tenure, and the right to have a fair rent fixed by an independent tribunal. The landlord was not to raise the fixed rent for 15 years, and the tenant was to be held bound to pay it. The landlord's remedy was to be an ejectment action when two gales, or a whole year's rent, should be due. The right hon. Gentle-

man, when attacks were made on the fundamental principles of the Land Act, had more than once admitted that the State had contracted very solemn obligations towards the landlords, who had made great sacrifices, entitling them to consideration. He should like to know whether the right hon. Gentleman still adhered to the view that judicial rents stood in a different and better position as compared with ordinary rents? When the right hon. Gentleman was introducing the Government of Ireland Bill he stated that there were certain reserved contracts which would not be under the control of the Irish Parliament. The contracts in question were not specifically mentioned by the right hon. Gentleman; but they would be found in Section 51 of the Land Purchase Bill, which showed the views of the right hon. Gentleman at the time. That section set forth—

"Provided that this Act shall not, nor shall any Act passed by the Irish Legislature, impair any obligations arising from contract or judicial decision under the Landlord and Tenant Act of 1870, and the Land Act of 1881, and any Acts amending the same."

This Land Purchase Bill, when it was before the House, had received a good deal of discussion; but not a single Member below the Gangway opposite objected to this proposed consecration and stereotyping of judicial rents. If the Irish Government Bill and the Land Purchase Bill had passed into law no tenant could have wagged his little finger against a judicial rent, and the House would have had no power to tamper with such rents. He mentioned these matters to prove that the idea that the judicial rents were impossible rents was not present to the minds of the Irish Party in the month of June. When did the fall of prices become impressed upon the hon. Member for Cork and his followers? According to the statement of hon. Members, the Judicial Commissioners were not aware of the fact until the other day; and actually the hon. Member for Cork, and three-fourths of the Irish people, were ignorant of the fact of the crisis until the 8th of June last. Nothing was heard of the impossibility of paying rents until June 8, and from that time the cry had been pretty constant. He was very sorry for the fall in prices, which, in many cases, had seriously affected Irish farmers; but he could not forget that the assertion

that the payment of rent was impossible had been made before now, and in years exceptionally prosperous. In 1883 the hon. Member for Cork introduced a Bill with the object of amending the Land Act of 1881. He then said that the rents fixed in 1881 were impossible rents. Rents were always impossible with the hon. Member for Cork; and yet the strange thing was that the tenants lived and thrived under these impossible rents. As to the Arrears Act, that was an Act which was introduced under very exceptional circumstances. The right hon. Gentleman opposite would remember that in 1880 a Bill was introduced into Parliament by his Government, called the Compensation for Disturbance Bill. [Mr. GLADSTONE: Hear, hear!] He was glad to hear the right hon. Gentleman cheer that, because that was a Bill the very principle of which was absolutely inconsistent with the Bill before the House. That Bill, though introduced at a time of great distress, after a year of famine, only provided that in the case of a landlord resorting to legal remedies the tenant should be entitled to compensation for disturbance. But that Bill gave no power of abating rents or staying proceedings. In 1882, after the Land Act was passed, there was still a vast burden of arrears hanging round the necks of the tenants; and the right hon. Gentleman, whether wisely or not, at all events generously, introduced the Arrears Act of 1882. At that time it was a moot point whether the operation of that Act should be effected by voluntary action, or whether it should be made compulsory. The right hon. Gentleman then said that if the method of compulsion were adopted it would involve something in the nature of a gift, and accordingly the State stepped in and gave a large gift to the landlords. The right hon. Gentleman felt it to be his duty, in introducing that Bill, to fence it round with the most elaborate precautions. In the first place, the Act was limited expressly and in terms to the tenant who was paying for his one holding not over £30 a-year. In other words, it was intended to benefit the poorer tenants, and not the rich farmers and graziers. The tenants, too, had to pay one entire year's rent down, and he was surprised to hear the hon. Member for Cork say that under the Arrears Act it

was sufficient for the tenant to pay one-third. As a matter of fact there were hardly any arrears due on the judicial rents; and what the hon. Member for Cork sought to do with regard to judicial rents was to take half the money for this year and half for the year 1887. In addition to the precautions he had mentioned, the State recognized that the Arrears Act was legislation of an exceptional and startling character, and undertook to pay one-half of the arrears due to the landlord, not exceeding one year's rent, and in that respect a very large sum was paid to the landlord. But the distinction to which he would draw attention was that that Act distinctly gave the landlord certain rights. It limited the period within which the application could be made; it declared that the landlord should have a charge on the goodwill of the farm; and, above all, the Act did not apply to judicial rents. He ventured to think that the Bill before the House differed in all essential particulars from the legislation of the right hon. Gentleman opposite. What, then, was the solid basis of fact upon which it was sought to justify proposals the like of which had never been heard in the British House of Commons? It was said that the facts showed that there was an absolute inability on the part of the tenants to pay the rents imposed up to the year 1884. As to that, he did not find that any distinct or cogent evidence had been offered by hon. Members opposite below the Gangway. Beyond all doubt Ireland had been increasing in prosperity, as the right hon. Gentlemen opposite had said when introducing his Land Act of 1881, unless the increase of deposits in savings banks, the consumption of intoxicating liquors, and the sales of tenant right were to be laughed out of the House. One of the arguments in favour of the increasing prosperity of Ireland relied on by the right hon. Gentleman opposite was the decline of the smaller tenants and the growth of a more solvent and responsible body of occupiers. Between 1841 and 1881 the class of tenants holding from one to five acres had diminished in a remarkable degree, and the number of tenants holding from five to 15 acres had also diminished. But the number of those holding from 15 to 30 acres had increased 70 per cent, and those holding from 30 acres and

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upwards had increased 200 per cent. But it was said that between 1884 and 1885 there had been a great change; that there had been a fall in prices in 1885; yet there were more holdings in 1885 than in 1884, which showed that there was no great press of evictions, and there was more land under cultivation in 1886 than in 1885. Did that show that capital was lost and extinguished, and that tenants were crushed by rapacious landlords? One of the proofs of a progressive tenantry was the increase of tenants with large holdings. Again, there was a very important increase in the number of stock on the farms in 1885 and 1886, as appeared from the statistics laid before the House. In 1885, too, the crops were undoubtedly good, and in 1886 they were above the average. But the House might be told that there was great danger in agricultural figures, unless they were very carefully considered. The hon. Member who had just sat down complained that the Land Commissioners who fixed the rents did not discharge their duty properly, because in 1882 prices were exceptionally good, and that they had been largely influenced by that fact in fixing the rents. It was, no doubt, a dangerous thing to fix rents by prices, because rents were often high when prices were low. But in the very year mentioned by the hon. Member, the year 1882, he found from *Thom's Almanack*, an authority upon which all Irishmen relied, that the value of crops per acre was only £5 12s., as against £6 4s. in 1884. The Commissioners in fixing judicial rent were, it must be assumed, not noodles, but men fairly competent for their work, and in fixing the rent of any holding they would have regard to the crop as well as to the prices which prevailed. The hon. Member for Cork had quoted figures with regard to the reductions that had been made; but the statistics scarcely supported his view. The fact was that from 1881 to 1882 the judicial rents fixed were 10·2 per cent over the Poor Law valuation, in 1884 to 1885 they were 8 per cent over the Poor Law valuation. In May, 1886, they were 8 per cent over the Poor Law valuation, and in June, 1886, 10 per cent under. This difference between rents fixed in May and those fixed in June did not reflect upon the capacity of the Commis-

sioners, but showed that there must have been considerable irregularity and variety in the class of holdings that had to be valued. In *The Times* of that morning there appeared a statement as to the amount of reductions made in the judicial rents in each year since 1881. In 1882 the average reduction was 20 per cent, and down to the autumn of 1885 18 per cent. In October, 1885, it went up to 21 per cent, and it had since gone on to 22 per cent, and this year to 27, and in one case to 29 per cent. In the Civil Bill Court, however, before a Judge who sat alone, the reductions were much smaller. But he desired to call the special attention of the House to the fact that the difference in the proportion of reduction between the earlier and the later years was in round figures only about 7 per cent; and because there was this difference the House was asked to decree that the tenants of Ireland, who had already received a reduction averaging 20 per cent, were entitled to further reduction of 50 per cent. The views of the hon. Member for Cork were extravagant, and the figures which he gave the House were not of a very accurate character. For instance, he omitted entirely to mention the fact that the price of wool had risen 60 per cent. Sometimes the hon. Member stopped at 1884, and gave no information as to the prices for 1885. Another argument relied upon by the hon. Member for Cork was that of the "inherent vice" of the landlords. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian, however, in one of his speeches on the Land Bill of 1881, said that the Irish landlords had been on their trial, but that as a class they were found free from blame. What more than this could be said of any class? No doubt there were black sheep amongst the landlords of Ireland. There were black sheep in England. There were black sheep in every country, and even in every House of Assembly in the world. The right hon. Member for Mid Lothian had protested against imputing to the Irish a double dose of original sin. Were not the Irish landlords to be included among the Irish? It would be grossly unfair to pass this sweeping, and, to many, ruinous and exterminating measure because there might be some landlords who exercised their rights without moderation. Irish

landlords were not fools, and they did not unnecessarily resort to evictions—if it could be avoided it was avoided—for its effect in most cases was to leave the land on the landlord's hands to be garrisoned at considerable expense. An hon. Member had some time ago referred to the "wholesale evictions" on Lord Kenmare's estate; but on the 1st of September there appeared a letter in *The Times* from Lord Kenmare's legal advisers in this country in which it was stated that there had only been 15 tenants permanently evicted on the estate during the last seven years, which, on an average, was one tenant a year in every 700; and each of the evicted tenants had had the offer of being reinstated, or of selling his holding for his own benefit if he paid half-a-year's rent.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR (Liverpool, Scotland): I never mentioned Lord Kenmare's name.

MR. E. HARRINGTON (Kerry, W.): I beg to say to the hon. and learned Gentleman that the letter is a tissue of falsehoods.

MR. GIBSON said, the letter was signed by the legal representatives of Lord Kenmare, and had not been contradicted, as far as he was aware. The fears as to an avalanche of evictions were baseless. In considering the statistics of evictions, it must be borne in mind that there were 565,000 tenants, holding one acre and upwards, in Ireland. The Eviction Returns were, of course, documents of high authority; but they must be read with these points borne in mind—namely, that they did not indicate whether the eviction was for non-payment of rent or some other cause, nor did they show if the tenant was subsequently re-admitted as a caretaker, nor whether the eviction was that of a judicial tenant. As far as his knowledge went judicial tenants were very seldom evicted; and, therefore, for anything that the Returns showed to the contrary, the evictions in these Returns might not include a single case of a judicial tenant. The hon. Member for Cork had said that the small number of evictions in 1885-6 was, in the last quarter of 1885, owing to the benignant attitude of Lord Carnarvon, and in the first part of 1886 to the similar attitude of the late Chief Secretary. He observed, however, that without exception the numbers

of evictions varied steadily with the seasons. The number in the March quarter was small, and the December quarter had the smallest number of the year. The figures he had appeared to vary from those given by the hon. Member for Cork. He found that in the year 1882 there was a very large number of evictions, 5,201 altogether; but from that number there was a very large deduction to be made, because 2,331 persons were restored as caretakers and 198 as tenants. In 1883 there were 3,640 evictions, but 236 were restored as tenants, and 1,507 were restored as caretakers. In 1884 there were 4,188 evictions; 1,760 were restored as caretakers, and 229 as tenants. In 1885 there were 3,127 evictions; 1,540 were restored as caretakers, and 120 as tenants. In the first quarter of 1886 the figures were rather remarkable; 698 were evicted, 388 were restored as caretakers, and 20 as tenants. The hon. Member for Cork had complimented the Lord Lieutenant then in Office on the small number of evictions during that period; but it would be found that his Predecessor in 1885 had a very similar record—namely, 720 evictions, 46 restorations, and 326 who were restored as caretakers. The House would be surprised to learn that those were the normal figures in every one of the corresponding quarters of former years. The number of evictions was always comparatively large in the June quarter. In that quarter of 1882 the number of ejectments was 1,732, in 1883 it was 1,247, in 1884 it was 1,358, and in 1885 it was 1,326, and that gave a larger number than for the summer quarter of the present year. He thought in the face of the figures which he had given it could not be said that the Irish landlords were oppressors; nor did he think the House would believe that they were such fools as to put in operation wholesale evictions, which would be their own ruin. The House should consider, before it gave its sanction to such legislation as was proposed, that under the present law no judicial tenant could be evicted unless he owed a whole year's rent, and that then he was entitled to six calendar months more from the time that he was dispossessed in order to redeem his holding. The County Court rule which had been mentioned also gave a very wide discretion to the

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Judges in those Courts whose jurisdiction was sufficient to embrace the cases of all the poorer class of tenants. He thought the Bill, if passed, must act as a wholesale invitation to all the tenants of Ireland, rich or poor, to come into Court to have their rents reduced, and get thereby a half-year's credit until their claims were disposed of. It was simply nonsense to say that all those cases could be determined in four months. It had taken two years to settle the rents for the tenants in the Bill, and how many years would it take to settle this question of abatement? Under the arrears Act of 1882 there was no real litigation, for landlord and tenant made common cause; but the present Bill, if passed, would initiate litigation more angry and prolonged than even that under the Land Act of 1881, which had been described as one of the greatest blessings ever bestowed on the Legal Profession in Ireland. If the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition gave encouragement to this Bill it would be sealing the condemnation of his own Land Act, which he had regarded and brought forward as the final settlement of the Land Question in Ireland. The pivot of the Land Act of 1881 was the judicial rent fixed for 15 years, which could not be raised by the landlord in good years, but which protected him from loss in bad ones; and if that were removed the whole fabric of that Act must perish. The effect of the proposed legislation would be to weaken the self-reliance and the exertions of the tenant, and to induce him to place his trust rather upon a possible reduction of rent if he should get behind in his payments. It would give a compulsory credit to every tenant who chose to come to the Court, whether he was able to pay or not, until his case was disposed of. The Bill very largely differed in a wide and startling degree from the measure sketched by the hon. Member for Cork in his speech during the debate on the reply to the Speech from the Throne; and yet no Member of the House was capable of expressing himself more clearly than that hon. Gentleman. The right hon. Gentleman said that in 1883, and though he very nearly agreed with the right hon. Gentleman—because he made an exception in favour of the right hon. Gentleman himself—he thought that the fact of the

hon. Member for Cork, who was never carried away by passion and who was a thorough master of all that went on in Ireland, bringing forward the proposal on the 3rd of September to pay three-fourths of the rent, giving a discretionary power to stay execution, and now introducing such a modification as they had seen, showed that something extraordinary had occurred since then. He did not know for what purpose the Bill was introduced—whether as an implement of agitation or to try the faith of right hon. Gentlemen, and see how far they were prepared to follow the hon. Member. But this he knew—that whatever use the hon. Member and his Friends might make of the measure outside, he was well assured it must in this House meet the fate for which it was admirably prepared in all its provisions—the fate of decisive rejection.

MR. W. E. GLADSTONE (Edinburgh, Mid Lothian): I am sorry to find, Sir, that in the course of this debate, notwithstanding the rumours and indications which have appeared in various quarters, there have been no signs of a tendency to approximation of opinion, or to an amicable arrangement between the two sides of the House. The speech of the hon. and learned Gentleman who has just sat down (Mr. Gibson), and the speeches of the hon. Gentlemen who moved and seconded the Amendment, have been in the tone of an absolute and uncompromising opposition to any measure whatever for affording any relief whatever to any portion of the Irish tenantry in the actual circumstances in which we stand. The question whether that uncompromising attitude is required and justified by the facts is, it appears to me, the only question which we have to-night to decide in determining what vote we shall give in regard to the second reading of the Bill of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Cork (Mr. Parnell). Now, Sir, I must venture to comment on the arrangement under which the debate has been conducted. I cannot be wrong in supposing that that which is perfectly regular and legitimate—that the selection of Gentlemen to move and to second the Amendment which was to be fatal to the Bill was an arrangement made by and with the sanction of Her Majesty's Government. That being so, I cannot help being struck with the

Mr. Gibson

particular position which they occupy as individuals in regard to this particular subject. [An hon. MEMBER: Question!] Question! This is a question affecting the welfare especially of the agricultural body in Ireland; and there are in this House—notwithstanding what is said of the diminished power and representation enjoyed by Irish landlords—no inconsiderable number of Gentlemen who are the Representatives of agricultural constituencies in Ireland, and who are strong and determined supporters of Her Majesty's Government. Then, Sir, I am led to ask myself, and I hope a reply will be given to the question—How and why is it that no Representative of those agricultural constituencies in Ireland has been found ready to come forward and to move the rejection of this Bill? If ever there was a subject which called for the exertion of the energies and the talents of the county Members sitting in this House, and sitting for Ireland as Irish Representatives in this House, this is the subject and the occasion. But the Amendment has been moved by an hon. Gentleman perfectly qualified for the task by every personal gift, but who, it appears to me, is by no means qualified by the fact that he sits in this House as the Representative of an English borough. Not less remarkable is the choice of the Seconder. The Seconder has the misfortune, as I understand and believe, of not being an Irishman at all.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL) (Paddington, S.): I beg the right hon. Gentleman's pardon. My hon. Friend (Mr. C. Lewis) is an Irishman.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT (Derby): The noble Lord says the hon. Member is an Irishman.

MR. W. E. GLADSTONE: Well, I have not seen his baptismal certificate; but I maintain and believe that in the case of so distinguished a Gentleman I cannot possibly be wrong, and that he is a person born on this side of the Channel. It is true that he is an Irish Member; but he does not sit for an Irish constituency, and it is impossible we should not ask why is it that, in order to move the rejection of this Bill, a choice was not made of two, or at least of one Gentleman representing Irish agricultural constituencies? [*Cries of "Oh!"*] Gentlemen opposite think

that question very ridiculous. It appears to me to be pertinent and appropriate. I will venture to give a reason, which, in the absence of other reasons coming from quarters of great authority, will, I think, find acceptance with some portions of this House. I think the Motion for the rejection of the Bill, and for refusing all relief to all persons affected by it, has been made by Gentlemen unconnected with agricultural constituencies in Ireland—[“No no!”]—for the plain and simple reason that no Member representing such an agricultural constituency in Ireland, however firm and fervent he might be in his allegiance to the Government, could be found for the purpose of making the Motion. [“Oh, oh!”] My reason, at any rate, holds the field for the present, and if I am wrong the Gentlemen to whom I refer will have ample opportunity for recommending themselves to the favour of their constituencies by boldly coming forward in the course of this debate and denouncing the provisions of this Bill and maintaining that no case exists for it. Sir, the hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General for Ireland was pleased, very courteously, to refer to me more than once in the course of his speech. Among other references to me he stated, I believe with perfect accuracy, that in 1881, in introducing the Land Bill to this House, I stated that the Irish landlords had been upon their trial, and had not been found guilty, or words to that effect. The hon. and learned Gentleman is, I believe, quite accurate in his reference. I spoke on the best evidence in my possession—namely, the evidence of an important Commission which inquired into the condition of land in Ireland at the close of 1880 and the commencement of 1881. I must confess that the very large number of applications for judicial rents, and the proof which I must presume to have been afforded in those cases that the existing rents were beyond fair rents, somewhat disappointed me, and in some degree modified the declaration I had previously made; but, at the same time, I am very far indeed from founding the vote I intend to give on this Bill on any general charge against the landlords. I will state more specifically the grounds of that vote by-and-bye; but I find it no part of my duty, and no matter of

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accusation against them, to enter into any reasoning connected with their proceedings in any particular. The hon. and learned Gentleman states that the judicial rents are in a different position from other rents in the view of Parliament. Well, Sir, that is one of the propositions which it appears to me to be very difficult to handle with a careful application of it to principles. No doubt, they are in a different position in respect of certain particular enactments which apply to them. For example, the 15 years' term of judicial rent has nothing more nearly analogous to it in the case of ordinary rent than an arrangement which can be made under a lease. There are specific differences between judicial rents and other rents, and certainly I am prepared to contest the proposition that judicial rents are covered with a general sacredness that does not apply to ordinary contracts in relation to rent. ["Oh, oh!"] A proposition of that kind, which need not necessarily be argued now, has, in my opinion, led to very erroneous and questionable views with regard to the position of the two orders of landlords in Ireland—those whose tenants have appealed against them, and who have more or less succeeded in their appeals, and those who have presumably found no occasion to make any such appeal. The hon. and learned Gentleman says—and I believe with truth—that the Compensation for Disturbance Bill, which we introduced in 1880, and the deplorable rejection of which by the House of Lords has been the source of many of our subsequent difficulties, did not provide for an abatement of rent. Sir, that is perfectly true—I believe it to be true according to my recollection; but it provided for the payment on account of disturbance in the very case where that payment on account of disturbance had been included in the law of 1870. I will venture to put it to the hon. and learned Gentleman that the question as to the mode of relief to be afforded to the tenant is totally different from the question whether any case has arisen for affording some relief to the tenant in the circumstances in which he is now placed. It is conceivable that you may simply arrest judicial proceedings, take no other step whatever, wait for the result of your inquiry, and then for the legislation that may follow. It is quite

conceivable, and, as I think, preferable, that, in addition to the arrest of proceedings, some proposal on the principle of the hon. Member for Cork should be adopted; and it has indeed, I think, been distinctly and justly stated by the hon. and learned Gentleman that the matter should not be allowed to hang over, but that an immediate decision should be come to as to what amount of temporary abatement should be made, or it is perfectly possible that you might give relief in the form of compensation for disturbance. But these are only questions of difference in form; the substantial question is, whether a case for relief to any portion of the tenantry of Ireland has in any form arisen, or whether it has not. The hon. Member who moved and the hon. Member who seconded the Amendment assert that there is no case for relief in any form to any portion of the tenants in Ireland, and that is the question on which I think the judgment of the House will have to be taken. Now, the hon. and learned Gentleman also observed, and again, I believe, with truth, that the Arrears Bill was limited—and the same assertion might have been made as to the Compensation for Disturbance Bill of 1880—to holdings under a certain figure. The hon. and learned Gentleman appeared to me to attach great importance to that distinction, and I am not surprised that he should have attached importance to it. Undoubtedly, we attached importance to it in the case of the Arrears Bill, and in the case of the Compensation for Disturbance Bill. But the hon. and learned Gentleman, in this portion of his speech, and I think in many other portions of his speech, completely forgot the position in which he has himself been placed by the act of the Government to which he belongs. The Government are those who have appointed a tribunal to inquire whether the judicial rents are too high or not. If it is so important to draw a distinction between rents under £30 and rents over £30, why has not that distinction been drawn in the instructions to the Commissioners? The Government have admitted that rents of all amounts are fit subjects for inquiry; but how can the hon. and learned Gentleman expect the hon. Member for Cork to be the person to introduce that distinction, and to exclude from the operation of his Bill a portion of those whose

case the Government themselves, by a solemn act, have declared to call for and require attention? I feel a great obligation to the hon. and learned Gentleman for all that he said about the Land Act of 1881. He says, with great truth, that in approaching that subject I did so with a sense, if not of reverence, yet, at any rate, of awe and of difficulty, and of oppression; that it was one of the most difficult subjects, one of the most arduous and complicated subjects, with which any Gentleman in this House could possibly be called upon in a responsible manner to deal; and that I looked upon the enactments in that measure as enactments that ought not, excepting under the most clear and evident considerations of necessity, to be disturbed. I hoped it contained the elements of a permanent settlement in Ireland, as far as that settlement, generally speaking, could be effected under any legislative arrangement between landlord and tenant. And, Sir, that is perfectly true. But who are they who disappointed me? Who are they who have called the Land Act in question? They are those who have recommended Her Majesty to appoint a Commission. [*Laughter.*] The right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War (Mr. W. H. Smith), strong in his 24 hours' experience, laughs at the observation which I make. If the right hon. Gentleman had applied as many years, as he has applied hours, to the investigation of Irish matters, he might have known a little more of the subject. We provided, in the Act of 1881, arrangements made with great difficulty, made under circumstances extremely arduous, due in many respects to the special case of Ireland, due in some respects to that rash act of the House of Lords to which I have already referred, and we hoped that those arrangements would be solid and undisturbed. At any rate, we respected those arrangements ourselves. In the important propositions made this year we avoided raising any question with respect to the basis upon which rents have been fixed in Ireland. The present Government, in what I thought must have been humorously called by the right hon. Baronet the Chief Secretary for Ireland a "sober policy," have re-opened in all its breadth this question of judicial rents. I am not at all sure whether they are conscious of the vast

importance of the step that they have taken. Last year they took a step of vast consequence with respect to coercive or repressive legislation without fully, as it appeared to us on this side of the House, comprehending the nature and the consequences of that action. I am afraid that there has been somewhat similar haste and want of full investigation in the proposition now made by Her Majesty's Government to inquire whether the rents fixed in Ireland under the Act of 1881 are rents which can or cannot be paid. But my present purpose is only to reply to the query of the hon. and learned Gentleman. He says—"When did you become conscious of the inability to pay rent? When was this inability to pay rent first thought of?" Sir, I will answer the question. It was first thought of when Her Majesty's Government determined to advise the Queen to issue a Commission which was to inquire into three points. [*A laugh.*] I may be permitted to observe that laughter from a Cabinet Minister is not argument, and perhaps it is the best proof of the truth of my argument. Perhaps, however, manners are not a proper matter for discussion. One of the three points is to inquire whether, by an exceptional fall in the price of produce, the capacity or incapacity to pay rent has been affected? I know nothing of the interior of the minds of other men; but, as far as the public is concerned, my answer to the hon. and learned Gentleman is that the first moment—the first time—the time of the birth of this great idea of resettling and reconsidering Irish rents, was the time when Her Majesty's Government determined to advise the issue of a Royal Commission. Sir, the hon. Gentleman who moved the Amendment, which amounts to the rejection of this Bill, founded himself very much on the proposition that it was impossible for the Courts of Justice to distinguish between those who cannot pay the rent and those who will not pay the rent. It is quite plain to me that it is too late to urge that argument in Parliament, which has more than once recognized the practicability of drawing and acting upon such a distinction. The Compensation for Disturbance Bill, which was passed in 1880 by this House, was entirely founded upon the proof of inability to pay rent; and not only so, but upon the proof of

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inability to pay rent defined by a minute and careful reference to the cause which had produced the inability. In the Arrears Act, which passed into law, and which became the foundation of extreme and costly transactions, the inability to pay rent judicially proved was the basis of the entire proceeding. Therefore, it is impossible to accept the doctrine of the hon. Gentleman as to the impossibility of doing that which it was deemed possible to do on former occasions, and which we have done on the great occasion of the Arrears Act. It can hardly be held now that there is no reason why there should be a reference to a Court of Justice, for the purpose of giving relief to those who are unable to pay rent. The hon. Gentleman, again, when he made use of that argument, suggested to me what I confess appeared to be the purport of the great bulk of his speech. Three-fourths of his speech, at least, and a large portion of the speech of the hon. and learned Gentleman who has just sat down, are in the nature of a distinct and deliberate argument against the appointment of a Commission, such as Her Majesty's Government have advised, and ought to have led up to a Motion, not for the rejection of this Bill merely, but for an Address to the Crown, praying the Crown not to issue such a Commission. The hon. and learned Gentleman seemed also to attach great value to another argument he used, and which appeared to me to be, I will not say of the most flimsy, but of a most narrow and inadequate character. He said—"You are assuming that there is no other way of getting judicial rents reduced than by a Bill of this nature." I answer there is such a way—namely, by availing ourselves of the provisions of the Purchase Act of Lord Ashbourne. I want to know how many tenants there are in Ireland who have availed themselves of that Act? What is the capital value of the Irish land, and how many of those tenants, or how much of that land, can possibly obtain relief from the judicial rent under the Act of Lord Ashbourne? If the hon. and learned Member tells me that the Act of Lord Ashbourne is to be indefinitely increased and extended—that instead of having the Treasury made the direct creditors of some few thousands of tenants in Ireland we are to extend the Act to tens of thousands,

twenty, and hundreds of thousands of tenants—I tell him he is reckoning without his host. Such an extension—such a multiplication of the relations of debtor and creditor—in every respect, economically and politically, most objectionable and most dangerous, will receive the deliberate and determined opposition of a large portion of this House. It is said, and possibly it is true, that some may receive relief—1 per cent, 2 per cent, or probably 3 per cent, for I do not know how much of the £5,000,000 under Lord Ashbourne's Act actually remains undisposed of. I will not contest it; but I am not prepared to admit that those who may be able to obtain such relief can supply us with a proper measure of our action on the occasion that is now before us. Sir, there was another passage at the end of the speech of the hon. and learned Gentleman which I heard with some surprise and regret. It appeared to be calculated by the hon. and learned Member that there would be a total abandonment by the Irish landlords of their character, position, and responsibility in that country by the handing over to the tenants of the whole property of the soil. I know not whether the hon. and learned Member is at present in his place; I should be glad if he would contradict me, and assure me that I have misunderstood him. In my opinion, it would be a most unfortunate day for Ireland that should witness the adoption by the Legislature of any measure contemplating the extirpation or extermination from the country of an entire class of the community. My wish is that the Irish landlords should remain in the country, and that they should do their duty there.

COLONEL KING-HARMAN (Kent, Isle of Thanet): How are they to do it? You have made it impossible.

MR. W. E. GLADSTONE: I will not answer that disorderly question now. It would only lead me into a great and unwarrantable invasion of the time of the House, and I think that an interruption of that kind should not be encouraged by a lengthy notice, even if it were worthy of such notice. This I will say, however—that we, at least, in our adherence to the Act of 1881, and in the measure which we adopted this year with respect to Irish landlords, have never contemplated and never desired the removal of the landlords from that

country. It is a step which we believe would be injurious to society at large. ["Question!"] I would remind the House that we are at present engaged in considering the second reading of this Bill; and what we have to determine is whether there is a case for legislation in respect to what appears to be its main provision and main purport. What is called the Irish Question was wide enough, as I thought, when the late Government were in Office. It embraced the subject of local self-government for Ireland, or what is properly termed Home Rule, together with the subject of land sale and purchase. But it has now been greatly widened by the recourse to what the right hon. Gentleman calls a "sober" policy. The two subjects to which I have referred are in all their breadth before you, and you will have to encounter them; but to them you have added two other subjects of immense extent and complexity—that opened by the public inquiry into public works in Ireland, and the large application of public funds to their prosecution; and a subject greater still—more complicated still—into which you have found your way, but out of which you will find it rather difficult to discover an exit—namely, the subject of rents in Ireland. I am afraid I am greatly at issue with some of those hon. Gentlemen whose singular modes of expression I was tempted for a moment to notice; for, as far as I can comprehend the state of their minds, although it may be presumptuous in me to invade sanctuaries of that description—as far as I am able to comprehend or even to conjecture—their opinion is that the issue of this Commission to inquire respecting the land and respecting the payment of rent is a matter of secondary importance. It is a Commission which is to examine—

"To what extent, if any, and in what parts of Ireland, the operation of the Land Act of 1881 is affected, whether by combination to resist the enforcement of legal obligations, or by exceptional fall in the prices of produce; and also, to inquire to what extent there exists any desire among tenants to avail themselves of the provisions of the Land Purchase Act of 1885, and to report upon any modifications of the law which may be necessary."

Now, Sir, on the first and third branches of this inquiry I do not purpose to make any remark at all. I remark only upon that second branch of the inquiry, which appears to me to be the most pregnant

in its consequences among the three, and under which the Commissioners are to examine what effect a fall in prices has had upon the payment of rents under the Land Act of 1881. In my opinion, the issue of that Commission by the Executive of the country contains within it both an assertion and a promise. I will not follow the hon. Member for Cork, or the hon. Member for Cambridge (Mr. Penrose Fitzgerald), into their inquiries, interesting as they were, with respect to the fall of prices. For my part, personally, I take my stand upon the issue of that Commission, and on the issue of that Commission alone, as being made the sufficient and imperative ground for a proceeding on the part of Parliament, with a view to afford relief to tenants in cases where, upon judicial examination, it may be found necessary. By the issue of that Commission you have asserted your conviction, in the face of the country, that there are cases of judicial rent in Ireland—where the rents now fixed, in consequence of the fall in prices, cannot be possibly paid. Have you considered how grave and solemn such an assertion is? Will it be questioned that such an assertion, such a conviction, on your part, is involved in the issue of the Commission? Why, Sir, no Government in this country could possibly assume the responsibility of inquiring by public authority into the capacity of tenants to pay their rents, unless they were profoundly convinced by the information at their command that there were cases—I do not examine now how many—but a class of cases in Ireland, where, in consequence of the fall in prices, those rents cannot be paid. This was not only an assertion, but it was a promise; for it is impossible for the Legislature—impossible even for the Executive, short of the authority of the Legislature—to assert that there are cases of that description, where rent cannot be paid in consequence of the fall in prices, without being prepared to afford relief to the persons charged with such rent. If I want a proof of the assertion I have just made, I find it in the declaration of the Prime Minister himself. The Prime Minister, immediately upon his assumption of Office, acquainted those whom he was addressing "elsewhere," that there were cases, as he believed, where the judicial rents could not be paid. Is was perfectly

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Judges in those Courts whose jurisdiction was sufficient to embrace the cases of all the poorer class of tenants. He thought the Bill, if passed, must act as a wholesale invitation to all the tenants of Ireland, rich or poor, to come into Court to have their rents reduced, and get thereby a half-year's credit until their claims were disposed of. It was simply nonsense to say that all those cases could be determined in four months. It had taken two years to settle the rents for the tenants in the Bill, and how many years would it take to settle this question of abatement? Under the arrears Act of 1882 there was no real litigation, for landlord and tenant made common cause; but the present Bill, if passed, would initiate litigation more angry and prolonged than even that under the Land Act of 1881, which had been described as one of the greatest blessings ever bestowed on the Legal Profession in Ireland. If the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition gave encouragement to this Bill it would be sealing the condemnation of his own Land Act, which he had regarded and brought forward as the final settlement of the Land Question in Ireland. The pivot of the Land Act of 1881 was the judicial rent fixed for 15 years, which could not be raised by the landlord in good years, but which protected him from loss in bad ones; and if that were removed the whole fabric of that Act must perish. The effect of the proposed legislation would be to weaken the self-reliance and the exertions of the tenant, and to induce him to place his trust rather upon a possible reduction of rent if he should get behind in his payments. It would give a compulsory credit to every tenant who chose to come to the Court, whether he was able to pay or not, until his case was disposed of. The Bill very largely differed in a wide and startling degree from the measure sketched by the hon. Member for Cork in his speech during the debate on the reply to the Speech from the Throne; and yet no Member of the House was capable of expressing himself more clearly than that hon. Gentleman. The right hon. Gentleman said that in 1883, and though he very nearly agreed with the right hon. Gentleman—because he made an exception in favour of the right hon. Gentleman himself—he thought that the fact of the

hon. Member for Cork, who was never carried away by passion and who was a thorough master of all that went on in Ireland, bringing forward the proposal on the 3rd of September to pay three-fourths of the rent, giving a discretionary power to stay execution, and now introducing such a modification as they had seen, showed that something extraordinary had occurred since then. He did not know for what purpose the Bill was introduced—whether as an implement of agitation or to try the faith of right hon. Gentlemen, and see how far they were prepared to follow the hon. Member. But this he knew—that whatever use the hon. Member and his Friends might make of the measure outside, he was well assured it must in this House meet the fate for which it was admirably prepared in all its provisions—the fate of decisive rejection.

Mr. W. E. GLADSTONE (Edinburgh, Mid Lothian): I am sorry to find, Sir, that in the course of this debate, notwithstanding the rumours and indications which have appeared in various quarters, there have been no signs of a tendency to approximation of opinion, or to an amicable arrangement between the two sides of the House. The speech of the hon. and learned Gentleman who has just sat down (Mr. Gibson), and the speeches of the hon. Gentlemen who moved and seconded the Amendment, have been in the tone of an absolute and uncompromising opposition to any measure whatever for affording any relief whatever to any portion of the Irish tenantry in the actual circumstances in which we stand. The question whether that uncompromising attitude is required and justified by the facts is, it appears to me, the only question which we have to-night to decide in determining what vote we shall give in regard to the second reading of the Bill of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Cork (Mr. Parnell). Now, Sir, I must venture to comment on the arrangement under which the debate has been conducted. I cannot be wrong in supposing that that which is perfectly regular and legitimate—that the selection of Gentlemen to move and to second the Amendment which was to be fatal to the Bill was an arrangement made by and with the sanction of Her Majesty's Government. That being so, I cannot help being struck with the

particular position which they occupy as individuals in regard to this particular subject. [An hon. MEMBER: Question!] Question! This is a question affecting the welfare especially of the agricultural body in Ireland; and there are in this House—notwithstanding what is said of the diminished power and representation enjoyed by Irish landlords—no inconsiderable number of Gentlemen who are the Representatives of agricultural constituencies in Ireland, and who are strong and determined supporters of Her Majesty's Government. Then, Sir, I am led to ask myself, and I hope a reply will be given to the question—How and why is it that no Representative of those agricultural constituencies in Ireland has been found ready to come forward and to move the rejection of this Bill? If ever there was a subject which called for the exertion of the energies and the talents of the county Members sitting in this House, and sitting for Ireland as Irish Representatives in this House, this is the subject and the occasion. But the Amendment has been moved by an hon. Gentleman perfectly qualified for the task by every personal gift, but who, it appears to me, is by no means qualified by the fact that he sits in this House as the Representative of an English borough. Not less remarkable is the choice of the Seconder. The Seconder has the misfortune, as I understand and believe, of not being an Irishman at all.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL) (Paddington, S.): I beg the right hon. Gentleman's pardon. My hon. Friend (Mr. C. Lewis) is an Irishman.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT (Derby): The noble Lord says the hon. Member is an Irishman.

MR. W. E. GLADSTONE: Well, I have not seen his baptismal certificate; but I maintain and believe that in the case of so distinguished a Gentleman I cannot possibly be wrong, and that he is a person born on this side of the Channel. It is true that he is an Irish Member; but he does not sit for an Irish constituency, and it is impossible we should not ask why is it that, in order to move the rejection of this Bill, a choice was not made of two, or at least of one Gentleman representing Irish agricultural constituencies? [*Cries of "Oh!"*] Gentlemen opposite think

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SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT (Derby): The noble Lord says the hon. Member is an Irishman.

MR. W. E. GLADSTONE: Well, I have not seen his baptismal certificate; but I maintain and believe that in the case of so distinguished a Gentleman I cannot possibly be wrong, and that he is a person born on this side of the Channel. It is true that he is an Irish Member; but he does not sit for an Irish constituency, and it is impossible we should not ask why is it that, in order to move the rejection of this Bill, a choice was not made of two, or at least of one Gentleman representing Irish agricultural constituencies? [*Cries of "Oh!"*] Gentlemen opposite think

that question very ridiculous. It appears to me to be pertinent and appropriate. I will venture to give a reason, which, in the absence of other reasons coming from quarters of great authority, will, I think, find acceptance with some portions of this House. I think the Motion for the rejection of the Bill, and for refusing all relief to all persons affected by it, has been made by Gentlemen unconnected with agricultural constituencies in Ireland—[“No no!”]—for the plain and simple reason that no Member representing such an agricultural constituency in Ireland, however firm and fervent he might be in his allegiance to the Government, could be found for the purpose of making the Motion. [“Oh, oh!”] My reason, at any rate, holds the field for the present, and if I am wrong the Gentlemen to whom I refer will have ample opportunity for recommending themselves to the favour of their constituencies by boldly coming forward in the course of this debate and denouncing the provisions of this Bill and maintaining that no case exists for it. Sir, the hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General for Ireland was pleased, very courteously, to refer to me more than once in the course of his speech. Among other references to me he stated, I believe with perfect accuracy, that in 1881, in introducing the Land Bill to this House, I stated that the Irish landlords had been upon their trial, and had not been found guilty, or words to that effect. The hon. and learned Gentleman is, I believe, quite accurate in his reference. I spoke on the best evidence in my possession—namely, the evidence of an important Commission which inquired into the condition of land in Ireland at the close of 1880 and the commencement of 1881. I must confess that the very large number of applications for judicial rents, and the proof which I must presume to have been afforded in those cases that the existing rents were beyond fair rents, somewhat disappointed me, and in some degree modified the declaration I had previously made; but, at the same time, I am very far indeed from founding the vote I intend to give on this Bill on any general charge against the landlords. I will state more specifically the grounds of that vote by-and-bye; but I find it no part of my duty, and no matter of

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accusation against them, to enter into any reasoning connected with their proceedings in any particular. The hon. and learned Gentleman states that the judicial rents are in a different position from other rents in the view of Parliament. Well, Sir, that is one of the propositions which it appears to me to be very difficult to handle with a careful application of it to principles. No doubt, they are in a different position in respect of certain particular enactments which apply to them. For example, the 15 years' term of judicial rent has nothing more nearly analogous to it in the case of ordinary rent than an arrangement which can be made under a lease. There are specific differences between judicial rents and other rents, and certainly I am prepared to contest the proposition that judicial rents are covered with a general sacredness that does not apply to ordinary contracts in relation to rent. ["Oh, oh!"] A proposition of that kind, which need not necessarily be argued now, has, in my opinion, led to very erroneous and questionable views with regard to the position of the two orders of landlords in Ireland—those whose tenants have appealed against them, and who have more or less succeeded in their appeals, and those who have presumably found no occasion to make any such appeal. The hon. and learned Gentleman says—and I believe with truth—that the Compensation for Disturbance Bill, which we introduced in 1880, and the deplorable rejection of which by the House of Lords has been the source of many of our subsequent difficulties, did not provide for an abatement of rent. Sir, that is perfectly true—I believe it to be true according to my recollection; but it provided for the payment on account of disturbance in the very case where that payment on account of disturbance had been included in the law of 1870. I will venture to put it to the hon. and learned Gentleman that the question as to the mode of relief to be afforded to the tenant is totally different from the question whether any case has arisen for affording some relief to the tenant in the circumstances in which he is now placed. It is conceivable that you may simply arrest judicial proceedings, take no other step whatever, wait for the result of your inquiry, and then for the legislation that may follow. It is quite

conceivable, and, as I think, preferable, that, in addition to the arrest of proceedings, some proposal on the principle of the hon. Member for Cork should be adopted; and it has indeed, I think, been distinctly and justly stated by the hon. and learned Gentleman that the matter should not be allowed to hang over, but that an immediate decision should be come to as to what amount of temporary abatement should be made, or it is perfectly possible that you might give relief in the form of compensation for disturbance. But these are only questions of difference in form; the substantial question is, whether a case for relief to any portion of the tenantry of Ireland has in any form arisen, or whether it has not. The hon. Member who moved and the hon. Member who seconded the Amendment assert that there is no case for relief in any form to any portion of the tenants in Ireland, and that is the question on which I think the judgment of the House will have to be taken. Now, the hon. and learned Gentleman also observed, and again, I believe, with truth, that the Arrears Bill was limited—and the same assertion might have been made as to the Compensation for Disturbance Bill of 1880—to holdings under a certain figure. The hon. and learned Gentleman appeared to me to attach great importance to that distinction, and I am not surprised that he should have attached importance to it. Undoubtedly, we attached importance to it in the case of the Arrears Bill, and in the case of the Compensation for Disturbance Bill. But the hon. and learned Gentleman, in this portion of his speech, and I think in many other portions of his speech, completely forgot the position in which he has himself been placed by the act of the Government to which he belongs. The Government are those who have appointed a tribunal to inquire whether the judicial rents are too high or not. If it is so important to draw a distinction between rents under £30 and rents over £30, why has not that distinction been drawn in the instructions to the Commissioners? The Government have admitted that rents of all amounts are fit subjects for inquiry; but how can the hon. and learned Gentleman expect the hon. Member for Cork to be the person to introduce that distinction, and to exclude from the operation of his Bill a portion of those whose

case the Government themselves, by a solemn act, have declared to call for and require attention? I feel a great obligation to the hon. and learned Gentleman for all that he said about the Land Act of 1881. He says, with great truth, that in approaching that subject I did so with a sense, if not of reverence, yet, at any rate, of awe and of difficulty, and of oppression; that it was one of the most difficult subjects, one of the most arduous and complicated subjects, with which any Gentleman in this House could possibly be called upon in a responsible manner to deal; and that I looked upon the enactments in that measure as enactments that ought not, excepting under the most clear and evident considerations of necessity, to be disturbed. I hoped it contained the elements of a permanent settlement in Ireland, as far as that settlement, generally speaking, could be effected under any legislative arrangement between landlord and tenant. And, Sir, that is perfectly true. But who are they who disappointed me? Who are they who have called the Land Act in question? They are those who have recommended Her Majesty to appoint a Commission. [*Laughter.*] The right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War (Mr. W. H. Smith), strong in his 24 hours' experience, laughs at the observation which I make. If the right hon. Gentleman had applied as many years, as he has applied hours, to the investigation of Irish matters, he might have known a little more of the subject. We provided, in the Act of 1881, arrangements made with great difficulty, made under circumstances extremely arduous, due in many respects to the special case of Ireland, due in some respects to that rash act of the House of Lords to which I have already referred, and we hoped that those arrangements would be solid and undisturbed. At any rate, we respected those arrangements ourselves. In the important propositions made this year we avoided raising any question with respect to the basis upon which rents have been fixed in Ireland. The present Government, in what I thought must have been humorously called by the right hon. Baronet the Chief Secretary for Ireland a "sober policy," have re-opened in all its breadth this question of judicial rents. I am not at all sure whether they are conscious of the vast

importance of the step that they have taken. Last year they took a step of vast consequence with respect to coercive or repressive legislation without fully, as it appeared to us on this side of the House, comprehending the nature and the consequences of that action. I am afraid that there has been somewhat similar haste and want of full investigation in the proposition now made by Her Majesty's Government to inquire whether the rents fixed in Ireland under the Act of 1881 are rents which can or cannot be paid. But my present purpose is only to reply to the query of the hon. and learned Gentleman. He says—"When did you become conscious of the inability to pay rent? When was this inability to pay rent first thought of?" Sir, I will answer the question. It was first thought of when Her Majesty's Government determined to advise the Queen to issue a Commission which was to inquire into three points. [*A laugh.*] I may be permitted to observe that laughter from a Cabinet Minister is not argument, and perhaps it is the best proof of the truth of my argument. Perhaps, however, manners are not a proper matter for discussion. One of the three points is to inquire whether, by an exceptional fall in the price of produce, the capacity or incapacity to pay rent has been affected? I know nothing of the interior of the minds of other men; but, as far as the public is concerned, my answer to the hon. and learned Gentleman is that the first moment—the first time—the time of the birth of this great idea of resettling and reconsidering Irish rents, was the time when Her Majesty's Government determined to advise the issue of a Royal Commission. Sir, the hon. Gentleman who moved the Amendment, which amounts to the rejection of this Bill, founded himself very much on the proposition that it was impossible for the Courts of Justice to distinguish between those who cannot pay the rent and those who will not pay the rent. It is quite plain to me that it is too late to urge that argument in Parliament, which has more than once recognized the practicability of drawing and acting upon such a distinction. The Compensation for Disturbance Bill, which was passed in 1880 by this House, was entirely founded upon the proof of inability to pay rent; and not only so, but upon the proof of

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inability to pay rent defined by a minute and careful reference to the cause which had produced the inability. In the Arrears Act, which passed into law, and which became the foundation of extreme and costly transactions, the inability to pay rent judicially proved was the basis of the entire proceeding. Therefore, it is impossible to accept the doctrine of the hon. Gentleman as to the impossibility of doing that which it was deemed possible to do on former occasions, and which we have done on the great occasion of the Arrears Act. It can hardly be held now that there is no reason why there should be a reference to a Court of Justice, for the purpose of giving relief to those who are unable to pay rent. The hon. Gentleman, again, when he made use of that argument, suggested to me what I confess appeared to be the purport of the great bulk of his speech. Three-fourths of his speech, at least, and a large portion of the speech of the hon. and learned Gentleman who has just sat down, are in the nature of a distinct and deliberate argument against the appointment of a Commission, such as Her Majesty's Government have advised, and ought to have led up to a Motion, not for the rejection of this Bill merely, but for an Address to the Crown, praying the Crown not to issue such a Commission. The hon. and learned Gentleman seemed also to attach great value to another argument he used, and which appeared to me to be, I will not say of the most flimsy, but of a most narrow and inadequate character. He said—"You are assuming that there is no other way of getting judicial rents reduced than by a Bill of this nature." I answer there is such a way—namely, by availing ourselves of the provisions of the Purchase Act of Lord Ashbourne. I want to know how many tenants there are in Ireland who have availed themselves of that Act? What is the capital value of the Irish land, and how many of those tenants, or how much of that land, can possibly obtain relief from the judicial rent under the Act of Lord Ashbourne? If the hon. and learned Member tells me that the Act of Lord Ashbourne is to be indefinitely increased and extended—that instead of having the Treasury made the direct creditors of some few thousands of tenants in Ireland we are to extend the Act to tens of thousands,

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twenty, and hundreds of thousands of tenants—I tell him he is reckoning without his host. Such an extension—such a multiplication of the relations of debtor and creditor—in every respect, economically and politically, most objectionable and most dangerous, will receive the deliberate and determined opposition of a large portion of this House. It is said, and possibly it is true, that some may receive relief—1 per cent, 2 per cent, or probably 3 per cent, for I do not know how much of the £5,000,000 under Lord Ashbourne's Act actually remains undisposed of. I will not contest it; but I am not prepared to admit that those who may be able to obtain such relief can supply us with a proper measure of our action on the occasion that is now before us. Sir, there was another passage at the end of the speech of the hon. and learned Gentleman which I heard with some surprise and regret. It appeared to be calculated by the hon. and learned Member that there would be a total abandonment by the Irish landlords of their character, position, and responsibility in that country by the handing over to the tenants of the whole property of the soil. I know not whether the hon. and learned Member is at present in his place; I should be glad if he would contradict me, and assure me that I have misunderstood him. In my opinion, it would be a most unfortunate day for Ireland that should witness the adoption by the Legislature of any measure contemplating the extirpation or extermination from the country of an entire class of the community. My wish is that the Irish landlords should remain in the country, and that they should do their duty there.

COLONEL KING-HARMAN (Kent, Isle of Thanet): How are they to do it? You have made it impossible.

MR. W. E. GLADSTONE: I will not answer that disorderly question now. It would only lead me into a great and unwarrantable invasion of the time of the House, and I think that an interruption of that kind should not be encouraged by a lengthy notice, even if it were worthy of such notice. This I will say, however—that we, at least, in our adherence to the Act of 1881, and in the measure which we adopted this year with respect to Irish landlords, have never contemplated and never desired the removal of the landlords from that

country. It is a step which we believe would be injurious to society at large. ["Question!"] I would remind the House that we are at present engaged in considering the second reading of this Bill; and what we have to determine is whether there is a case for legislation in respect to what appears to be its main provision and main purport. What is called the Irish Question was wide enough, as I thought, when the late Government were in Office. It embraced the subject of local self-government for Ireland, or what is properly termed Home Rule, together with the subject of land sale and purchase. But it has now been greatly widened by the recourse to what the right hon. Gentleman calls a "sober" policy. The two subjects to which I have referred are in all their breadth before you, and you will have to encounter them; but to them you have added two other subjects of immense extent and complexity—that opened by the public inquiry into public works in Ireland, and the large application of public funds to their prosecution; and a subject greater still—more complicated still—into which you have found your way, but out of which you will find it rather difficult to discover an exit—namely, the subject of rents in Ireland. I am afraid I am greatly at issue with some of those hon. Gentlemen whose singular modes of expression I was tempted for a moment to notice; for, as far as I can comprehend the state of their minds, although it may be presumptuous in me to invade sanctuaries of that description—as far as I am able to comprehend or even to conjecture—their opinion is that the issue of this Commission to inquire respecting the land and respecting the payment of rent is a matter of secondary importance. It is a Commission which is to examine—

"To what extent, if any, and in what parts of Ireland, the operation of the Land Act of 1881 is affected, whether by combination to resist the enforcement of legal obligations, or by exceptional fall in the prices of produce; and also, to inquire to what extent there exists any desire among tenants to avail themselves of the provisions of the Land Purchase Act of 1885, and to report upon any modifications of the law which may be necessary."

Now, Sir, on the first and third branches of this inquiry I do not purpose to make any remark at all. I remark only upon that second branch of the inquiry, which appears to me to be the most pregnant

in its consequences among the three, and under which the Commissioners are to examine what effect a fall in prices has had upon the payment of rents under the Land Act of 1881. In my opinion, the issue of that Commission by the Executive of the country contains within it both an assertion and a promise. I will not follow the hon. Member for Cork, or the hon. Member for Cambridge (Mr. Penrose Fitzgerald), into their inquiries, interesting as they were, with respect to the fall of prices. For my part, personally, I take my stand upon the issue of that Commission, and on the issue of that Commission alone, as being made the sufficient and imperative ground for a proceeding on the part of Parliament, with a view to afford relief to tenants in cases where, upon judicial examination, it may be found necessary. By the issue of that Commission you have asserted your conviction, in the face of the country, that there are cases of judicial rent in Ireland—where the rents now fixed, in consequence of the fall in prices, cannot be possibly paid. Have you considered how grave and solemn such an assertion is? Will it be questioned that such an assertion, such a conviction, on your part, is involved in the issue of the Commission? Why, Sir, no Government in this country could possibly assume the responsibility of inquiring by public authority into the capacity of tenants to pay their rents, unless they were profoundly convinced by the information at their command that there were cases—I do not examine now how many—but a class of cases in Ireland, where, in consequence of the fall in prices, those rents cannot be paid. This was not only an assertion, but it was a promise; for it is impossible for the Legislature—impossible even for the Executive, short of the authority of the Legislature—to assert that there are cases of that description, where rent cannot be paid in consequence of the fall in prices, without being prepared to afford relief to the persons charged with such rent. If I want a proof of the assertion I have just made, I find it in the declaration of the Prime Minister himself. The Prime Minister, immediately upon his assumption of Office, acquainted those whom he was addressing "elsewhere," that there were cases, as he believed, where the judicial rents could not be paid. Is was perfectly

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true, he stated, in what way the funds were to be found. He stated they were to be found by drawing on the Exchequer of this country—a proposition prematurely born into the world, where it was not destined to survive, and it has already, I think I may safely say, received its *quietus*. If the judicial rents are too high—if you, who say so in an authentic form, are about to provide means for their reduction, it will not be out of the Exchequer of this country that the difference will be made up. My only purpose in mentioning this now is to make good beyond all dispute my assertion that, in the face of the country, the Executive Government has taken a measure which implies and involves the fact that in certain cases these rents are too high, and which therewith, by an iron necessity, also involves an engagement on their part that relief shall be given in respect of such cases. Very well; then how far have we got in the argument? [*Laughter from the Ministerial Benches.*] I am sorry if my remarks are too long; but I have not yet occupied more time, I think, than was very properly and becomingly occupied by the Mover and Secondor of the Amendment, or by the hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General for Ireland, and I take it rather as a compliment if my argument is found to grate a little upon the minds of hon. Gentlemen opposite. I am, moreover, anxious that we should make further progress towards the completion of the argument. Hon. Members need not be alarmed—I will not long delay the conclusion of my remarks. The point, then, that we have now reached is this—that there being this admission—that there are rents which are too high, and there being this engagement to afford relief in respect of such rents, the engagement amounts to this—that when the Commission, which is not yet fixed, has inquired, and has reported, when the Government have considered, when the draftsmen have, under their instructions, been able to frame their Bill, when they have introduced their Bill, and have induced Parliament to pass it, then relief shall be afforded. Our contention is this, and I consider it to be irresistible, and not one word that has fallen from the Mover and Secondor of the Amendment—not one word that has fallen from the hon. and learned Gentleman in the slightest de-

gree touches this contention—that you have laid down the steps of a long and complicated operation, and that, in the meantime, there exist, in the law, powers for inflicting the penalties of the law upon a body of men with respect to whom you have yourselves, by your own act, laid down that they are unable to pay their rents. I say that you cannot, in reason and propriety, justify such a state of arrangements as that. If you have recognized their inability—and you have recognized it—[*Cries of “No, no!”*] Why, your Commission, of itself, involves the acknowledgment of it. [*Renewed cries of “No!”*] Is it possible that there are hon. Gentlemen on the other side, however new in their Parliamentary experience, who can dream for one moment that Her Majesty’s Government can issue a Commission to inquire whether the exceptional fall in prices has affected the payment of rents under the Act of 1881—that they can issue such a Commission, before they have made up their own minds that, in certain cases, the exceptional fall in prices has taken place. I say it would be a piece of monstrous injustice on the part of Parliament to allow the operations of the law to go forward, and to allow men to be evicted from their holdings in Ireland on account of rent unpaid, not from want of will to pay, but from an absolute inability to pay, which you yourselves have admitted. [*Cries of “No!”*] Sir, with respect to the Bill before us, I deal with it simply as a measure proposed for second reading. The hon. Gentleman the Member for Cork has introduced into the Bill, in the first place, a reasonable Preamble. Had I had the framing of such a Preamble, I should not have used exactly the same terms as those which it contains; but if the Bill reach the stage of Committee, of course it will be open to me or any other person to amend the Preamble so as to bring the Bill itself into more exact correspondence with our opinions. The hon. Member gives relief in this Bill to the class of leaseholders. I need not refer to the course taken by us in 1881, and since 1881, with respect to that class. I have never committed myself to an interference with the rents paid under existing leaseholds. I should hold myself entirely open to consider what has been said, not by Gentlemen of the National Party, but by Gentlemen

sitting on the opposite side of the House, and including among them the most valorous and determined of them—I mean the hon. and gallant Member for North Armagh (Colonel Saunderson)—who has addressed to us the language of open war more repeatedly and determinedly than any other Member of this House, and the still more remarkable passage near the close of the speech of the hon. Gentleman who moved the Amendment, and who indicated that, should inquiry appear to be warranted, he, for his part, was very much disposed to give to the leaseholders the advantages enjoyed by other occupiers in Ireland. I will not go into the mode in which he described the moral and ethical character of this relief. It was, he said, that having committed one injustice, it was necessary to commit a second injustice, in order to avoid the committal of a third. I will not endeavour to interpret the tirade of the hon. Gentleman; but I wish only to say that this is a subject in which, under such circumstances, I think every man will do well to reserve, with regard to it, his free discretion. With respect to the deposit of the rent, proposed by the hon. Member for Cork, I can perfectly well understand that if once we arrive at a conclusion that justice requires that, in some shape or other, relief should be afforded to the tenants who you find to be in the category, which you yourselves have established, of incapacity to pay the judicial rents, a question, which I have no doubt the hon. Member for Cork will be prepared to consider with an open mind, may arise as to the nature of the relief. The first thing is, of course, that a temporary arrest of proceedings must take place, and that is the proposition which I put to every candid man on the opposite side of the House, and to those on this side who are supposed to be deeply pledged to support Her Majesty's Government on the Irish Question, that it is impossible to say, admitting you have, in certain cases, a real ground of grievance, and that the tenants are unable to pay these rents, that there should be allowed ejectment proceedings, decrees of eviction, and that six months shall pass away. How can you say you will have, within that period of six months, inquired, drawn your Bill, legislated on the subject, and be in a position to afford relief? It cannot be, Sir.

Temporary suspension of proceedings comes first, and then I conceive that an argument may fairly be made on the question whether you ought to stop your proceedings or go forward with the hon. Member for Cork, and fix at once the amount of abatement to be made. I have no desire to misrepresent the hon. and learned Gentleman who has just sat down; but I understood him to say that if the thing were to be done it would be better that the temporary abatement should be settled at once, as that would be better in the interest of the landlord and in the interest of the tenant, than to leave that rather limited question open to be a subject of future litigation, after a new law had been passed. I own that that is my opinion, and I believe the hon. Member for Cork has exercised a sound judgment in providing not for a permanent, but for a temporary, settlement of the judicial rent. Then comes another question—the question of the deposit. I apprehend that this deposit, although we have not heard much about it, is not to be, in any sense, an abatement—that this deposit is not the essence of the Bill. Whether Parliament should exact a deposit, and what its amount should be, whether it would be better to empower the Court to proceed to make rules on that subject, I conceive to be open questions to be disposed of in Committee on the Bill. I do not look upon them as any part of the controversy between landlord and tenant in this matter. I think that if it is felt and believed that the fixing of a deposit of this kind is equivalent to a dismissal and receipt in full for the rest of the rent, then the argument on that question ought to be carefully and impartially considered, and for my own part I wish to reserve full and entire freedom on the subject. That which I urge, and which not one word in this debate has yet been said to displace, or to confute, is this—that we cannot with justice, we cannot with decency, make and send forth to the world this admission—that there is in Ireland a class of persons who, in the belief of the Executive Government of this country, are unable to pay their judicial rents. [*Cries of "No, no!" from the Ministerial Benches.*] Now, Sir, I own I am astonished. What did Lord Salisbury mean when he said that there were rents of this description—that the real

and just rents would fall below the judicial rents, and that the difference must be made up out of the Public Exchequer?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL) (Paddington, S.): He never said anything of the kind.

MR. W. E. GLADSTONE: We all know the noble Lord's boldness in the matter of assertion—I am not aware that there are any limits to that boldness—[*Cries of "Order!"*—]but I am in the recollection of other Members of the House, and I must say that I see no ground to recede from what I have said. [*Cries of "Oh!" and "Order!"*]

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Quote the passage.

MR. W. E. GLADSTONE: It is unnecessary for me to quote. I have a perfect right to refer to Ministerial declarations—[An hon. MEMBER: Lord Salisbury did not say it]—and I believe it has never been contested until this moment, when its inconvenience begins to be felt. I maintain that I was perfectly within my right, and that there was no justification for the presumptuous demand which was made upon me. Therefore, if such a declaration were made as I assert to have been made—not that I heard it myself, but I have referred to all the ordinary sources of information which establish what are called facts of common notoriety—then I say that the cry of "No!" which came from that quarter of the House is applicable to the declaration of Lord Salisbury, and should have been addressed to those declarations which take their place as historical facts rather than to my reference to them. I have given no opinion upon the question of the Commission about to be issued by Her Majesty's Government. Both of my right hon. Friends near me (Sir William Harcourt and Mr. John Morley), and Gentlemen in this quarter of the House, and I, myself, referred to the danger which we saw when we first heard of the Commission, of the enormous injustice of sanctioning, in the face of the world, the doctrine that there are rents which cannot be paid, and leaving the persons liable to those rents to be evicted from their houses, and lose the little property they retain in their holdings, while we are making inquiries and conducting the elaborate processes to which they may

possibly lead. It is, Sir, because I believe in the necessity of relief of that kind that, while retaining to myself full liberty to consider the best form of dealing with it in Committee, I feel myself absolutely bound, in honour and in justice, to vote for the second reading of this Bill, which I believe to be, irrespective of questions of general policy, on which I do not now enter, an absolute and necessary consequence of that important proceeding on the part of Her Majesty's Government, whereby they have committed themselves to propositions of the deepest importance, and possibly involving the country in consequences the magnitude of which none of us are yet fully capable of estimating.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. MATTHEWS, Birmingham, E.): The right hon. Gentleman who has just addressed the House prefaced his observations by saying that he was sorry to find that no agreement on this subject had been come to between the two sides of the House. I think the right hon. Gentleman must have forgotten the language used by my noble Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Lord Randolph Churchill) in conceding a day to the hon. Member for Cork (Mr. Parnell) for the purpose of bringing this measure before the House. My noble Friend guarded himself most carefully against the conclusion and the suggestion upon which the right hon. Gentleman's hopes were founded. He said that he trusted that no one, at any time, would suppose that in giving a day to the hon. Member for Cork for the discussion of the measure, the Government were intimating, in the slightest degree, agreement or concession. Nothing could be more distinct than the words of the Leader of the House, and, therefore, when the right hon. Gentleman opposite rose and said that he had hopes of an agreement, or of an approximation to an agreement, between the two sides of the House, his hopes must have been founded simply on general goodwill towards the Treasury Bench which led him to indulge in those hopes. The next topic on which the right hon. Gentleman interested the House was a personal comment upon my two hon. Friends who moved and seconded the Amendment to the Bill. Said the right hon. Gentle-

man—"Remember who has moved this Amendment; he is not an Irish agriculturist."

MR. W. E. GLADSTONE: No; I did not say that. I said "not a Member for an agricultural constituency."

MR. MATTHEWS: "He is not a Member for an agricultural constituency." [An hon. MEMBER: An Irish agricultural constituency.] Well, "an Irish agricultural constituency;" but we are talking of nothing but Ireland now. [An hon. MEMBER: What about Dungarvan? and cries of "Order!"] The hon. Gentleman who moved this Amendment is a landlord in Ulster and Chairman of the Cork Grand Jury, and yet he is not qualified, in the opinion of the right hon. Gentleman, to propose to the House an Amendment upon an Irish agricultural question. One of the great objections to him is that he is a Member for an English borough. We, on this side of the House, can understand the views the right hon. Gentleman holds on the subject of the Union between England and Ireland; but we, on our side, regard the hon. Member for Cambridge (Mr. Penrose Fitzgerald) as being as fully qualified and as fully entitled to deal with Irish agricultural questions as any hon. Member here. Then the right hon. Gentleman said that the Amendment was not moved by any county Member, and attributed it to lukewarmedness or hesitation of opinion among the county Members on this side of the House. But is it a county Member who has moved the second reading of this Bill? The right hon. Gentleman has challenged any Irish county Member on this side to get up and state whether he approves of the Bill or not. Does the right hon. Gentleman seriously think or suppose that the Irish landlords welcome a measure by which half their rents—which are none too high at present—are to be taken from them? There is a silence which is specially eloquent; but I have no doubt there are a number of Members on this side of the House who will gratify the right hon. Gentleman, and inform him of the opinion entertained by Irish county Members as to the Bill of the hon. Member for Cork. Turning to the subject of judicial rents, the right hon. Gentleman said that he recognized no general sacredness in judicial rent.

MR. W. E. GLADSTONE: I beg the right hon. and learned Gentleman's pardon. I said no general sacredness beyond other rent.

MR. MATTHEWS: I accept the correction of the right hon. Gentleman; but I took down the words at the time they were uttered, and I thought I had done so accurately. If by general sacredness beyond other rents the right hon. Gentleman means that the Legislature has not given landlords any pledge that judicial rents shall be paid with greater regularity than other rents, of course we all agree with him. But he will not deny that, by his measure of 1881, some pledge and some undertaking was given by Parliament to the Irish landlords with regard to their rents. And this is the pledge that was given and the undertaking that was made—that, once fixed, the judicial rents should not be interfered with by authority. Do not let it be supposed that I am criticizing the measure of 1881. I am merely stating what it is, and the arguments by which it was defended and justified. I am assuming that the arguments were well-founded. Well, it was said—"We will no longer leave you under the ordinary law of supply and demand; we will not leave you to exercise the freedom of contract which all other persons enjoy; we will take from you Irish landlords the right to settle your own rents with your own tenants, and we will do that for the reasons and upon the plea that one party to the contract—the tenant—is not free and is not upon fair and equal terms with you—the landlord—and, therefore, for freedom of contract, we will substitute official valuation; we will choose the wise and perfect just man, who will fix the fair and reasonable amount of the rent to be paid. That is taking from you landlords one-half of the rights you possess and the privileges you enjoy; but, in exchange for that, we say, in the terms of an Act of Parliament, that for 15 years there shall be no interference with judicial rents; and we also say, in the terms of that Act, that if the statutory rent is not paid, you shall recover possession of your land." These things are said in plain and undisputable terms in the Act itself, and I am certain that the right hon. Gentleman himself will not assert that that does not constitute a Parliamentary pledge to those who

have founded just and reasonable expectations upon them. Therefore, although it may be true that judicial rents have no greater sacredness than other rents, they have this sacredness—that the Legislature has pledged itself for 15 years not to interfere by authority with the rents which it has fixed itself—not upon the plea of bungling and mistake of its agents, not upon the plea that those agents were noodles instead of wise men, and not upon the plea that they did not notice that which everybody was thinking of—namely, that the increasing importations from America would lead to a fall in prices. The Act was framed and brought in by the right hon. Gentleman himself, and a pledge was given to the Irish landlords that they should be undisturbed by any public authority for 15 years; that their judicial rents should remain; and that if there was any default of payment, the tenant should be dispossessed of the land he held. I am far from saying that it is not within the competence of Parliament to alter pledges of that kind, in case the circumstances should alter. Of course, it can—that is a mere truism in politics—but it is not in the power of Parliament or of its Leaders, to deny that the pledge was given. If you take it back, take it away openly and manfully, if the circumstances are such that you are obliged to break your pledge. I do not say that even that would be within the competence of Parliament—certainly it would not be within the competence of an honest Parliament desiring to act fairly to all parties. The right hon. Gentleman finds no particular or general sacredness in the specific and clear words of an Act of Parliament; but, strange to say, the instant he comes to the language of a Commission, it is perfectly astonishing what inferences he draws from it. The right hon. Gentleman finds in that language assertions, promises, imperative grounds for voting for the second reading of this Bill, and obligations and consequences of the most alarming character. One assertion the right hon. Gentleman made which, I think, on reflection, he will not consider to be accurate. He said the first time that anybody discussed the inability of the Irish judicial tenants to pay their rents was when the Government issued their Commission. I think that must have been a slip of memory or a slip of the tongue

on the part of the right hon. Gentleman. I will not treat him as he has treated Lord Salisbury, and refuse to quote. I will quote the words that he used on the 19th of August—

“We know the opinion that prevails in Ireland—that of, at all events, a large portion of the community, in consequences of the changes in agricultural values—that there is a difficulty in maintaining the judicial rents.”—(3 *Hansard*, [308] 112.)

[Mr. W. E. GLADSTONE: Hear, hear!] These are the words of the right hon. Gentleman, uttered before the Reference to this Commission was published. From that little mustard seed, judiciously sprinkled amongst the hon. Members below the Gangway, has sprung up this tree which we see to-night. I think, therefore, the right hon. Gentleman will, upon consideration, retract the statement that it was the Reference to the Government Commission that first started the idea of the inability of the Irish tenants to pay the judicial rents. The right hon. Gentleman is a master of interpretation and of all distinctions of language, and he says that the language of the Reference to the Commission contains an admission, and, in fact, an assertion that judicial rents cannot be paid. [Mr. W. E. GLADSTONE: Some rents.] Some rents! Well, one can never hope to quote the right hon. Gentleman correctly. [Mr. W. E. GLADSTONE: Never.] Some rents cannot be paid! It is a most extraordinary thing that the word “rent” is not mentioned from one end of the Reference to the other; “rent,” which it is said we have solemnly and conclusively admitted cannot be paid, does not occur in the Reference to the Commission. It may startle and surprise right hon. Gentlemen opposite, and I have no doubt it will startle and surprise the House, to hear that the Government framed the Reference to this Commission in a fair and impartial spirit, wishing not to shut out—[A laugh from Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT.] That statement seems to amuse the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby as if it were too laughable to be believed in. The Government indicate no opinion in this Reference. Do let the House listen to the words of the Reference—“The Commissioners will be appointed to inquire to what extent, if any”—this is the solemn admission—“to what extent, if any, and in what parts of Ireland, the

operation of the Land Act of 1881"—has the right hon. Gentleman's vision become so faulty that he does not see a wide distinction between these words and the words "payment of rent?" [*Cries of "Go on!"*] I am going on—"the operation of the Land Act of 1881 is affected either by a combination to resist the enforcement of legal obligations or by an exceptional fall in prices." That is all upon this point. Well, now, I say again I am not such a master of interpretation as the right hon. Gentleman; but, looking at these words as a plain, simple man, it seems to me that they indicate two possible causes for an alleged, but not an asserted, modification of the Land Act. The operation of the Land Act of 1881 is said to be affected in two ways—by a combination to resist the enforcement of legal obligations, or by an exceptional fall in prices. But the fall in prices is not here first asserted by us. Who first asserted an exceptional fall in prices? As I have shown, the right hon. Gentleman.

MR. W. E. GLADSTONE: That is a totally erroneous representation. I most distinctly stated in that speech that I did not express any opinion for myself.

MR. MATTHEWS: I am drawing the right hon. Gentleman's attention to the fact that he gave expression to, or repeated in this House, the opinion that prevailed in Ireland, or, at all events, amongst a large portion of the community, that in consequence of the changes in agricultural values there is a difficulty in obtaining rent. It is quite true that the right hon. Gentleman, with that singular caution which he has observed to-night in not committing himself to the opinion of the hon. Member for Cork, any more than he has committed himself to the bare skeleton of the hon. Member's Bill, went on to say—

"I am not qualified to give an opinion on that subject for myself, and I give no opinion."
—(3 *Hansard*, [308] 112.)

But I should like to know what the right hon. Gentleman and hon. Members below the Gangway would have said if the Government, in issuing their Commission of Inquiry, had suppressed all inquiry into the alleged causes which have, in the opinion of some hon. Members, affected the operation of the Land Act of 1881? If we had shut that out

from the inquiry of the Commission, surely we should have been charged, and justly charged, with partiality. In the Reference we do, what any impartial and any fair men are open to do, we suggest that two possible causes are operating detrimentally upon the Land Act of 1881. Surely, by the suggestion of those two causes, we do not indicate a preference for the one rather than for the other. Well, the right hon. Gentleman said that the Reference to the Commission contain both an assertion and a promise; that they contain imperative grounds for voting for this Bill; that they contain an actual admission that rents cannot be paid. [Mr. W. E. GLADSTONE: Some rents.] Does that really alter the character of my argument? [Mr. W. E. GLADSTONE: Yes.] I am complaining of a strained and undue interpretation given to the language of this Reference. I say the Reference contains no admission that rents are too high; it contains no admission that any rents are too high; and it is equally untrue that it admits that some rents are too high. There is no difference in the world between the two. There is no such admission to be fairly found within the four corners of the Reference to the Commission. There is no declaration that rents are too high, or that any rents are too high, or that some rents are too high; and I challenge anyone to put his finger on words in the Reference that are susceptible of that meaning. The right hon. Gentleman says—"You have admitted that Irish tenants cannot pay the judicial rents, and, therefore, you are bound to legislate at once, before the Commission has made their Report, before they have told you what you desire to learn—namely, whether or not there has been, to any extent, and what extent, if any, any affection of the operation of the Land Act of 1881 by an exceptional fall in the price of produce." That is the doctrine of the right hon. Gentleman; but is that the doctrine which he has followed himself? I should like to draw the right hon. Gentleman's attention to this—He has preached to us to-night, that by these, as I say, perfectly unambiguous and innocuous terms, we have made an admission, an assertion, and a promise so strong and so binding, that we are bound to proceed instantly with legislation upon the Bill of the hon. Member for Cork, without

waiting for that inquiry which, I suppose, it appears we desire to have made by the Commission that we have appointed. But does the right hon. Gentleman's practice agree with his theory of to-night? He issued a Commission to inquire into the condition of the crofters. That Commission reported, and four years elapsed before the right hon. Gentleman proposed to legislate. Was there an assertion, was there a promise, in the appointment of the Crofters' Commission? If so, how singularly did the right hon. Gentleman disregard them. And I am reminded that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby, after the assertion, the admission, the promise contained in the appointment of the Crofters' Commission, met the unhappy crofters with artillery. There was no legislation by way of relief; there was no staying of proceedings; there was no letting the crofters off on payment into Court of a trifle; no, as I say, the right hon. Gentleman (Sir William Harcourt) met the complaints and remonstrances of the crofters with artillery, and for four years no legislation took place. Well, Mr. Speaker, I have now gone through all the arguments the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) addressed to the House. His arguments, in reality, amounted to one, and one only—"The Government have issued this Commission; Lord Salisbury has used language in the House of Lords which I will not quote; and, in consequence, I am bound in conscience to vote for this Bill." But does the right hon. Gentleman approve of this Bill? Why, no; not of a single clause of it. The Preamble is not right; and if the right hon. Gentleman had had the framing of it, he would have framed it in a totally different way; the clause as to leases is not right, and if the right hon. Gentleman is here when the Bill ever reaches Committee, that clause must be entirely modified. [Mr. W. E. GLADSTONE: No.] I am very sorry if I have misrepresented the right hon. Gentleman. I listened to his language with the greatest attention I was capable of paying to it, and I took down, as he spoke, what I thought was the substance of it, and it did seem to me there was not a single provision of this Bill of which he approved. I understood him to say that the temporary staying of evictions was a matter open to argument.

Mr. Matthews

MR. W. E. GLADSTONE: I must apologize, Sir. I have never known an occasion in which there has been so much misrepresentation. I said the temporary staying of proceedings was obviously and absolutely necessary.

MR. MATTHEWS: I am very glad to find that there is, then, one clause of which the right hon. Gentleman approves; but the discretion given to the Court he decidedly said was open to question. In that I am sure I am not wrong. At any rate, I am justified in saying that neither the clauses nor the Preamble of this Bill met with the right hon. Gentleman's absolute approval, and that certainly he has urged upon the House no argument or reason why any of us should vote for the second reading of this Bill, except this—that Her Majesty's Government have issued a Commission to inquire to what extent, if any, and in what parts of Ireland, the operation of the Land Act has been affected by the causes named. Now, Mr. Speaker, when a measure of this magnitude is supported by a right hon. Gentleman of such eminence as the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian with such arguments, I am prepared to say that he gives but a lukewarm support to the Bill. Inasmuch, therefore, as the right hon. Gentleman has not contributed much to the support of the Bill, I shall certainly not detain the House at this hour (12.15) by many words in support of the Amendment now before the House. I should be glad to hear some answer—the right hon. Gentleman has certainly not given it—to the arguments which have fallen from my hon. and learned Friend the Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Gibson), who has, I submit to the House, demonstrated that this Bill is, in reality, an invitation to all Irish tenants to strike against rent, not by the means which have hitherto been adopted, but by the legal and regular means projected by the clauses of this Bill. The Court have no discretion to refuse a stay of proceedings; that must be given to a perfectly solvent tenant, a tenant who has got money in his pocket and stock on his farm, who has not been affected the least in the world by any fall in prices. ["Oh!"] We believe it is so. There is no restriction whatever in Clause 3. There is no condition except the pay-

ment into Court of half the rent due; upon that the Court shall stay proceedings. It is wholly unnecessary for the tenant to prove that he is insolvent—that he is unable to pay. He may be a perfectly solvent man; he may be unaffected, I repeat, by the fall in prices; he may have had a judicial rent fixed for him that was perfectly fair; and he may have abundant means in his possession with which to pay all the rent due, yet, upon his application to the Court, the landlord is to be hung up for half the rent due up to the time the application was made, and for the whole of the rent subsequent to the arrest of proceedings in 1886, and for the whole of the year 1887, unless the application is disposed of before that time.

MR. PARNELL (Cork): The clause is similar to one in the Arrears Act.

MR. MATTHEWS: No; it is not quite similar to a clause in the Arrears Act. But I am just now drawing the attention of the House to the results of the Bill as it stands. Any tenant, however solvent, however well off, may get the advantage of the Bill by paying half the rent into Court. The hon. Member for Cork said, with a little inaccuracy, I think, that 200,000 applications were disposed of under the Arrears Act in four months—I took down the hon. Members words—"inability to pay in 200,000 cases was decided in four months."

MR. PARNELL: I said approaching 200,000.

MR. MATTHEWS: Approaching! The real number is 125,000 cases from November, 1882, to 30th April, 1883. [Mr. DILLON (Mayo, E.): 137,000.] If I accept the correction, that shows a considerable difference; that cannot be called about 200,000. If the hon. Member for Cork regards the deposit in Court—whether it should be a half or three-quarters—in the same loose sense, I can understand the discrepancy in his statement. In the case of the Arrears Act, landlords were ready to consider two years' arrears as a bad debt; but do you suppose that, in this case, the Irish landlords will submit without a struggle? The thousands of applications that will be made, if this Bill is passed into law, will take not months, but years to decide; and under the stay of proceedings which the hon. Member proposes to give, the landlord during all

this time will get no rent. But that is by no means the greatest objection to the Bill. In the Bill, as it stands, the hon. Member professes to have followed the Arrears Act; but, as a matter of fact, he has introduced variations which are most material. Under the Arrears Act the tenant must be unable to pay "without loss of his holding, or depreciation of the means necessary for the cultivation thereof." The hon. Member for Cork has, in this Bill, added to that provision the words "or stocking thereof." He has, therefore, made the whole of the tenant's capital exempt from any liability of rent. However large the capital may be, however prosperous and complete the farm may be, all that is not to be taken into account in considering the ability of the tenant to pay his rent. When the Arrears Act was before the House, it was suggested, by way of amendment, that the value of the holding and the value of the stock belonging to the tenant—certainly the value of the holding—should be taken into account as a possible asset. The right hon. Gentleman pointed out very strongly that it was impossible to say that if a tenant owed, for instance, £50 rent, and had got a holding worth £200, and had got stock worth £200 more, these two assets were not to be taken into account in considering whether or not he was unable to pay his rent. The hon. Member for Cork, who has so often quoted the Arrears Act, has left out of this Bill any clause of that sort. Neither the value of the holding nor the value of the stock is referred to in this Bill as a possible asset; therefore, the consequence of this Bill is this—that if there be a tenant who has got a holding worth five or six times the amount of rent due; if he has got stock worth three or four times the amount owing; if he has got sufficient money in his possession to pay for labour upon his farm during the year, and for the sustenance of himself and family—although he has got all these, the landlord is to treat him as being unable to pay, and the Court is to treat him as being unable to pay, because he is not to be deprived of his holding, or to be deprived of the means necessary for the cultivation thereof. I venture to challenge altogether the propriety of the reference to the Arrears Act. Of all the legislation with regard to Ireland, for which the right hon. Gentle-

[*First Night.*]

man the Member for Mid Lothian is responsible, he will, I should think, look upon the Arrears Act as least worthy to be used as a precedent. Mr. Trevelyan, who was then Chief Secretary for Ireland, pointed out how exceptional a measure the Arrears Act was; how, to use his own words, "necessary it was to have exceptional methods to meet a great catastrophe." What was it that the Arrears Act dealt with? With arrears of rent antecedent to the fixing of the judicial rents, and antecedent to 1881. And what did the right hon. Gentleman do by his Bill? As already has been pointed out, he compelled the tenant to pay one year's rent, and he compelled the State to pay another year's rent. Does the hon. Member for Cork propose, in his Bill, that anything should be paid by the State? ["No!"] I know he does not, and, therefore, I do not see how he can say he has followed the precedent of the Arrears Act. The Arrears Act was intended to settle bad debts, consisting of arrears of rent which, from the point of view of the framers of the Act, were rents that were certainly too high. The arrangement they made was that the tenant should pay one year, and the State another year. It was argued that if there were more than two years arrears, it was not unreasonable to consider that the debt was bad. Who does not know perfectly well that in Ireland, arrears, if they are more than two years' old, do pass into that branch of the ledger from which no commercial man expects to get anything? That was the scheme of the Arrears Act—to make a compromise in regard to what was practically a bad debt, consisting of admittedly excessive rents. The hon. Member for Cork proposes to deal with judicial rents, rents fixed in the interest of the tenant. These are the rents you are dealing with, and you propose to cut them down, not only in the present, but in the future, without any compensation to the landlord with whom you have given a Parliamentary pledge that you would not touch the rents for 15 years. Sir, the analogy between the Arrears Act and this Bill is a false and a hollow analogy. There is nothing in the character of the two transactions that is really equivalent. What the Bill really does is to suggest to the Court that it should cut the rents down by one-half. I am quite aware

Mr. Matthew

the hon. Member for Cork uses the words "as may seem to them just and expedient." I do not know what the hon. Member means by these words. If by just, he means just to the landlord as well as the tenant, I say justice to the landlord demands you should observe the Parliamentary pledges, or give him compensation. It is not just to the landlord to cut down the rent which you said you would not interfere with for 15 years. I fear the justice the hon. Member for Cork means is a very one-sided justice—justice from the tenant's point of view. When the hon. Member speaks of what is expedient, I confess my alarm is intensified and heightened. I do not know whether he means expedient, in order to stay the hand of the National League, or to stop the midnight errands of the Moonlighters. If that is not the expediency, what other expediency can there be? What other expediency can there be outside of justice? And that is all the guide this Bill gives the Court to determine what reduction shall be granted. I have looked, with some interest, at the language used by the hon. Member for Cork five years ago, to see what his opinions were at that time. Some of the words he spoke then are so pertinent to the present debate, that I may be allowed to quote them. In the debate on the Land Bill of 1881, the hon. Member used these words—

"The Land League doctrine is that any attempt to reconcile the respective interests of the landlords and the tenants is impossible."

Furthermore, the hon. Member said—

"The members of the Land League do not think the property of the landlord has yet touched bottom, and are of opinion that they should not be bought out, until more is known of the change which American importations are likely to produce."—(3 *Hansard*, [261] 888.)

Some hon. Members, therefore, did foresee a fall in prices; but it was only those hon. Members, whose particular business it was to attend to a possible fall in prices, who did not foresee it. The hon. Member goes on—

"But the League has undoubtedly recommended compulsory expropriation, though not for all landlords."—(*Ibid.*)

I am sorry to say I have not got the exact words of what followed; but the sense is this—that he desired that there should be power given to a Commission to expropriate compulsorily those landlords who were acting as centres of dis-

turbance. [*Cheers from the Irish Benches.*] I am glad that sentiment is cheered. That is all they recommended up to the present time, in the shape of compulsory expropriation. Sir, in these words I find the key to this Bill. It is another step, and a long step, in that machinery of compulsory expropriation which is to enable landlords to be bought out at a price which the hon. Member for Cork thinks reasonable. This Bill, I submit, is not a serious or statesmanlike proposal, intended to reconcile with fairness to both those interests of landlord and tenant which the hon. Member declares to be incapable of reconciliation. It is a measure conceived in that spirit of class partizanship, together with class hatred, which is intended to result in the destruction of a class towards whom the hon. Member has displayed already so much dislike and hatred. When, in the course of this debate, an hon. Member on this side of the House spoke of this measure bringing landlords to the work-house, the statement was met with enthusiastic and amiable cheers from the Benches below the Gangway opposite. Sir, that is the spirit in which the hon. Member for Cork has framed and brought in this Bill, and it is on account of that spirit that the Bill will meet with the determined opposition of the Government, and, as I trust, with rejection by the House.

MR. JOHN MORLEY (Newcastle-on-Tyne): Mr. Speaker, I beg to move the adjournment of the debate.

Motion made, and Question, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. John Morley*,)—put, and agreed to.

Debate adjourned till To-morrow.

CONSOLIDATED FUND (APPROPRIATION) BILL.

(*Mr. Courtney, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Jackson.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—IMPRISONMENT OF FATHER FAHY.

OBSERVATIONS.

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.): I should like to know whether the Government

have any statement to make with regard to the imprisonment of Father Fahy? That is a question which I shall feel bound to raise on every stage of this Bill. Since we last detailed the case in the House, Father Fahy has succeeded in reaching the public ear from the prison in which he is now detained. He has been interviewed by the correspondent of a newspaper, and, in the course of conversation, he gave his word that of the language attributed to him by Mr. Lewis he did not utter one single syllable. He said that no consideration on earth would induce him to give bail for a charge of which he was absolutely innocent, and that he would remain in gaol as long as the Government chose to hold him there, rather than sacrifice his character and standing in the country by giving bail, and thereby admitting the charge levelled against him. In this interview, he declared that, so far from him intimidating Mr. Lewis or using to Mr. Lewis the language attributed to him, Mr. Lewis invited him into his house; that they there discussed the question of the tenants whom Mr. Lewis was about to evict; that Mr. Lewis attacked him in the most vile and virulent language, ordering him to leave the house, and that any threats which were used were used by Mr. Lewis, and not by himself. Now, without further delay, I wish to ask the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland (Mr. Holmes), whether he will reconsider this case, whether he has read the statement of Father Fahy, and whether he has taken any trouble to learn on what ground the representative of the Crown took upon himself to assume that Mr. Lewis was telling the truth, and that Father Fahy was telling a falsehood; and what the Government propose to do under the circumstances?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (MR. HOLMES) (Dublin University): I think the discussion which took place two or three nights ago in reference to this question ought to be sufficient to satisfy those who approach the consideration of the matter, with anything like fairness and impartiality, that the law ought to be carried out in this case. It was not the duty of the representative of the Crown to come to a conclusion as to whether the statement of Mr. Lewis was true or not—that was the duty of the judicial tribunal before

whom the case was brought. As in every other case, where evidence is given on oath before a tribunal, that tribunal must, before passing judgment, decide whether the evidence is true or false; in this case, the Bench of Magistrates before whom the case was brought must have decided, and did decide, before the passing of judgment, that Mr. Lewis's evidence was true, and that it must be acted upon. It would be wholly impossible for the justice of this country to be carried on, and the law to be administered, if, when the matter has been investigated before a proper tribunal, it has to be re-opened because the defendant denies the charge. In this case the magistrates acted in the ordinary way. Similar orders to that made upon Father Fahy are made week after week and at Petty Sessions after Petty Sessions in Ireland, and the Irish Government see no reason why they should depart from the rule in such cases, and which they are determined to act upon in this case, although the defendant happens to be a priest.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR (Liverpool, Scotland): I am rather surprised at the answer the right hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Holmes) has given to the question of my hon. Friend (Mr. Dillon). Since the right hon. and learned Attorney General dealt with this case before, a good deal of additional evidence has come before us in regard to it. I saw in the papers to-day a report that the new Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (the Marquess of Londonderry) was about to signalize his advent into Office by ordering the immediate release of Father Fahy. [*Laughter.*] The right hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Holmes) laughs. I laughed when I read the announcement, because I was pleased to find that one of the many promises made respecting the advent of the Lord Lieutenant was to be fulfilled. I appeal to the right hon. and learned Gentleman to interfere in this matter; and I will tell you why I think he is called upon to interfere. The right hon. and learned Gentleman has given an entirely incorrect statement of the case. I maintain that all that has taken place goes to prove that the Justices disbelieved the story of Mr. Lewis. The story of Mr. Lewis was that he was threatened with murder by Father Fahy, and with murder in the most outrageous

and terrible form. It was stated by Mr. Lewis that Father Fahy told him his house, which had been blown up with dynamite before, whether by himself or someone else was never clearly shown, would be blown up again, and that he and his family would be murdered. I maintain that that statement was disbelieved by the magistrates. The presiding magistrate—the representative of the Crown, the stipendiary magistrate—gave it as his judgment that a proper termination of the case was a reconciliation of the parties. It is an insult to the intelligence of Colonel Waring to suppose that, had he believed Mr. Lewis had been threatened with murder by Father Fahy, he would have recommended Mr. Lewis to shake hands with Father Fahy. The right hon. and learned Attorney General for Ireland showed considerable courage, I think, in standing up and declaring, in the face of all the facts, that the Justices believed the story of Mr. Lewis. Does the right hon. and learned Gentleman attempt to deny that Father Fahy possesses in the district the character not of a firebrand, but of a peacemaker? Does he deny that, on several previous occasions, in disputes between landlords and tenants, Father Fahy has acted as mediator between the two, and brought about reconciliation? Does the right hon. and learned Gentleman mean to tell us that, in the face of Father Fahy's solemn asseveration, made in Court, and repeated since, that he never used the threats attributed to him by Mr. Lewis, he disbelieves the statement? There has been an interview held since then with Father Fahy, during which the rev. gentleman again denies having used the threats. Will the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) say he still thinks Father Fahy used these threats? Why is the Crown called upon to interfere in this matter? The Crown is called upon to interfere, because Father Fahy's imprisonment is the action of the Crown. Why do I say that? The right hon. and learned Gentleman calculates upon the ignorance of the House on all things Irish, when he stands up and says that the action of the Justices is to be taken as a local act, and that no official of the Crown can interfere with it. Why had not the right hon. and learned Gentleman the candour to tell us that Father

Fahy was sent to prison in spite of the wish of the presiding magistrate, and only in consequence of the pressure of the Crown Solicitor acting upon the Bench? It is nothing less than shameful that cases should be brought before us in this way—with a deliberate shutting out from view of the most important facts. Colonel Waring recommended that Father Fahy should be sent back to his parishioners; but the Crown Solicitor pressed for a verdict against the reverend gentleman, and his statement, acting upon a partial Bench of Magistrates, succeeded in getting Father Fahy sent to prison. It is nothing less than a matter of shame and disgrace that the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland does not interfere in this case and order the release of Father Fahy, looking at the high character that gentleman bears, and to the extraordinary circumstances of his conviction.

SIR JOSEPH M'KENNA (Monaghan, S.): If we are to believe the statement of Mr. Lewis regarding Father Fahy, that gentleman should not have been ordered to find bail, or sent to prison for not finding bail for the offence he is alleged to have committed; but, for such a grave misbehaviour, should at once have been sentenced to imprisonment. The presiding magistrate, on the occasion of Father Fahy's committal, held the opinion which every sensible man must hold who surveys the surrounding circumstances, and reads over the evidence which was published, that there was no serious offence of any kind committed by anyone, unless it could possibly have been by Mr. Lewis in turning a priest from his house in such an ungentlemanly way, and doing his best to irritate him. The case stands in this position now—the reverend gentleman is committed to prison until he finds bail. Well, I think it is within the competence of the right hon. Baronet the Chief Secretary of Ireland to review that final finding, and to direct that Father Fahy be at once discharged from prison.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND (Fermanagh, N.): The right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland (Mr. Holmes) said, in reply to the hon. Member for East Mayo (Mr. Dillon), that this case should be dealt with as ordinary cases are dealt with, accord-

ing to English law. I do not think the right hon. and learned Gentleman can point to a case where any person, much less a priest, has been imprisoned for six months because he refused to give bail to be of good behaviour, where there was not some proof or some strong evidence that the charge against him was true. In most of the cases in Ireland where people have been sent to prison for refusing to give bail, there has been some evidence to show that these people have misbehaved themselves in some way. There have been witnesses to prove it; but, in the case of Father Fahy, there is no evidence, and there are no witnesses at all. A conversation took place between Father Fahy and a landlord—a discussion took place between them; and this landlord came out with this most unlikely story—that this priest had threatened to murder him, and to blow up his house. Now, Sir, on that false statement of this landlord, Father Fahy was sent to prison. I venture to say that a grosser and more infamous miscarriage of justice has never occurred, even in the annals of English rule in Ireland; and all we can say is, that the right hon. Gentleman must know very well that if the object of the Government be to promote peace and to sustain law and order in Ireland, that they cannot by any means go in that direction, when they imprison a popular priest, without evidence and without any witnesses to bear testimony to his alleged misbehaviour; and I am bound to say myself, if I were asked what would be more likely to disturb the peace of the country, to exasperate the people, and to drive them outside the law, I should undoubtedly say—"The very best thing you can do to disturb the peace and to drive the people into law-breaking is to take and imprison, without evidence, men who are popular and esteemed by the people, more especially priests who go avowedly to the landlords for the purpose of bringing about reconciliation between them and their tenantry." I would ask the House to bear in mind—as against the statement of the landlord, Mr. Lewis, that this priest had threatened to murder him and blow up his house—that the rev. gentleman has declared, most solemnly, that he never used any such language, or applied any such threat,

and that he is determined to remain in prison, because to give bail would be to acknowledge that he threatened to murder, and, to use his own words, it would be "to sacrifice the truth." I ask the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland whether the Government intend to keep this gentleman in prison, and whether they intend to let it go forth in Ireland that the mere word of a landlord is sufficient to cause the arrest and imprisonment of anyone? Why, during the reign of Mr. Forster in Ireland, in 1881, people were imprisoned without trial and without evidence of any kind being brought against them. Do you want to resort to that kind of thing again? If you do, I think you are going well to work to show the people your determination upon that question. If you do not wish to resort to that kind of thing, I say release this priest; for, until you do release him, the district in which he has lived will be disturbed, because the people will be enraged at the unjust imprisonment of this man who is popular amongst them; and if you are determined to keep him in prison, as I have said before, you may make up your minds that the people will interpret your action into meaning what I believe it will have the effect of showing—namely, that you are not averse to causing disturbances in Ireland, and that you wish to provoke the people. I warn you solemnly to-night, that if this act of yours should provoke the people you will have nobody to blame but yourselves, for it is an atrocious thing, an infamous and a scandalous thing, to say that, on the strength of the word of a landlord who has not got the respect of a dozen people in the district in which he lives, you can fling into prison a man who is respected throughout the whole country side, and whose calling and position and character render it absolutely unlikely that he would ever have used, or could have used, the infamous language attributed to him. I say the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland had better inform the House whether it is the distinct intention of the Government to keep Father Fahy in prison upon the word of Mr. Lewis alone, in view of the fact that since the last discussion took place in this House Father Fahy, from his prison cell, has most solemnly asserted that he never used the

language attributed to him, that he never threatened Mr. Lewis with murder or violence, or threatened violence to his property, and after Father Fahy has alleged that he would sooner stop in prison all his life than give bail, because by giving bail he would be admitting that he had threatened. Under these circumstances, I want to know if the Government will reconsider their determination, and will release this priest? If you do not release him, you will be doing much towards strengthening in the minds of the Irish people the opinion which they entertain, and I believe with a great deal of reason, that so long as their country is ruled by this House, and by officials who know nothing about them, and care less for them, they have very little justice to expect for themselves or their unfortunate countrymen.

SIR EDWARD REED (Cardiff): In venturing to make a few remarks upon this subject, I hope the Government will not consider me actuated by any unfriendly spirit. I cannot help thinking that speeches such as we have last heard are likely to make it rather difficult to make any approach to concession in this case; but I think it may, perhaps, have some little weight with them if I say I have followed this case very intimately, and in entire independence, from the beginning, and am of opinion, most clearly, that it is a case which, if it had occurred in England, would receive the attention of the Government. The case arose under circumstances very like something of a personal altercation. It has taken an aggravated form, and I feel satisfied that if this priest persists in his avowed intention of remaining in prison, instead of consenting to give bail, that a painful feeling will spring up that he is not being treated with that consideration which would be accorded to any person similarly situated in this country. I say that as an expression of a personal view, formed without any feeling or bias on the question. And I venture to follow it up by expressing a hope that the Government will, at least, be able to go so far as to say that, looking at the semi-private character of the offence, and to the general course of affairs since the offence was committed, they will take the matter into further view, and will regard it with as much consideration and in as conciliatory a spirit as possible. I think the Government will feel that

any step taken in that direction at the invitation of an English Member will, at any rate, not do any harm, and I feel quite sure that they will feel themselves freer to respond to an appeal such as I have ventured to make than they do to those appeals which come to them from below the Gangway accompanied by threats. I would make an earnest appeal to them to take this matter into their careful consideration.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH) (Bristol, W.): I am at a loss to understand on what ground the hon. Member supposes that this matter is being dealt with in any way different to the manner in which English cases are dealt with. I cannot understand how anything could be done in England but this—a man is called upon to find bail to keep the peace and be of good behaviour; he does not choose to find that bail, and, as a necessary consequence, he has to go to prison. I know we are charged by the hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Tyrone (Mr. M. J. Kenny) and others with some extraordinary unconstitutional action in taking and keeping this priest in prison. But is this a case to be tried here? Certainly not; neither is it a case in which, so far as I know, it is my particular business to interfere. Even were it a case in which I could interfere, I certainly should not do so on the grounds I have stated. The case has been tried where it ought to have been tried—that is to say, by the magistrates of the district. On the evidence produced before them, the magistrates thought it right to bind the defendant over to keep the peace. The defendant failed to find sureties to keep the peace, and, therefore, he had to go to prison. We are told that Father Fahy is a peacemaker. Well, if he is, why is he unwilling to be bound over to keep the peace? It seems to me that he would have much more scope for his efforts in the direction of peacemaking, if he were at liberty, than he can have in his prison. The circumstances are such that Father Fahy can, at any moment he pleases, release himself from gaol, and I cannot, therefore, understand what is meant by bringing these charges of tyranny against Her Majesty's Government.

MR. JACOB BRIGHT (Manchester, S.W.): It appears to me, from what I

have heard of this case, that there is a great deal of force in what the Irish Members have alleged with regard to it. I had wished to rise before the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland addressed the House, but, unfortunately, I was unable to do so; but there are two questions which I would wish now to put to the right hon. Gentleman. One of these questions is, whether Father Fahy has been condemned on the accusation of Mr. Lewis without corroborative testimony? If that be so, so far as I can understand it, you have here two men of equal credibility, one making a charge against the other, unsupported by any other evidence; and it is impossible to attach greater weight to the allegation of one than to the denial of the other. The next question I would like to ask is this. Is it true that the stipendiary magistrate, who one would naturally suppose was the most competent magistrate on the Bench, was quite opposed to this mode of treating the case? Is it true that this stipendiary magistrate would, if the case had been solely in his hands, have settled it amicably, and certainly would not have sent Father Fahy to prison, or required him to give bail? I shall be obliged if some right hon. Gentleman on the Treasury Bench will answer me these questions.

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and that he is determined to remain in prison, because to give bail would be to acknowledge that he threatened to murder, and, to use his own words, it would be "to sacrifice the truth." I ask the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland whether the Government intend to keep this gentleman in prison, and whether they intend to let it go forth in Ireland that the mere word of a landlord is sufficient to cause the arrest and imprisonment of anyone? Why, during the reign of Mr. Forster in Ireland, in 1881, people were imprisoned without trial and without evidence of any kind being brought against them. Do you want to resort to that kind of thing again? If you do, I think you are going well to work to show the people your determination upon that question. If you do not wish to resort to that kind of thing, I say release this priest; for, until you do release him, the district in which he has lived will be disturbed, because the people will be enraged at the unjust imprisonment of this man who is popular amongst them; and if you are determined to keep him in prison, as I have said before, you may make up your minds that the people will interpret your action into meaning what I believe it will have the effect of showing—namely, that you are not averse to causing disturbances in Ireland, and that you wish to provoke the people. I warn you solemnly to-night, that if this act of yours should provoke the people you will have nobody to blame but yourselves, for it is an atrocious thing, an infamous and a scandalous thing, to say that, on the strength of the word of a landlord who has not got the respect of a dozen people in the district in which he lives, you can fling into prison a man who is respected throughout the whole country side, and whose calling and position and character render it absolutely unlikely that he would ever have used, or could have used, the infamous language attributed to him. I say the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland had better inform the House whether it is the distinct intention of the Government to keep Father Fahy in prison upon the word of Mr. Lewis alone, in view of the fact that since the last discussion took place in this House Father Fahy, from his prison cell, has most solemnly asserted that he never used the

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suggestion to hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway, that if they are in earnest in desiring the peace and welfare of their country, and the honour and the veneration which are due to their holy religion, they should use their influence with Father Fahy's episcopal superior, and ask him to exert his influence with Father Fahy to get him to pay this money, and so release himself. There would be nothing easier than for Father Fahy to pay the money, or, rather, give the bail, and come out of prison; but if he thinks he is performing his duty as a minister of the gospel of peace, for the sake of winning a little cheap popularity, to pose as a martyr amongst the deluded and ignorant peasants of Galway, then I am proud of the distinction which my Protestant constituency of Mid Leicestershire has conferred upon me in sending me here so that, as a Roman Catholic, I may protest against the action of this reverend gentleman,

MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W., and Sligo, S.): The hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. De Lisle) must excuse me if I say I decline to accept him, particularly in view of a notable episode in his career, as an exponent of Catholic feeling. The hon. Gentleman would have been more discreet if he had not thrust himself upon the House as an exponent of Catholic views. I can tell him that what he calls the Roman Catholic interest in Great Britain would occupy, to-day, a very degrading and miserable position, if it were not for the action of Irish priests like Father Fahy. But I will not waste any further time upon the hon. Member. The Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) stated the position of the Government upon this question, and he said that the same case might easily occur in England. I ask if the same thing would occur in England, if such a breach of faith had been committed towards a body of tenants as occurred in the case which led to the action of Father Fahy? Mr. Lewis's tenants had been promised that the extreme powers of the law would not be enforced against them, but faith was broken with them. If the right hon. Gentleman had read the speech of the Resident Magistrate, which that gentleman delivered from the Bench, he would see that, upon the testimony of the Resident Magistrate himself, Father Fahy had recently interfered,

and successfully interfered, as a peacemaker between two landlords and two bodies of tenants in the same district. Now, if in England a clergyman had successfully acted in a time of public crisis as peacemaker, would the Crown, or any of its agents, have been so ready to proceed against him as in this case? Again, in England, would you allow a gentleman who was the agent of the landlord concerned to act as prosecutor? I doubt it very much. Public opinion, in this country, would hold that such a man was not indifferent as between the interested persons; and the Crown would not confide its interest in the prosecution to a person whose connections were such. In England, would you have applied a Statute aimed against vagabonds to a clergyman? [An hon. MEMBER: To such a clergyman!] I hope the hon. Member is not another Roman Catholic. No, Sir, you would never have dreamt of applying such a weapon against a clergyman, no matter what heated language he used. I doubt very much, indeed, whether it would be used against a clergyman who had been the means immediately before of effecting a peaceful settlement of the strained relations existing between two landlords and two bodies of tenants. The right hon. and learned Attorney General for Ireland (Mr. Holmes) tried, in two minutes, to dispose of the case, by saying something that really had no connection with it. He said that, in this case, the sentence was the sentence of the Court, and not of the representative of the Crown. Were the Government not represented by the Crown Solicitor for the county? Did he not say, in open Court, he was acting upon instructions from the Attorney General for Ireland himself? Why, Sir, so far from being what I would call the voluntary and self-proceeding sentence of the Court, this was a sentence passed against the disposition and advice of the principal member of the Court, upon the repeated and increasing pressure of the representative of the Crown itself. The chief personage in the Court, the Resident Magistrate, a gentleman who by his conduct has entitled himself to the respect and high estimation of this House, said that if such an altercation had passed between himself and another gentleman, he would have felt it to be his duty to

shake hands and forget the matter. Upon every ground, therefore—upon the ground of preceding circumstances; upon the ground of the public spirit and exertions of Father Fahy; upon the ground of the dual character of the Crown Prosecutor; and upon the ground of the conflict of evidence which exists—I say we are entitled to ask that the Prerogative of the Crown shall be immediately exercised in this case; and that this estimable clergyman, whose fault, if he has one, is an excessive zeal for the good of helpless and industrious people, shall be relieved from the operation of a Statute passed hundreds of years ago, and intended for rogues and vagabonds.

MR. SHEEHY (Galway, S.): As an Irish Catholic, I am glad that a line has been drawn between Irish and English Catholics. The English Catholics have for many years been Catholics of repudiation. Personally, I am glad the hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. De Lisle) has given me an opportunity of disavowing his friendship. It was the Catholics of Ireland who brought about the emancipation of Gentlemen like the hon. Member (Mr. De Lisle), and gave them the political freedom they now possess. Now, what is the crime Father Fahy has committed? I would ask hon. Gentlemen, who are not Catholics, but who, in many cases, have consciences better than many English Catholics, what is it Father Fahy has done? What has been the aim of his life? It has been to serve his God—to help his flock and to serve his God. [*A laugh.*] Yes; that is the aim of every priest in Ireland, and for doing that nobly and honestly Father Fahy has been plunged into gaol. Father Fahy went as a mediator between Mr. Lewis and that gentleman's tenants. Having been a successful mediator before, he thought he might be the means of bringing peace and concord between these people. I submit that that was a legitimate object for any priest to take upon himself, and it was the object this priest set before himself. But Father Fahy found himself in the house of a tiger, in the house of one who is the legitimate successor of one who has persecuted tenants for years and years back, as far back as dismal 1847. Mrs. Lewis, this cub's mother, not only evicted the poor

tenants in that year of famine and desolation, but when the people were evicted, she—

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Gentleman's remarks are not applicable to the Appropriation Bill.

MR. SHEEHY: I wished, Mr. Speaker, to point out what were the hardships that these people had to submit to. I will not follow that line of argument at all, but point out how elastic are the consciences of English Catholics. I wish them joy of their elasticity of conscience, and I only hope that Irish Catholic priests will never come to have that elasticity of conscience that English Catholics wish them to have.

MR. W. A. MACDONALD (Queen's County, Ossory): The hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Leicestershire (Mr. De Lisle) has stated to the House that, as a Catholic, he is very satisfied with the determination expressed by the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach). I can only say that, as a Protestant, I feel very dissatisfied with the decision of the right hon. Gentleman; not only so, but I am very dissatisfied with the line of argument which is adopted by the Chief Secretary. The right hon. Gentleman said that the proceedings in this case were exactly such as they would have been if such a case had happened in England. I think that this is an example of that want of observation which very often characterizes the right hon. Gentleman. I have lived in England for the last six years, and know, I think, the country pretty well. I know it sufficiently well to affirm that if an English clergyman—a clergyman of the Church of England—had been known to be persistently making peace in his parish between the rich and the poor; and if he had gone to the house of one of the rich men in the parish, and had asked him to deal gently with some of the poor men, and if, in the course of the altercation which followed, violent words had been used by the clergyman, there is not a body of magistrates in the country who would order him to find bail for his good behaviour. This is not the way in which justice is administered in this country. Am I to be told that because the case happens in Ireland, and because the

minister of religion is not an English Protestant clergyman, but an Irish Catholic priest, there is to be a different method of proceeding? It is not because the magistrates sent Father Fahy to gaol for refusing to give bail, but it is because we believe that the decision of the magistrates who tried the case was unjust, that we ask that this priest shall be released from gaol. This is just an instance, and I have observed several in the course of his period of Office, in which the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary conveniently misses the whole point of his opponent's case. The argument of justice appears to be lost upon the right hon. Gentleman; but does he not care at all about the argument of expediency? I presume he wants to keep the peace in Ireland. I presume that he wishes that the Government of which he is a Member may really be able to have the credit of governing the country well and to the satisfaction of the people governed. But does he really suppose that the continued imprisonment of this priest, who is beloved by his people—as I believe the great majority of the priests of Ireland are beloved by their people—does he believe that the continued imprisonment of Father Fahy will really promote the cause of law and order and good government in Ireland? There are other considerations besides mere technicalities which ought to influence the right hon. Gentleman in this case. If he will only weigh, calmly and dispassionately, the reasons which have been advanced, and will remember how when, on a former occasion, another priest—Father Sheehy—was imprisoned, the Government ultimately gave way and released him on account of the tremendous outcry that arose in the country, I think he will be slow to persist in the determination he has expressed in the House to-night.

Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes 176; Noes 66: Majority 110.—(Div. List, No. 44.)

Bill committed for To-morrow.

House adjourned at half after
One o'clock.

Mr. W. A. Macdonald

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Tuesday, 21st September, 1886.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*Second Reading*—*Tenants' Relief (Ireland)* [47] [*Second Night*], *negatived.*

Committee—Report—Consolidated Fund (Appropriation).

Withdrawn—Beer Adulteration * [19].

QUESTIONS.

ARMY (AUXILIARY FORCES)—THE VOLUNTEERS—FINANCIAL CONDITION OF REGIMENTS—THE CAPITATION GRANT.

MR. HOWARD VINCENT (Sheffield, Central) asked the Secretary of State for War, If the particulars called for some months ago from officers commanding regiments of Volunteers concerning their financial condition have, for the most part, been received; whether, so far as such Reports have been examined, they disclose the inadequacy of the present Capitation Grant for the maintenance and development of the Force, and show that the officers and members are subjected to heavy expenses in thus serving their country; if any decision was arrived at or opinion recorded on the subject by the late Administration; and, if Her Majesty's Government will endeavour, in due course, to submit such proposals to Parliament as may remedy or alleviate these grievances?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): The replies from officers commanding Volunteer corps have, for the most part, been received; but I have not yet had time to examine them, with a view to the sufficiency, or otherwise, of the capitation grant for the due maintenance of the Force. No decision was arrived at, or opinion recorded, by the late Government. When I have considered the Reports which have been received I propose to take the earliest opportunity of proposing such measures as may appear to me to be necessary for maintaining the full efficiency of an adequate Volunteer Force.

MERCHANT SHIPPING — ELECTRIC COMMUNICATION BETWEEN LIGHT-SHIPS AND THE MAINLAND.

COLONEL KING-HARMAN (Kent, Isle of Thanet) asked the Secretary to

the Board of Trade, Whether, in view of the successful experiments which have taken place at the Sunk Light, Her Majesty's Government intend to establish telephonic or any other electric communication between the lightships on the Goodwin Sands and the mainland; whether it is true that it is in contemplation to relay the Ostend cable, which passes close to the Goodwin Sands, during the present Autumn; whether the Government will take advantage of this opportunity of effecting telephonic communication with the Goodwins, both with a view to economy, and with regard to the advisability of completing such communication before the Winter sets in; what steps Her Majesty's Government intend to take with regard to electric communication between the lightships and lighthouses round the coasts of Great Britain and Ireland and the mainland; and, if telegraphic or telephonic communication will be soon established between the mainland and Tory Island?

THE SECRETARY (Baron HENRY DE WORMS) (Liverpool, East Toxteth). The Board of Trade are about to appoint a Committee to inquire into the whole question of communication between lightships and the shore. The hon. and gallant Member will, therefore, understand that I shall not be a position to make a statement on the subject until the Committee have made their Report.

THE PARKS (METROPOLIS) — HYDE PARK—HOURS OF CLOSING—DISORDERLY CHARACTERS.

MR. SHIRLEY (Yorkshire, W.R., Doncaster) asked the First Commissioner of Works, Whether, having regard to the disorderly characters who frequent Hyde Park at night, it would be desirable to close the gates regularly at 10 p.m.?

THE FIRST COMMISSIONER (Mr. PLUNKET) (Dublin University): I have inquired into the matter, and I am satisfied that much inconvenience would be caused by closing Hyde Park at 10 o'clock instead of at midnight, as at present, while such a change would not get rid of the disorderly characters complained of by the hon. Member. There are, I am informed, fewer of that class about the Park after 10 o'clock than before that hour.

VOL CCCIX. [THIRD SERIES.]

POOR LAW (IRELAND)—THE GUARDIANS OF THE RATHDOWN UNION —UNSANITARY STATE OF THE WORKHOUSE.

SIR THOMAS ESMONDE (Dublin Co., S.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If it is a fact that the Guardians of the Rathdown Union refuse to remedy the state of things caused by the defective drainage of the Rathdown Union workhouse, notwithstanding the repeated representations of the ratepayers; if so, whether he will take steps to compel the Guardians to take immediate and effective measures to put an end to this nuisance?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH) (Bristol, W.): I do not think it can be fairly said that the Guardians of the Rathdown Union have refused to remedy the state of things caused by the defective drainage of the Rathdown Union Workhouse, notwithstanding the repeated representations of the ratepayers. I am informed that the question is surrounded with difficulties, which they are endeavouring to surmount, and a Committee of the Guardians is sitting with reference to them.

HALL-MARKING—THE WATCH TRADE.

CAPTAIN PENTON (Finsbury, Central) asked the Secretary to the Board of Trade, Whether he will undertake, on behalf of Her Majesty's Government, during the Recess, to consider the question of hall-marking, with a view, as soon as the state of public business will permit, to legislation of such a character as will remove the grievances from which the watch-case makers complain that they are suffering?

THE SECRETARY (Baron HENRY DE WORMS) (Liverpool, East Toxteth): I fear I am unable to give any undertaking to the hon. and gallant Member with regard to legislation on the subject of hall-marking. All that I can at present say is that the question shall receive the consideration of the Board of Trade during the Recess.

POST OFFICE (IRELAND)—SUB-POSTAL DISTRICT OF KILMURRY M'MAHON, CO. CLARE.

MR. JORDAN (Clare, W.) asked the Postmaster General, If he or his Predecessor received a Memorial from the sub-postal district of Kilmurry M'Mahon,

county Clare, praying to have a Sunday delivery and collection of letters; and, if it has been yet granted; and, if not, can he state when it will be?

THE VICE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL (SIR HENRY HOLLAND) (Hampstead) (who replied) said: The Postmaster General had given directions, before the Notice appeared on the Paper, for the establishment of a post office in the district referred to, and I am informed that it came into operation on Saturday last.

DISPENSARIES (IRELAND) — ELY DISPENSARY, DERRYGONNELLY, CO. FERMANAGH.

MR. JORDAN (Clare, W.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he can state the number of apartments, including the hallway, in the building known as the Ely Dispensary, in Derrygonnelly, county Fermanagh; what apartments are let to the Board of Guardians of the Enniskillen Union; what are the terms of agreement of tenancy between the Board and the landlord, and the amount of rent; if there be any other tenants in occupation of part of said premises, the number of apartments let to them, the nature of tenancy, and amount of rent; and, if he will, as President of the Local Government Board, advise or suggest to the Enniskillen Board of Guardians the desirableness of considering the propriety, under all the circumstances, of either renting another house, or building, under the Acts for that purpose, a new dispensary in that town?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH) (Bristol, W.): I have already, in reply to two previous Questions, given all the information in my possession on the subject. I can only repeat that for many years past part of the house was occupied as a dispensary, and the rent paid by the Guardians was £9 16s. a-year. I am unable to give particulars as to the terms of the occupancy of part of the house by other tenants, nor am I aware that I have any right to inquire. So long as the premises provided for the dispensary for the Guardians are suitable for the purpose the Local Government Board cannot, I am advised, interfere, as suggested by the hon. Member. If the hon. Member has at his disposal any information to show that any public inconvenience

is caused by the present arrangements and will communicate with me, I will consider the matter further.

WAR DEPARTMENT—RETIRED OFFICERS IN COLONIAL EMPLOYMENT

SIR THOMAS ESMONDE (Dublin Co., S.) asked the Secretary of State for War, If gentlemen who have retired from Her Majesty's Military Service are subjected to forfeiture of any portion of retired pay, which they may have earned by past services as officers, upon their acceptance of any employment whatever under the governments of self-governing Colonies; if so, upon what principle is it considered that such action on the part of these gentlemen should render them liable to forfeiture of rewards for their past services in Imperial employment?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (MR. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): Under present Regulations an officer on the Retired List taking Colonial employment is liable to a suspension or deduction of a portion of his retired pay, if that retired pay has been earned in part by services under a Colonial Government. These Regulations have been under the consideration of the War Office and the Treasury; and I am glad to say that an alteration has been approved which will remove any well-founded grievance in connection with them. The new Regulations will require legislative sanction, and a Bill for this purpose will be brought in early next Session.

REGULATION OF RAILWAYS ACT, 1878 —THE GREAT WESTERN RAILWAY AND THE THAMES AND SEVERN CANAL NAVIGATION.

MR. HOLLOWAY (Gloucestershire, Stroud) asked the Secretary to the Board of Trade, Whether the following facts, or any of them, have been represented to the Board of Trade—namely, that the Great Western Railway Company have, by the acquisition of a large proportion of the shares in the Thames and Severn Canal Navigation, obtained control of that undertaking; that the said Railway Company have, by nominees acting as a Sub-Committee of Directors, dismissed the principal officer and many of the work-people and staff necessary for the maintenance of the said Canal, have taken

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possession of the seal, documents, and papers of the Canal Company, and removed the same to Paddington Station, have nominated one of their accountant clerks as clerk to the Canal Company, and have discontinued the constant supply of water to the Canal, and thus have stopped the navigation thereon, these proceedings being in derogation of "The Regulation of Railways Act, 1873;" and, whether the Board of Trade propose to make full inquiry in respect to the facts alleged, and to institute such proceedings as may be advisable for preserving the undertaking of the Thames and Severn Canal Navigation in the public interest, free from Railway control, that Navigation being an essential link in the water communication between the Rivers Thames and Severn?

THE SECRETARY (Baron HENRY DE WORME) (Liverpool, East Toxteth): It appears to be true that the Great Western Railway Company have, by the acquisition of a large proportion of the shares in the Thames and Severn Canal Navigation, obtained control of that undertaking; and it further appears that the Company have nominated a Sub-Committee for the management of the Canal; but the Board of Trade have no official information with regard to the other statements in the hon. Member's Question. The Board of Trade have for some time past had the matter under their consideration; but, as at present advised, they are not in a position to institute proceedings at law. The matter will, however, receive careful consideration, with a view to further legislation on the subject. There is no objection to the Correspondence on the subject being laid before Parliament if the hon. Member will move for it.

ARMY (DISCIPLINE)—THE DEVONSHIRE REGIMENT.

COLONEL BLUNDELL (Lancashire, S.W., Ince) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether two soldiers of the Devonshire Regiment were apprehended by the county police at Topsham for being drunk and disorderly on Sunday the 2nd of May last, and were brought thence on the following morning handcuffed together in uniform, and in that state marched through the streets of Exeter to the

police station; and, whether he will forbid the continuance of the practice of handcuffing soldiers when in custody of the civil power, unless there are reasonable grounds for expecting an attempt to escape or a rescue?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): I am informed by the Chief Constable of Devon that the facts are as stated in my hon. and gallant Friend's Question, except that the men were not marched through the streets of Exeter, but only a distance of 260 paces from the railway to the police station. I have no power to issue any orders on the subject; but I agree that it is undesirable to handcuff prisoners, except where it is difficult to control them.

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—COURT OF BANKRUPTCY—THE LATE OFFICIAL ASSIGNEE, MR. C. H. JAMES.

MR. P. McDONALD (Sligo, N.) asked Mr. Attorney General for Ireland, Whether, in the annual Parliamentary Returns, directed by the statute 20 and 21 Vict. c. 60, s. 68, and made by the late Official Assignee, the words "I certify this to be a true return" have been habitually omitted; whether these words are contained in the Form (Schedule B.) prescribed by the statute; and, whether this alteration of the Act has been sanctioned by the Judge of the Court, and certified by the Chief Registrar?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. HOLMES) (Dublin University): I find that the words "I certify this to be a true Return," in the form prescribed by the Act, have been omitted from the Parliamentary Returns for the year 1863, and probably from an earlier period. I am informed that this omission was never sanctioned by the Judges, and probably arose from an error in the instructions originally given for the printing of the forms, which has been since overlooked.

WAR DEPARTMENT—MARTELLO TOWER AT SEA POINT, DUBLIN BAY.

SIR THOMAS ESMONDE (Dublin Co., S.) asked the Secretary of State for War, If the Government will accept the offer for the martello tower at Sea Point, made in July last by the Blackrock Town Commissioners, in the event of the tenders now being called for by the Royal

Engineer Office, Dublin, not being held sufficient?

THE SURVEYOR GENERAL OF ORDNANCE (Mr. NORTHCOTE) (Exeter) (who replied) said: Offers for the construction of the Martello Tower at Sea Point are open to public competition, and tenders will be received. Until they are so received I cannot give a fuller answer to the Question.

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—QUARTER SESSIONS AT TULLAMORE (KING'S CO.)—REMOVAL OF DOCUMENTS.

DR. FOX (King's Co., Tullamore) asked Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Whether Mr. James Fagan, Clerk of the Peace for King's County, in last March, removed all the papers and documents (except the records) connected with Quarter Sessions, from Tullamore, where the Assizes are held, to Parsonstown; whether such removal was contrary to law, as well as a serious inconvenience to the people of Tullamore and vicinity; and, whether he will order the return of the said papers to Tullamore, and the opening there of an office by the Clerk of the Peace as prescribed by law?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. GIBSON) (Liverpool, Walton): I am informed that the Clerk of the Peace, who has resided at Parsonstown before and since his appointment, has an office in Tullamore, at the Court House, where in his absence he is represented by a competent clerk. I am informed by Mr. Fagan that he has not removed all the papers and documents (except the records) connected with Quarter Sessions from Tullamore to Parsonstown; but only such books as are used at Quarter Sessions and papers as may be convenient to keep in his own possession for such part of his duties as he discharges personally. He states that no complaint of inconvenience has been made. I am communicating with him in relation to the matter.

THE CHARITY COMMISSIONERS—RECONSTITUTION OF THE COMMISSION.

MR. MACDONALD CAMERON (Wick, &c.) asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether Her Majesty's Government propose to alter the constitution of the Body known as the Charity

Commissioners, by the infusion of Commissioners representative of the rate-payers, with a view of dealing with great endowments like Christ's Hospital, St. Paul's School, Charterhouse, Eton, and other endowments?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL) (Paddington, S.): I have no reason to suppose that Her Majesty's Government have any such intention as the hon. Member appears to wish that they should have in regard to the constitution of the Charity Commission.

CITY OF LONDON PAROCHIAL CHARITIES ACT, 1883—REPORT OF COMMISSIONERS.

MR. JAMES STUART (Shoreditch, Hoxton) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, When the Commissioners appointed under "The City of London Parochial Charities Act, 1883," are expected to make a Report or Statement; and, whether he can state approximately the total amount of funds which will come under section 13 (b) and section 14 (c) of the Act, namely, so as to be applicable

"to the promoting the education of the poorer inhabitants of the Metropolis, whether by means of exhibitions, or of technical instruction, or of secondary education, or of art education, or of evening lectures," or otherwise, as specified in the Clauses of the Act above referred to?

THE VICE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL (Sir HENRY HOLLAND) (Hampstead) (who replied) said: The Charity Commissioners expect to be in a position to make a first statement before the close of the year, and other statements—for which the materials are to a large extent prepared—will follow. Until the whole of the statements are prepared, and the Commissioners are in a position to consider the requirements of the Metropolis in respect to the whole of the various purposes enumerated by the Act, the Commissioners cannot state the amount of the funds which will be applicable to educational purposes.

POLICE (METROPOLIS)—THE WANDSWORTH POLICE COURT.

MR. OCTAVIUS MORGAN (Battersea) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether he has yet considered the Memorial of the Wandsworth Board of Works of 17th March

last, asking that the Police Court now stationed at Wandsworth should be transferred to a more central locality, and in closer proximity to Clapham Junction Railway Station; that in future the magistrate should hold his Court during the whole day instead of, as at present, for a half day, and then at an uncertain hour, which does not allow sufficient time for the proper administration of justice?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): Yes, Sir; I have carefully considered this Memorial. The whole question of the sufficiency of the Police Courts establishments in the Metropolis is under the consideration of the Government; and I trust that some means may be found of overcoming the financial difficulties with which this question is beset.

COMMERCE AND AGRICULTURE—A SPECIAL CABINET DEPARTMENT.

COLONEL HILL (Bristol, S.) asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether, in consideration of the importance of commerce and agriculture to the Country, and also of the following Resolutions of this House—namely, that passed in 1879:—

“That it is desirable that those functions of the Executive Government which especially relate to Commerce and Agriculture should be administered by a distinct Department, under the direction of a Principal Secretary of State, who shall be a Member of the Cabinet;”

and in 1881—

“That the functions of the Executive Government which especially relate to Agriculture and Commerce should, as far as possible, be administered by a distinct Department, and be presided over by a responsible Minister of the Crown,”

Her Majesty's Government is prepared to take steps with a view to giving effect to those Resolutions?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL) (Paddington, S.): In reply to the hon. and gallant Member, I would remind him that a considerable step was taken in the direction indicated by these Resolutions in the change made by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) in the duties of the Office of Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster; and I cannot say that Her Majesty's Government are prepared at the present moment to take any

step with a view to extend still further the operation of that change.

TEACHERS PENSION (IRELAND) ACT— MRS. J. KELLY, MOUNTFIELD, CO. TYRONE, NATIONAL SCHOOL.

MR. M. J. KENNY (Tyrone, Mid) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, If he will state the grounds on which the Commissioners of Education have declined to recommend Mrs. J. Kelly, late school-mistress of the Mountfield, county Tyrone, National School, for a gratuity under the Teachers Pension Act?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Sir MICHAEL HICKS - BEACH) (Bristol, W.) (who replied) said: I find that in this particular case Mrs. Kelly was refused a retiring pension, because her case does not come within the terms of the Teachers Pension Act.

INCLOSURE OF HILL GROUNDS (SCOTLAND) ACTS.

MR. MASON (Lanark, Mid) asked the Secretary for Scotland, Whether his attention has been called to the fact that the Scotch Acts of 1661 and 1669, which provided for the inclosure of bill ground (for the encouragement of agriculture and the plantation of trees) are now being used by certain landowners to compel neighbouring proprietors to bear half the expense of the inclosure of waste lands kept for wild animals; and, whether any steps will be taken to meet such an application of the Act?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. H. A. MACDONALD) (Edinburgh and St. Andrew's Universities) (who replied) said: By the Act of 1661, where fencing is necessary for inclosing timber or arable ground in Scotland, and keeping cattle within bounds, such fences, where they divide one property from another, must be paid for by both proprietors. The Act of 1669 provides for the judicial adjustment of marches in such cases where a dividing fence or ditch cannot be satisfactorily made in exact accordance with the actual line which divides the properties. I am not aware whether there are cases in which at present the excellent provisions of those Acts are being used in the manner suggested in the Question. I am aware of one case of dispute in regard to fencing under the Act of 1661; but that case is at present being litigated in the Court of Session,

and it will be for the Judge to decide whether the Act applies or not. No abuse of the Acts can take place, as no proprietor can compel his neighbour to pay a share of the cost of fencing or straightening a march unless he can satisfy the Court that his demand is a just one under the Act.

POST OFFICE (PARCEL POST)—CONVEYANCE OF PARCELS TO SOUTH AFRICA.

MR. BADEN-POWELL (Liverpool, Kirkdale) asked the Postmaster General, Whether he will inform the House why it is that an extra charge, amounting to more than 30 per cent, is made on parcels for places in South Africa other than Capetown; while the rate for all places in other Colonies, except Canada, is a uniform one; and, whether he will inform the House as to the leading conditions as to rates in the contracts for the conveyance of parcels by Parcels Post to South Africa?

THE VICE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL (SIR HENRY HOLLAND) (Hampstead) (who replied) said: The Cape Town Post Office decided after careful consideration that, while willing that the postage for parcels for Cape Town itself should be at the rate of 1s. a-pound, circumstances would not admit of their agreeing to a lower rate than 1s. 4d. a-pound in respect of parcels for all places other than Cape Town. In view of the advantage of securing a lower rate for the very large number of parcels for Cape Town, it was considered that a departure from the ordinary course of fixing a uniform rate for the whole Colony was justified. The contract for the sea conveyance for parcels was made by the Cape Town Post Office, and the leading conditions of it cannot be stated.

GENERAL GORDON—THE MEMORIAL STATUE FOR WELLINGTON PLACE.

MR. WHITMORE (Chelsea) asked the First Commissioner of Works, What progress is being made with the statue of General Gordon, and in the execution of the suggested design for the decoration of Wellington Place?

THE FIRST COMMISSIONER (MR. PLUNKET) (Dublin University): I am glad to inform my hon. Friend that Mr.

Mr. J. H. A. Macdonald

Hamo Thornycroft has made satisfactory progress with the statue of General Gordon. As to the decoration of Wellington Place, that is under the control of a Committee presided over by His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales; and I have no doubt that the work will be taken in hand so soon as the statue of the Duke of Wellington, which must form an important feature in any plan for the improvement of the place, is ready.

EGYPT—THE ARMY OF OCCUPATION—THE TROOPS AT ASSOUAN.

MR. BUXTON (Tower Hamlets, Poplar) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether, in view of the collapse of hostile power in the Soudan, Military exigencies will now permit the withdrawal of the British troops stationed at Assouan to a position further North, thus putting an end to the heat mortality, and great sufferings which, as reported in the public press, are entailed on the troops by the occupation of a point as far South as Assouan?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (MR. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster) (who replied) said: The latest intelligence received from the Military Authorities in Egypt conveys rumours of the assemblage of a considerable force at Dongola, and it is therefore, I fear, premature to speak of "the collapse of hostile power in the Soudan;" but the General Commanding in Egypt has complete discretion as to the strength and composition of the force to be maintained at Assouan. It has been already considerably reduced; and he will, I hope, be able to make still further reductions very shortly. I have already stated in the House that there is no abnormal sickness at the present time among the troops stationed at Assouan.

PIERS AND HARBOURS (IRELAND)—THE PIERS AT BALTIMORE HARBOUR.

MR. GILHOOLY (Cork, W.) asked the Secretary to the Board of Trade, Whether the rocks between the Old and the New Pier at Baltimore are a serious obstruction to the fishing industry; whether the cost of removing them will exceed £50; and, whether, in view of the fact that an overseer to the Board

of Public Works is at present in Baltimore, immediate steps will be taken to remove the above-mentioned rocks?

THE SECRETARY (Baron HENRY DE WORMS) (Liverpool, East Toxteth): The harbour of Baltimore is, by the Baltimore and Skibbereen Harbour Order, 1884, vested in the Baltimore and Skibbereen Harbour Commissioners, who have power to deepen and improve the harbour at its entrance. The Board of Trade have no jurisdiction in the matter.

POST OFFICE (IRELAND) — COMMUNICATION BETWEEN CAPE CLEAR AND SHORKIN ISLANDS AND THE MAIN LAND.

MR. GILHOOLY (Cork, W.) asked the Postmaster General, What steps have been taken to effect Postal communication between Cape Clear and Shorkin Islands and the main land?

THE VICE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL (Sir HENRY HOLLAND) (Hampstead) (who replied) said: The inquiry which has been held into this subject so far shows that no arrangement is practicable for providing postal communication between the places referred to, except at a large expense quite disproportionate to the revenue; but the inquiry into the subject has not yet been completed.

POST OFFICE (IRELAND) — SKIBBEREEN AND BALTIMORE MAIL CAR.

DR. KENNY (Cork, S.) asked the Postmaster General, Whether the Mail Car has been discontinued between Skibbereen and Baltimore; if the rural messenger has to travel 19 miles per day and carry parcels; whether more than 100 men are employed at public works and schools at Baltimore; if letters are delivered on Sundays; and, whether, considering the importance of Baltimore as a fishing station, he will have steps taken to obviate the public inconvenience by securing the services of the Mail Car to the inhabitants of Baltimore?

THE VICE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL (Sir HENRY HOLLAND) (Hampstead) (who replied) said: The mail car between Skibbereen and Baltimore was put on as a temporary measure during the fishing season, and has now been discontinued. The Question only appeared on the Paper this morn-

ing, and it is, therefore, impossible to answer it in detail. But I may state that the Postmaster General will consider whether the mail car can be maintained throughout the year.

PERU AND CHILI—THE PERUVIAN BONDHOLDERS' COMMITTEE.

MR. HUNTER (Aberdeen, N.) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether Her Majesty's Government have yet determined what answer they will give to the application made to them by the Peruvian Bondholders' Committee to employ diplomatic pressure in concert with the French Government on the Government of Chili, to give effect to an agreement made on the 23rd March 1886, between that Committee and Messrs. Dreyfus and Co.; whether, under that agreement, a preference over the bondholders is given to Messrs. Dreyfus and Co., for the payment of £3,214,388 11s. 5d., with interest, from the 30th June, 1880; whether that agreement has been submitted to or sanctioned by the Peruvian Bondholders; whether the Chilean Government dispute the validity of Messrs. Dreyfus and Co.'s claim and the accuracy of the estimates and calculations upon which the agreement of the 23rd March is based; and, whether the correspondence will be presented to the House?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JAMES FERGUSON) (Manchester, N.E.): Her Majesty's Government have been in communication with the French Government on the subject of this Agreement. It is not their intention to support it, or to depart from the usual method of dealing diplomatically with the claims of British subjects. They have expressed their readiness to unite with the other Governments interested in examining any questions in dispute in relation to the character and amount and validity of the claims, with a view to re-opening negotiations with Chili for their settlement on a fair and equitable basis. Any understanding among the various claimants must, in the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, be arrived at independently of the Governments interested. It seems unnecessary to give any reply to the remaining paragraphs of the Question, which deal simply with matters of fact connected with the Agreement. There

are no Papers which could be laid with advantage at present.

POLICE (METROPOLIS)—OBSTRUCTION OF TRAFFIC—STREET LECTURERS.

MR. ATHERLEY-JONES (Durham, N.W.) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether his attention has been drawn to the recent prosecutions of Evangelical and Socialist lecturers for alleged obstruction in the streets of the Metropolis; whether such interference with the long-established custom of holding peaceable meetings in unfrequented streets and at cross roads is due to special or any instructions given by the Home Office; and, if so, what the nature of these instructions may be; whether, in certain of such prosecutions, it has been admitted by the police that the passage of traffic was not sensibly interfered with; and, whether, having in view the small number of open spaces other than highways in the more densely populated districts of the Metropolis, he will advise that instructions be given to the police not to institute proceedings, save only in those cases where the passage of traffic is rendered impracticable?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): The Home Office has issued no special or recent instructions to the police as to their dealings with meetings in the streets. The instructions given by the Chief Commissioner are that the police are never to interfere except when there is a positive obstruction to the traffic. I am not aware of any admission on their part that they ever have interfered except under these circumstances. The instructions of the Chief Commissioner seem to me to be quite proper and in accordance with the law, and I have no intention of advising any alteration.

INDIA (MADRAS)—VIJIARAGHAVA CHARIAR.

MR. B. KELLY (Donegal, S.) asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether Vijiaraghava Chariar was in 1882, on the prosecution of the Madras Government, sentenced to a term of transportation; whether, on appeal, the High Court honourably acquitted him, and ordered his immediate release; whether he charged the Crown wit-

nesses, on whose evidence he had been convicted, with perjury; whether the Madras Government replied that he had entirely failed to substantiate this charge; whether, in spite of the most determined opposition in Court of the Madras Government, he obtained the sanction of the High Court to prosecute these Crown witnesses for perjury; whether he procured the conviction and punishment of the whole of these Crown witnesses; whether the Madras Government turned him out of his honorary office as Municipal Commissioner of Salem, disparaging his character; whether he then in the High Court convicted the Government of illegality in so doing, getting damages and costs; whether both Judges hearing the case commented on the behaviour of the Madras Government, one of them publicly remarking from the Bench—

“When I ordered particulars to be given, instead of furnishing a succinct statement of facts, found and believed, the advisers of the Government put in a statement which appears to be a disjointed collection of disparaging statements;”

and, whether Government will compensate Vijiaraghava Chariar for the expense he has been put to in defending over several years his character in these several actions?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JOHN GORST) (Chatham): The events referred to in the Question happened substantially as intimated between three and four years ago. They have already, on several occasions, been the subject of Questions in Parliament. Vijiaraghava Chariar recovered 100 rupees damages for wrongful dismissal against the Madras Government; but no further claim for compensation has, so far as the Secretary of State is aware, ever been made by him.

INDIA (MADRAS)—BOARD OF REVENUE—MADURA DISTRICT.

MR. B. KELLY (Donegal, S.) asked the Under Secretary of State for India, If he will state the nature of the special Mission on which the senior member of the Madras Board of Revenue has been engaged for the past five months in the Madura district; and, whether any emergency has arisen to necessitate the recent grant of magisterial powers in the Madura district to this Special Commissioner?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JOHN GORST) (Chatham): The special Mission of the senior Member of the Madras Board of Revenue has been to make inquiry into the administration of the Madura District by the late collector. No special grant of magisterial duty has, so far as I am aware, been made to him.

MINING RENTS AND ROYALTIES—GENERAL OR SPECIAL LAWS ABROAD.

Mr. P. STANHOPE (Wednesbury) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether, during the Parliamentary Recess, he will cause inquiries to be made, through Her Majesty's Representatives abroad, on the Continent of Europe, and in the United States of America, in order to lay upon the Table of the House a Return containing information under the following heads:—As to the recognition or otherwise in each State of the right of private ownership in minerals extracted from the soil; as to the scale of royalties paid to the State or private individuals in respect of the extraction of such minerals, and the general or special laws by which the payment of royalties or mine rents is regulated?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JAMES FERGUSSON) (Manchester, N.E.): The Secretary of State will cause to be made the inquiries desired by my hon. Friend. It will facilitate and lessen the undertaking if he will have the goodness to inform me at the Foreign Office from which countries particularly he desires to have the information. But I may remind him that information on this subject respecting France and Belgium is contained in a Blue Book lately laid before Parliament, No. 11, 1886 (Commercial), pp. 157 and 189.

WAR DEPARTMENT—PURCHASE OF REMOUNTS FROM THE BRITISH COLONIES.

Mr. BADEN-POWELL (Liverpool, Kirkdale) asked the Secretary of State for War, If he can inform the House, in regard to reported purchases on the Continent of Europe of horses for Cavalry, Artillery, and Transport, whether the authorities have recently made or will now make inquiries as to the comparative cost and the feasibility, in view of improved steamer communica-

tions, of obtaining suitable remounts for England and India from the British Colonies in South Africa and Australia?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): The subject referred to by the hon. Member has already had consideration. Officers are now in Canada inquiring as to the possibility of obtaining horses for the Army in the Dominion; and attention will be directed to the resources which the South African Colonies afford. I understand that the Indian Army is largely supplied from Australia.

GOLD AND SILVER (ROYAL COMMISSION)—DUTIES ON GOLD AND SILVER.

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR (Kincardine) asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether he will undertake, on behalf of his Department, to refer the Correspondence between the Indian and Home Governments, upon the subject of the Gold and Silver Duties, to the Royal Commission on Silver lately appointed?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JOHN GORST) (Chatham): The Secretary of State has no power to refer any matter to the Royal Commission on Silver; but the Correspondence between the Indian and Home Governments upon the subject of the gold and silver duties will be laid before it.

ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—PROSECUTIONS FOR DRUNKENNESS—CIRCULAR OF THE INSPECTOR GENERAL.

COLONEL SAUNDERSON (Armagh, N.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the Circular of the Inspector General of Constabulary, dated 3rd July 1877, containing instructions how the police are to act in prosecuting cases of drunkenness, is still in existence; whether complaints have been heard from towns affected by it that it was productive of injury and loss in seriously impairing the efficiency of their Town Courts, and in depriving them of one-half the fines arising from cases where the offender was a non-resident of the town; whether the question of residence of offender, and not the place where the offence is committed, affects the case

in a Town Court; whether the Circular is right in point of Law; and, whether, if not, the Government will now have it withdrawn, and give power to a town justice to determine all cases of drunkenness coming within his jurisdiction?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. HOLMES) (Dublin University) (who replied) said: The Circular referred to in the Question has been cancelled by a subsequent Order, and is now no longer in force. The instructions under which the Constabulary act are founded on the opinion of the Law Officers of the Crown, confirmed by judicial decision.

PROPOSED COMMISSION ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE RESOURCES OF IRELAND—HARBOURS ON THE WEST COAST.

MR. P. McDONALD (Sligo, N.) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, If the contemplated Government Commission of Inquiry into the condition and best means of developing the resources of Ireland will embrace within its scope of investigation the admitted necessity of improving the harbour accommodation on the West Coast of Ireland; and, if so, will the Commission take into consideration the recommendation of the Select Committee of 1883 and 1884, more especially as regards the harbours of Sligo and Ballina, and also the declared want of suitable fishery piers along the Sligo Coast; and, if the Lords of the Treasury will, under present circumstances, reconsider their decision, as conveyed in their reply of 27th November 1885, in reference to the application of the Sligo Harbour Commissioners for a loan, within their borrowing powers, for the purpose of deepening and improving the port and harbour of Sligo?

THE SECRETARY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.): The proposed Commission will take into consideration the question of harbour accommodation on the West Coast of Ireland, so far as large harbours are concerned; but it will not deal with the subject of small fishery piers. I observe that the Sligo Harbour Commissioners last year did not offer adequate security for the loans; but I can only say that if they do so now the Board of Works will carefully consider their application.

Colonel Saunderson

WAR DEPARTMENT — WARLIKE STORES AND EQUIPMENTS (ROYAL COMMISSION).

SIR HENRY TYLER (Great Yarmouth) asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether the Royal Commission, which he has now undertaken to appoint,

"To inquire into and report upon the system under which warlike stores and equipments have been supplied to Her Majesty's Service during the past five years,"

is, under the instructions to be given to the Commission, to be prohibited from inquiry into any complaints that may be made in regard to occurrences not falling strictly within that limit of time, or from tracing back to their sources complaints in regard to occurrences falling within those five years; or, whether he will, in drafting those instructions, whilst referring the Commission generally to matters falling within the five years, afford them such latitude and discretion as they may themselves deem, from time to time, to be necessary, so as to avert all risk of hampering them in their investigations, and of giving occasion to complainants of alleging that they have been prevented by the strictness of the limit of time from proving or bringing forward subjects of importance to the inquiry?

MAJOR RASCH (Essex, S.E.) asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether the Royal Commission on Warlike Stores will have the power to examine witnesses on oath?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): It is necessary that some limit should be placed to the inquiry, and therefore July 1, 1881, has been fixed upon as the date from which to inquire into complaints received and defects existing; but the instructions to the Royal Commission will not preclude them from searching back into any antecedent circumstances which may have given rise to such complaints, or which may tend to fix responsibility for defects found to have existed within the prescribed period. The Commission will have all the ordinary powers possessed by a Royal Commission, and the authority to administer on oath may not be included among them; but if in the conduct of the inquiry it appears to the Commissioners that they do not possess

sufficient powers or authority they will report to the Government, and it will be for the Government to determine what course they shall adopt under the circumstances.

CHANNEL FISHERY REGULATIONS,
1843 AND 1868—ENTRY OF A FRENCH
FISHING SMACK INTO YARMOUTH.

SIR HENRY TYLER (Great Yarmouth) asked the Secretary to the Board of Trade, Whether a Report has yet been received from the Inspector sent to inquire into the case of the French fishing smack, *Jeanne Rene*, of Fecamp, which is stated to have put into Yarmouth, to have lain at the fish wharf, and to have sold her catch of herrings, cured in bulk, by auction in the Yarmouth market, on Saturday last; whether, under the Conventions of 1843 and 1868, or other International arrangements, English fishing vessels may lawfully be seized, and subjected to various pains and penalties, for entering French ports, as was the case with the 12 Colchester smacks recently detained at Havre, whilst a French fishing vessel is allowed not only to enter an English port, but also freely sell her catch of fish in competition with English fishermen; whether fish from French fishing smacks may thus be freely sold in England, and without duty, whilst English-caught fish cannot under any circumstances be sold in French or other foreign ports without being subjected to high and practically prohibitive duties; and, whether they will adopt such speedy measures as Her Majesty's Government may consider to be best to remedy such anomalous conditions, by negotiating a fresh Convention with the French Government or otherwise?

THE SECRETARY (Baron HENRY DE WORMS) (Liverpool, East Toxteth): The facts are generally as stated. The matter is undoubtedly one of great importance; but all I can say is that it shall receive very careful consideration by the Government. The Inspector's Report has not yet been received.

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—
DR. BARRETT, J.P.

DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been called to the conduct of Dr. Barrett, J.P., at and after the recent

meeting of the Inchigeela Dispensary Committee, on the occasion of the visit of the Local Government Visiting Inspector, when Dr. Barrett insulted and struck repeatedly Rev. Mr. Holland, P.P.; and, whether the attention of the Lord Chancellor will be called to the behaviour of the Justice of the Peace in question?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH) (Bristol, W.): This Question only appeared on the Paper this morning; and if I may make a request to hon. Members with reference to similar Questions, I will ask them to give at least two days' Notice. The Local Government Board have no information with regard to this matter, and I have had no time to make inquiry.

DR. TANNER said, he would repeat the Question on Thursday.

ROYAL COMMISSION ON MINES—
SAFETY LAMPS.

MR. PAULTON (Durham, Bishop Auckland) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether the recent Circular of the Mines Inspectors, issued by direction of the Home Office, contains any mention by name of the safety lamps specially recommended by the Royal Commissioners as being the most safe and efficient; whether he has instructed the Inspectors to take active steps to prohibit the use of such lamps as do not fulfil the conditions of safety laid down by the Commissioners in their Report; and, whether the Government will carry out the suggestion of the Royal Commissioners that the Government should maintain an apparatus, and should appoint some person to test and report to the Secretary of State on any lamps which may be submitted to him?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): The recent Circular of the Mines Inspectors does not mention any lamp by name; but it calls attention to that portion of the Royal Commissioners' Report which deals with the relative advantages and disadvantages of various kinds of safety lamps. The Inspectors have been instructed in cases where, in their opinion, the lamp at present in use is a source of danger to make a requisition under the Act of 1872 for the discontinuance of such lamp, and the adoption of a safer kind. The Inspectors

do not consider the establishment of a permanent official arrangement for testing lamps to be necessary; but the suggestion is one which will have my consideration.

**LAND LAW (IRELAND) ACT, 1881—
THE ROYAL COMMISSION—NAMES
OF THE COMMISSIONERS ON THE
DEVELOPMENT OF THE RE-
SOURCES OF IRELAND.**

MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.): asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he is now able to give the names of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the working of the Irish Land Act of 1881 and into the Development of the Resources of Ireland; and, if not, whether he will be able to do so before the close of the Session?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Sir **MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH**) (Bristol, W.): I am not yet in a position to inform the House of the names of the Royal Commissioners to be appointed to inquire into the Development of the Resources of Ireland, and I doubt whether I shall be able to do so before the close of the Session—if the Session closes as early as we anticipate. I can, however, state to the House the names of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the working of the Land Act, 1881. Earl Cowper will be Chairman, and associated with him will be the Earl of Milltown, Sir James Caird, Judge Neligan, and Mr. George Fottrell.

**LAW AND POLICE—TREATMENT OF
JOHN WILLIAMS IN HOLLOWAY
PRISON.**

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether he is aware that John Williams is treated as a convict in Holloway Prison; and, whether, in view of the fact that he is imprisoned for creating a stoppage in the streets, he will instruct the authorities of the prison to treat him as a first-class misdemeanant?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. **MATTHEWS**) (Birmingham, E.): John Williams is not treated as a convict in Holloway Prison. He is treated as a prisoner sentenced to simple imprisonment without hard labour. The Judge by whom he was sentenced had the

power to order him to be treated as a first-class misdemeanant, but did not do so.

**CIVIL SERVICE WRITERS—STATE-
MENT UPON THEIR CASE.**

MR. PICKERSGILL (Bethnal Green, S.W.) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether he will to-day fulfil the promise given by him, that—

“A statement upon the case of the Civil Service writers should be made before the close of the present Session?”

THE SECRETARY (Mr. **JACKSON**) (Leeds, N.): The Committee appointed to consider the claims of the Civil Service copyists have held a full meeting this afternoon to consider their Report.

**SALMON FISHERIES (SCOTLAND)—
RIGHTS OF FISHING IN
PERTHSHIRE.**

MR. E. ROBERTSON (Dundee) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, If he will state the terms of any agreement made by the Commissioners of Woods and Forests with Mr. Graham Stirling, of Strowan, Perthshire, and with the Trustees of the estate of Dunira, Perthshire, respecting the right of salmon fishing on these estates respectively; whether the rights or opportunities of salmon fishing previously enjoyed by the public have been prejudicially affected by such agreements; and, whether, before concluding such agreements, the Commissioners gave any public notice thereof to persons living on or in the neighbourhood of these estates?

THE SECRETARY (Mr. **JACKSON**) (Leeds, N.): The agreement referred to is a sale of the salmon fishings in the Rivers Earn and Ruchill *ex adverso* of the lands of the proprietors mentioned, the price paid by each being £100. There is no reason to suppose that the public have any rights of salmon fishing there. No public or other notice of the sale was given, as it was made to the adjoining proprietors, and that is the usual course of procedure.

**POST OFFICE (TELEGRAPH DEPART-
MENT)—ANNUAL HOLIDAY TO
TELEGRAPHISTS.**

MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W., and Sligo, S.) asked the Postmaster General, Whether fully appointed telegraphists performing night duty in the large English

and Scotch centres, such as Edinburgh, Glasgow, Liverpool, Manchester, Leeds, Newcastle, Bristol, Birmingham, and Hull, are allowed an annual holiday of three weeks; whether, in Belfast, 45 fully appointed telegraphists, performing night and Sunday duties, are allowed no more than a fortnight's holiday in the year; whether telegraphists transferred from Glasgow to Belfast have had their annual holidays reduced from three weeks to two; whether the telegraphists concerned handed to the Postmaster of Belfast, in October 1884, a Memorial praying for equality of holiday privilege with English and Scotch telegraphists performing similar duties, and whether, notwithstanding that the Memorialists have since, on 10 occasions, petitioned for a reply, no reply has yet been given; whether, in 1885, the Postmaster refused, and whether he still refuses, to allow the clerks to address a Memorial to the Postmaster General; and, whether the annual holiday will be extended?

THE VICE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL (Sir HENRY HOLLAND) (Hampstead) (who replied) said: As a general rule, where the conditions of work are the same the annual leave is the same. There are certain differences in the work in Belfast which accounts for the shorter leave in certain cases. The telegraphists who came from Glasgow did so at their own desire, and, of course, came under the Rules and Regulations of Belfast. I am further informed that the subject has been repeatedly under the consideration of the Postmaster General, and numerous replies have been given to applications from Belfast and elsewhere. I may, however, remind the hon. Member of the answer the Postmaster General gave on the 10th instant—namely, that he was considering the subject, and would, at the proper time, announce his decision.

IRELAND—COLLAPSE OF THE ALBERT BRIDGE, BELFAST.

MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W., and Sligo, S.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether any lives have been lost through the collapse of the Albert Bridge, Belfast, on Wednesday evening last; whether the bridge was thronged at the time of the accident; whether it is true, as reported, that a

gradual sinking of the structure had been observed for the past two or three weeks; whether the Town Council is responsible for having allowed the continuance of a thoroughfare across the bridge weeks after its collapsing condition became apparent; and, how soon an official inquiry will be held?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH) (Bristol, W.): So far as is known one life was lost through this accident. Fortunately it is not a fact that the bridge was thronged at the time. It is, I understand, true that a gradual sinking had previously been observed; but the immediate collapse of the bridge was not apprehended. I am advised that the question of responsibility is one of law, which must be decided in a Court of Justice, if raised. I am not aware that there is any obligation on the Government to institute an official inquiry; but I shall look further into this matter.

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—THE RIOTS AT BELFAST—GRAND JURY OF ANTRIM.

MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W., and Sligo, S.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been called to the Report of the application of District Inspector Stritch to the County Antrim Grand Jury at the last summer assizes, contained in the Belfast papers of the 23rd July last; whether it is the fact that, owing to an omission in the Belfast Private Act of 1865 (28 & 29 *Vict.* c. 183), transferring the jurisdiction of the Grand Jury of the county Antrim to the Belfast Town Council, the power, existing throughout the whole of the rest of Ireland (by virtue of the 6 & 7 *Will.* IV., c. 116, s. 106), of granting compensation in the case of witnesses and magistrates, or other peace officers, maimed or murdered on account of their efforts to bring disturbers of the peace to justice, does not apply to the borough of Belfast; whether it is the fact that, in the case of such occurrences taking place in Belfast, compensation cannot be granted at all, or can only be granted by the Grand Jury of the county Antrim, who would have no power either to levy county cess in the borough or to compel the borough to contribute; whether it is true that several other persons (including the representative of Head Constable Gar-

diner, deceased, who was shot in Belfast during the riots) are in the same position as District Inspector Stritch; and, whether the Government propose to remedy this injustice?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. HOLMES) (Dublin University) (who replied) said: My attention has only been called to the application of District Inspector Stritch by the Question of the hon. Member. On reference to the Belfast Local Act of 1865 I find that there appears to have been the omission mentioned in the second paragraph of the Question, with the result stated in the third paragraph. My attention has also been called to some other alleged defects in the Belfast Local Act in connection with the riots in Belfast. I will look carefully into the matter before the next Session of Parliament, with the view of seeing whether some amendment of the law may not be made.

ARMY—CHARGES AGAINST THE ORD- NANCE DEPARTMENT.

MR. WADDY (Lincolnshire, Brigg) asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether it is true that a distinguished officer in Her Majesty's Service, Colonel Hope, has written to him letters containing charges of fraud, conspiracy, and other misconduct against certain officers and other persons in a fiduciary position with respect to Her Majesty's Army; whether such communications were in the first instance confidential, and whether Colonel Hope has now withdrawn any objection to their publication; and, whether the Government will now lay this Correspondence upon the Table of the House, and cause it to be circulated to the Members; or whether they will adopt any other and what course to allay the general anxiety of the House and the public on this subject?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): The hon. and learned Member cannot have been in the House recently, or he would be aware that I have answered Questions couched in almost identical terms with his Question four or five times already. The communication which was received from Colonel Hope was carefully considered by the Law Officers of the Crown and myself; and in their judgment and mine it does not contain

any statement which could be entertained by any Judicial Court, however constituted. In accordance with Colonel Hope's stipulation, that document was returned to him some days ago. He is perfectly free to publish it; and, as I have already stated in this House, I think he is bound in honour to do so.

MR. WADDY: Will the right hon. Gentleman answer the third part of my Question? Will the Government lay this Correspondence on the Table?

MR. W. H. SMITH: The Government will not. The Correspondence to which the hon. and learned Member refers was preceded by a statement from Colonel Hope, to the effect that these Papers should be left in my hands until the 10 of September only. The Papers have been returned; and it is, therefore, not in my power to lay them on the Table.

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS— POLLING PLACES IN RURAL DISTRICTS.

MR. WADDY (Lincolnshire, Brigg) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether his attention has been drawn to the fact that, in the rural districts, the polling places are frequently arranged in such a way that many voters of the poorer classes are compelled to walk several miles to vote; whether the loss of time thus caused has not, in fact, largely prevented the exercise of the franchise; and, whether he will take steps to remedy this hardship?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): My attention has not been called to this matter, otherwise than by the Question of the hon. and learned Member. He does not appear to have read the Statutes on the subject. The polling districts in counties are fixed by the Court of Quarter Sessions, and they are the authority to whom any complaint should be addressed. I have no power to interfere.

POST OFFICE (IRELAND)—ACCOMMO- DATION AT GRANGEGEITH.

MR. O'HANLON (Cavan, E.) asked the Postmaster General, Whether, since the appointment of a letter-carrier between Grangegeith and Slane, each week has doubled the former in papers,

letters, &c.; and, having regard to the fact, will he now appoint an office at Grangegeith, the letters being weekly over 137?

THE VICE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL (Sir HENRY HOLLAND) (Hampstead) (who replied) said: The Postmaster General is waiting for a further and fuller Report in reference to this subject. When it arrives he will give it careful consideration and decide.

ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—COLLECTION OF SEED RATE.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether some 30 men of the Rathmullen Constabulary, in county Donegal, were employed on the 8th, 9th, 11th, and 12th January in collecting seed rate; and, whether the allowances to which they are entitled under the Regulations of the Force in connection with this service have yet been paid; and, if not, could he state on what grounds?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH) (Bristol, W.): I have no Report on the subject, and I shall be obliged if the hon. Member will postpone the Question until Thursday.

RUSSIA—EXPORTATION OF SUGAR—CONTINUANCE OF BOUNTIES.

COLONEL HILL (Bristol, S.) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether Her Majesty's Government have received any information as to the reported continuance for another year of the large bounties given by the Russian Government on the export of sugar; and, whether, considering the injury which the bounty system causes to British home and colonial industries, Her Majesty's Government will use their best endeavours to obtain the assembling of an International Conference for the general abolition of bounties at the earliest possible moment?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JAMES FERGUSSON) (Manchester, N.E.): Her Majesty's Government have received no information of the nature indicated in the first paragraph of the Question. The question as to the assembling of an International Conference is under the consideration of Her Majesty's Government.

ARMY (DISCIPLINE)—COURT MARTIAL AT CHATHAM.

COLONEL HUGHES-HALLETT (Rochester) asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether his attention has been called to the statements that have appeared in the public Press, referring to a general court-martial lately held at Chatham on an officer of the 2nd Battalion Royal West Kent Regiment; whether the conduct of the Commanding Officer and the Adjutant of that Regiment, in connection with the case tried, is in any way deserving of censure; and, whether it is true, as stated in the papers, that the condition of this Battalion is eminently unsatisfactory?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): My attention has been called to the statements referred to. I do not consider, in connection with this case, that the conduct of either the Commanding Officer or the Adjutant is deserving of censure, nor is the battalion in an unsatisfactory condition.

LABOURERS (IRELAND) ACT—THE FERMOY UNION SCHEME—INQUIRY UNDER THE ACT.

Mr. HOOPER (Cork, S.E.) (for Mr. LEAMY) (Cork Co., N.E.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, The cause of the delay of the Local Government Board to hold the "local inquiry" into the Petition of the Guardians of the Fermoy Union for the confirmation of an improvement scheme for the erection of 222 labourers' cottages, which was lodged on the 16th of August last; and, whether, bearing in mind that the Winter is fast setting in, and the building of the cottages must necessarily be put off to Spring if the inquiry be not forthwith held, he will direct the Local Government Board to hold it at once?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH) (Bristol, W.): The Local Government Board have had before them the resolution of the Guardians of the Fermoy Union on the subject of this question; and they have been informed that Petitions have been received from three other Unions in the same district, and that inquiries into those cases must, in the regular and ordinary course, take precedence of

Fermoy; but that as soon as the Inspector was at liberty no delay whatever would take place in holding the Fermoy inquiry.

**CRIME AND OUTRAGE (IRELAND)—
THE RIOTS IN BELFAST—ATTACK
ON THE DAVIS STREET POLICE
BARRACKS.**

MR. EWART (Belfast, N.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he has seen the report in *The Times* of the 20th instant, of an attack, resulting in the loss of some lives, on the Davis Street Police Barracks, Belfast, said to be for the purpose of rescuing a prisoner; and, whether he can give the House any further information on the subject?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH) (Bristol, W.): I may state to the House the report which I have received of these occurrences. At 7 o'clock in the evening a most determined attack was made by some roughs to rescue a prisoner from the police station in Davis Street. A mob soon collected; several of them broke open the barrack door during a violent attack which was being made upon the house and demanded the prisoner. The window shutters outside were torn down and the glass smashed, stones and bricks in large numbers were hurled into the rooms, and attempts were made to seize the police rifles through the broken windows. The lives of the police were at the time in imminent danger, and they fired from inside at the attacking party. One man was shot while trying to enter the hall, and he died shortly afterwards in the hospital. A woman was wounded who has since died. The police fired some shots from the barrack at the persons who were forcing themselves in, and some of these shots wounded some of the mob who were outside in the street.

MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W., and Sligo, S.): I wish to know if the right hon. Baronet is aware of the renewal of the disturbances last night, and that the last outbreak was due to an attack made by a mob on an officer of the Society for the Registration of Nationalist Voters; and, also, if he is aware of a procession of the Mayor's workmen passing through the streets, the workmen using insulting expressions as they passed along; and, whether steps will now be taken to pre-

vent the passing of the Mayor's workmen in procession through the streets?

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: No, Sir. The information I have received about last night's disturbances does not tally with what the hon. Member has stated. I will state what I have heard. The report is that eight or 10 shots were fired at the police in Hill Street at 9.45 P.M. The 5th Dragoon Guards were stoned in the Brickfields about 7 o'clock. One man was injured by a blow from a stone. A house was attacked in Wilson Street, and a pawn office broken into in the same locality, about 11 o'clock. Both houses belonged to Protestants. Twelve persons were arrested for rioting. The Black Watch were stoned in North Street about 6.30 P.M., and after that time all was quiet.

MR. SEXTON: Does the right hon. Baronet intend to take any steps to prevent processions of large bodies of workmen from the Queen's Island passing through the streets?

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: These processions have, so far as I understand, ceased for some time past. I am not aware that they have been renewed. But if any steps appear to be necessary to be taken with regard to them, of course I shall give directions in the matter.

**LAND LAW—TRANSFER OF LAND—
LEGISLATION.**

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE (Bradford, Central) asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether, in the proposal of the Government announced yesterday, to deal with the subject of transfer of land next year, it is intended to include the subjects of the assimilation of the law of inheritance of land to that of personal property, and the prohibition or limitation of entails?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Lord RANOLPH CHURCHILL) (Paddington, S.): I stated yesterday, on the authority of the Lord Chancellor, that it was his intention in the next Session of Parliament to introduce a Bill dealing with the transfer of land; and I own I am surprised that the right hon. Gentleman with his experience should expect me, of all people in the world, to state to him four months before the introduction of the measure details of a very complicated subject,

Sir Michael Hicks-Beach

which can only be dealt with by a very learned Law Officer.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: In consequence of the answer of the noble Lord I beg to give Notice that on the Appropriation Bill I shall call attention again to the subject, when I hope the noble Lord will be able to give me a somewhat more courteous answer.

ARMY (AUXILIARY FORCES) — THE MILITIA—EXAMINATION FOR LIEUTENANTS.

MR. AGG-GARDNER (Cheltenham) asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether, as after the last examination for Lieutenants of Militia, held in March, only 51 Commissions were allotted out of 75, he will add the balance of 24 Commissions to the number to be competed for at the ensuing examination?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): At the examination held in March only 51 commissions were allotted out of 75, because only 51 officers qualified in the examination, and the balance of 24 was absorbed principally by giving extra commissions in the Line to meritorious non-commissioned officers. I cannot undertake to give more than the usual number of commissions to the Militia in the preliminary examination; but I fear, judging from past experience, that not more than that number of Militia officers will qualify at the examination.

WARLIKE STORES AND EQUIPMENTS (ROYAL COMMISSION) — ORDINANCE STORE DEPARTMENT.

MR. DE LISLE (Leicestershire, Mid) asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether the Commission to inquire into the complaints made during the last five years by General Lord Wolseley and other Commanding Officers will be empowered to inquire into the whole organization and management of the Ordnance Store Department—that is, of the Department of the Director of Artillery and Stores at the War Office?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): I assume that the hon. Member means only the Department of the Director of Artillery and Stores at the War Office. It is not proposed to refer that subject to the Royal Commission, except in so

far as questions affecting it may incidentally arise in the course of the inquiry to which the Royal Commission is more particularly directed.

SOUTH PACIFIC—DEPORTATION OF FRENCH CONVICTS TO NEW CALEDONIA.

MR. HOWARD VINCENT (Sheffield, Central) asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies, If the attention of the French Government has been again drawn to the injury inflicted upon the territories of the South Pacific by the wholesale deportation, under a loose system of discipline, of the most depraved criminals to New Caledonia; as also to the increasing irritation upon the subject among the Australasian peoples; and, what progress has been made in the negotiations with the Government of the Republic for the suspension of this system?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. E. STANHOPE) (Lincolnshire, Horncastle): The French Government formally offered some time ago to discontinue transportation of criminals to the Pacific if allowed to assume the sovereignty of the New Hebrides. The Australian Colonies having altogether refused to entertain this proposal, there are no negotiations at present on foot. But Her Majesty's Government have not ceased to urge upon the French Government the discontinuance of a system which has inflicted great evils on the Colonies.

HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE—PROBATE, DIVORCE, AND ADMIRALTY DIVISIONS.

LORD CLAUD HAMILTON (Liverpool, West Derby) asked Mr. Attorney General, Whether Her Majesty's Judges, in addition to considering the question of the present system of holding Assizes, are also considering the expediency of altering the Rules and Orders, so as to allow suitors in the Probate and Divorce Divisions to institute interlocutory proceedings in the District Registry; and, whether the sittings for the trial of Probate and Divorce and Admiralty actions, by one of the Judges of that Division, can be periodically held in some of the large centres in the Provinces?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir RICHARD WEBSTER) (Isle of Wight): It has not, of course, been possible for

me to communicate with Her Majesty's Judges since the Question of the noble Lord was placed on the Paper. I may say, however, that the whole question of local centres, including interlocutory proceedings, has been brought before, and is engaging the attention of, the Judges. There are difficulties in the way of allowing interlocutory proceedings in Probate and Divorce actions to be taken in District Registries owing to the special character of the practice. I cannot hold out any prospect of local sittings of the Judges of the Probate, Divorce, and Admiralty Division.

POST OFFICE (IRELAND)—THE SUB-POSTMASTER OF STRADBALLY, CO. WATERFORD.

MR. P. J. POWER (Waterford, E.) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether the Lords of the Treasury intend complying with the Memorial forwarded to them by the people of Stradbally and district, county Waterford, requesting the appointment of Miss Finn to the position of Postmistress in that village?

SIR HERBERT MAXWELL (A Lord of the Treasury) (Wigton) (who replied) said: The vacancy in the Post Office at Stradbally was filled up on the 8th of September, before the Memorial reached the Treasury.

METROPOLIS—THE CITY OF LONDON LIVERY COMPANIES—LEGISLATION.

MR. PICKERSGILL (Bethnal Green, S.W.) asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether the attention of the Government has been given to the Report of the Commission on the City Livery Companies; and, whether the Government will propose Legislation next Session on the lines of the Report, or, in the alternative, will give facilities to a few private Members who might be disposed to assist the Government by themselves preparing and introducing a Bill based on the recommendations of the Commission?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL) (Paddington, S.): I should not feel justified in saying that the attention of the Government has hitherto been very closely given to the Report of the Commission on the City Livery Companies. In reply, however, to the second para-

graph of the Question, I think it will be the opinion of the House and of the public generally that the liabilities which the Government have already incurred with regard to legislation are sufficiently heavy, and that we would not be justified in giving a direct promise on this subject. With regard to the Government giving "facilities to a few private Members who might be disposed to assist the Government" next Session with regard to this subject, I am glad to think that we may count on the hon. Member as one of those disposed to assist us; but I do not know that I should be justified in speculating with any precision on the course of Public Business next Session.

SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE—AFFAIRS OF BULGARIA—ACTION OF THE GOVERNMENT.

MR. CREMER (Shoreditch, Haggerston) asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether, considering the difficulties which have arisen in Bulgaria, and the possibility of greater complications arising therefrom in the Turkish Empire during the forthcoming Recess, the Government will refrain from taking any steps involving this Country in further obligations or responsibilities until the consent of Parliament has been obtained; and, whether, in the event of serious difficulties arising, the Government will advise Her Majesty to forthwith convene a meeting of Parliament?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL) (Paddington, S.): I have examined the Question of the hon. Member, and I suppose I may say without contradiction that the Question as it stands on the Paper indicates that the hon. Member has no confidence in Her Majesty's present Government. He will also observe that if I were to answer the Question in the sense which would be agreeable to him it would indicate that I had no confidence in Her Majesty's present Government. Therefore, I fear my answer will be altogether unsatisfactory to him. All I can say is this—that in the event of the serious difficulties arising which the hon. Member appears to anticipate, but which I do not anticipate, the Government will act in a Constitutional manner, and will, as is their duty, and knowing their responsibility to Parliament, give such advice to the Crown as, in their

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opinion, may be best calculated to protect the interests of the Empire.

MR. CREMER: In consequence of the unsatisfactory answer of the noble Lord I beg to give Notice that I will bring on the question on the Appropriation Bill.

OWNERS AND OCCUPIERS OF LAND— INCIDENCE OF TITHES—LEGISLATION.

MR. SWETENHAM (Carnarvon, &c.) asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether, when the Government are considering the present Law with respect to the incidence of tithes, with a view to removing the liability from the occupier to the owner, they will at the same time inquire into the inequality of tithe in Wales on farms of similar character, and their inequality as compared with rent, with tithe generally in England, with the view of remedying the unfairness now being complained of in Wales; and, whether they will consider any reasonable proposition for the ultimate abolition of tithes by encouraging their redemption by the landlord?

MR. J. G. HUBBARD (London) asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, whether it is not the fact that both land tax and tithe were claims upon land anterior to rent; and that, although for convenience paid through the occupier, they were neither of them a burden on the occupier-tenant, inasmuch as their incidence involved an equivalent diminution of his rent?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL) (Paddington, S.): In reply to the Question of my right hon. Friend (Mr. J. G. Hubbard), I think the House will be of opinion that on the question of fact in regard to tithes he is a greater authority than I am. I hope, therefore, he will excuse me if I do not enter into a contest with him. With regard to the Question on the Paper, the consideration of the Government will naturally be directed to all the questions of controversy that have arisen with respect to the incidence of tithe.

THE "BOARD OF TRADE JOURNAL"— CIRCULAR OF THE BOARD TO CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE.

MR. MUNDELLA (Sheffield, Brightside) asked the Secretary to the Board

of Trade, Whether he will lay upon the Table a Copy of the Replies to the Circular issued by the late President of the Board of Trade to the Chambers of Commerce on the subject of *The Board of Trade Journal*; also, why *The Board of Trade Journal* has been issued in such an inconvenient form, and at so high a price, and why it is limited to 48 pages of matter; whether the Board of Trade will reconsider the form and price of the *Journal*, and enlarge it to a size adequate to the valuable matter at their command; and, whether they will consider the desirability of placing themselves in relation with the Education and Postal Departments, so that all important postal notices and all important facts relating to technical and commercial education at home and abroad may appear in the *Journal*?

THE SECRETARY (Baron HENRY DE WORMS) (Liverpool, East Toxteth): Perhaps the right hon. Gentleman will allow me to answer both his Questions together. There is no objection to laying upon the Table the replies to the Circular above-named if the right hon. Gentleman will move for them. No representations have been made as to the present form of the *Journal* being inconvenient, although it was submitted in this shape to the Chambers of Commerce. Proposals are already under consideration for its increase. The price was fixed partly with that view. The Board of Trade have already been in communication with the Postal and some other Departments of the Government, and will consider the suggestion of the right hon. Gentleman with reference to the Education Department.

LICENSED PUBLICANS (IRELAND)— SUPPLIES, &c. TO THE CONSTABULARY.

MR. FINUCANE (Limerick, E.) asked Mr. Attorney General for Ireland, Whether licensed publicans in Ireland are bound, under forfeiture of their licences, to supply to members of the Constabulary, or to any others, first, any drinks for the sale of which they hold licences; second, cars and horses (if they have such); third, stabling accommodation, &c.; and, whether many publicans in Ireland are now being threatened with opposition to the renewal of their licences by the Constabulary, for refusal to supply the above?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. HOLMES) (Dublin University): A publican must obtain each year at the Licensing Sessions a certificate of good character, and that his place of business has been conducted in a peaceable and orderly manner during the preceding year. The fact that a publican has declined to supply the Constabulary in the manner mentioned in the Question may be grounds for refusing this certificate; but whether it is or not depends on the circumstances of each case. Notice of opposition to the renewal of their licences has been served on several publicans in Ireland for the reasons mentioned in the Question.

INDIA (MADRAS PRESIDENCY)—ALLOWANCES TO THE GOVERNOR.

MR. SHEEHAN (Kerry, E.) asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether the present Governor of Madras has drawn the same amount of sumptuary contract and other personal allowances as former Governors; and what are the amounts of these different allowances, exclusive of salary?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JOHN GORST) (Chatham): The only personal allowance of the Governor of Madras is the contract allowance of Rs. 90,000 per annum. During the term of office of the present Governor this amount has not been exceeded.

FISHING BOATS ACT, 1883 (AMENDMENT) BILL.

MR. HENEAGE (Great Grimsby): asked the Secretary to the Board of Trade, Whether it is the intention of the Government to re-introduce next Session the Bill to amend and extend the powers given by the Fishing Boats Act, 1883, to the Superintendent of the Board of Trade for the settlement of disputes between masters, skippers, and seamen, for the better preservation of life in boxing and ferrying at sea, and for other purposes; and, if so, whether the Bill will be introduced in the same shape as it passed the House last Session?

THE SECRETARY (Baron HENRY DE WORMS) (Liverpool, East Toxteth): The Board of Trade hope to re-introduce the Bill referred to by the hon. Member next Session. The Bill will probably be in the same shape as that which passed the

House last Session; but I cannot give a positive pledge to that effect.

FISHERIES (ENGLAND AND WALES)—EAST COAST—ENCROACHMENT OF BELGIAN TRAWLERS.

SIR SAVILE CROSSLEY (Suffolk, Lowestoft) asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, Whether he is aware that damage to the amount of £800 has been inflicted on the Lowestoft fleet of drift fishing boats by Belgian trawlers during the last week; and, whether he will order a cruiser to be sent without delay to protect that fleet against further damage?

THE FIRST LORD (Lord GEORGE HAMILTON) (Middlesex, Ealing): No information of the character which the hon. Baronet refers to has been received by the Admiralty; but in past years there have been complaints that British fishermen have been subject to molestation from foreign fishermen; and, with the view of giving more effective protection to the fishermen on the East Coast, a cruiser has been set apart to take on board fishermen pilots. I will, however, direct inquiries to be made.

MOTIONS.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE (WEDNESDAY SITTINGS).

Ordered, That the Standing Orders of the House relating to Wednesday Sittings be suspended To-morrow.—(Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.)

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

Ordered, That the Order of the Day for resuming the Adjourned Debate on the Second Reading of the Tenants' Relief (Ireland) Bill have precedence next after the Consolidated Fund (Appropriation) Bill.—(Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.)

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

CONSOLIDATED FUND (APPROPRIATION) BILL.

(Mr. Courtney, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Jackson.)

COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."

LAND LAW—TRANSFER OF LAND—
LEGISLATION.

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE (Bradford, Central) said, he was constrained to repeat the Question regarding Land Law Reform put to the noble Lord the Chancellor of the Exchequer earlier in the Sitting. He trusted the noble Lord would pardon him if he said that the answer which was returned to his Question was not calculated to facilitate the progress of Business. ["Oh, oh!"] All he wished to know was, whether or not the Government had made up their minds as to the course they would take on the subject? If the noble Lord said they had not, he would be quite content with that answer. He had put the Question to the noble Lord with a sincere desire to learn what the intention of the Government was in connection with this important matter; and he might add that the subjects referred to in it were totally distinct from what was ordinarily meant by the term of land transfer. It was a subject in which he felt a great interest, and one in regard to which he intended to submit proposals to Parliament next Session. If the Government did not deign to give him a satisfactory answer he would take his own course upon the subject. He submitted that it would not be unreasonable that the noble Lord should indicate the scope of a measure upon such an important subject which they intended to bring forward next Session; and, in any case, he hoped he would get a more courteous answer than the noble Lord had given him a few minutes ago.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL) (Paddington, S.): I can assure the right hon. Gentleman that I intended no discourtesy to him; and if he thinks my answer discourteous I must apologize fairly and freely. I did not intend any discourtesy; but I do still think really and truly that the question is unreasonable. He asks the Government to state whether or not they have made up their minds as to the exact scope of a very difficult and complicated measure which the Lord Chancellor intends to submit to Parliament next Session. How can we tell that, at the present moment, with regard to a measure very technical and very difficult? The right hon. Gen-

tleman must see that the inquiry is altogether premature; and I will frankly confess that I am myself perfectly incompetent to deal with the question the hon. Member (Mr. Egerton Hubbard) raises. I have little or no knowledge of the difficult questions involved, and I do not take upon myself—I would not be presumptuous enough—to attempt to give any expression of opinion which might lead or mislead the House on the subject. I cannot answer the Question of the right hon. Gentleman. I do not think it is a Question which, under ordinary circumstances, he can expect the Government to answer. The measure to be introduced next Session will, on its introduction, either satisfy the right hon. Gentleman, or it will not; if it does not, then it will be open to him to object to it *in toto*, or else to endeavour to enlarge it or amend it.

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS—POLLING PLACES IN COUNTIES.

OBSERVATION.

Mr. WADDY (Lincolnshire, Brigg) said, he had to complain that the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Home Secretary had answered his Question on the subject of polling places in a somewhat loose fashion; and he would again appeal to the right hon. and learned Gentleman to make inquiry into what was a crying hardship in rural districts, fixtures being made constantly in such a way that men, although by statute required to go only two or three miles to record their votes, were called upon to go four five, six, and even seven miles.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.), in reply, said, he was not aware in what respect his answer was unsatisfactory to the hon. and learned Gentleman. At any rate, he could give him no other. The only information he had on the subject was that in the county which the hon. and learned Member represented a very large number of rural voters went to the poll, so that the difficulty could not have been very great there. The Statute, as the hon. and learned Gentleman was aware, did not in terms require, but suggested that the Quarter Sessions should provide polling stations, so that no person should be required to walk more than three miles. He had no authority to interfere with the discretion of the

Courts of Quarter Sessions; but he had no doubt that if complaint was made in the proper quarter of a real practical hardship the inconvenience would be remedied at once. As at present advised, it did not seem to him that the Statute itself was unreasonable in its provisions, or called for fresh legislation.

Question put, and *agreed to*.

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clauses 1 and 2 severally *agreed to*.

Clause 3 (Appropriation of sums voted for supply services).

MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W., and Sligo, S.): I beg to move, Sir, that you do report Progress.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. Sexton*.)

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL) (Paddington, S.): I venture to make some inquiry as to the reasons of this rather unexpected and strange Motion. I cannot account for it in any way. The hon. Member must be aware that any postponement of the stages of the Appropriation Bill now will lead to the greatest possible inconvenience to the House, and to all the authorities, officially and otherwise, connected with Parliament; and I cannot think that it can be the desire of the hon. Member to, unnecessarily, or without any serious cause, inflict that very great and almost immeasurable inconvenience upon the House and the officers of the House. The hon. Member must see that a Motion like that he has proposed cannot be seriously considered by Her Majesty's Government, if he does not condescend to give some kind of reason for it. The Government has been perfectly frank with the House, having stated beforehand their intentions with regard to the course of Public Business. Their declaration of their intention has not hitherto raised a single protest from any hon. Member in any quarter of the House. As to the measure the hon. Member is interested in, he will, doubtless, be inclined to admit that the Government have more than fulfilled the pledges they gave. They have put aside a whole Sitting of the House for the second reading of the

Bill, and have taken precautions that another whole Sitting shall be devoted to the discussion upon it.

MR. SEXTON: The noble Lord's explanation has not made it clear how the Business of the House can possibly be disarranged by the adoption of my Motion. I was not aware that two stages of the Appropriation Bill could be taken together to-night—namely, the discussion on the Motion that the Speaker do leave the Chair, and the Committee stage. ["No, no!"] Can two stages be taken to-morrow?

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: No.

MR. SEXTON: I am not disposed to persevere with my Motion, if it is made clear to me that we shall be able to bring forward for discussion those points which we are anxious to raise.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Any points hon. Members wish to direct attention to can be discussed on the third reading. The Government had the idea that hon. Members would avail themselves of the third reading for raising discussions; and, therefore, I have moved the suspension of the Standing Orders for to-morrow's Sitting, in order that the debate may continue after 6 o'clock.

MR. SEXTON: In that case I will withdraw my Motion. Will the noble Lord be in a position to-morrow to state definitely whether they intend to allow a grant to the Belfast Royal Hospital; and, if not, whether they intend that the Hospital shall receive the victims of the new rioting in Belfast for nothing?

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*.

Clause *agreed to*.

Remaining Clauses *agreed to*.

Bill *reported*, without Amendment; to be read the third time *To-morrow*.

TENANTS' RELIEF (IRELAND) BILL.

(*Mr. Parnell, Mr. Sexton, Mr. Dillon, Mr. T. P. O'Connor, Mr. John Pinkerton, Mr. Mahony.*)

[BILL 47.] SECOND READING.

ADJOURNED DEBATE. [SECOND NIGHT.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment proposed to Question [20th September], "That the Bill be now read a second time."

And which Amendment was,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words

"in the opinion of this House it is inexpedient, at the present time, to make any further alteration in the Irish Land Laws,"—(*Mr. Penrose Fitzgerald*.)

—instead thereof.

Question again proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

Debate resumed.

MR. JOHN MORLEY (Newcastle-on-Tyne): Mr. Speaker, I hope that I shall not have occasion to detain the House at any great length while I make a very few observations on the Bill now before us. The debate was wound up last night in a speech from the right hon. and learned Gentleman opposite (*Mr. Matthews*) of great ability. I cannot help regretting, however, that the first occasion upon which the right hon. and learned Gentleman should have addressed the House should be an occasion upon which, in rather hard and high and imperious tones, he repudiated any prospect upon this question of reconciliation and harmony between the Government, of which he is a Member, and the majority of his own countrymen.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (*Mr. Matthews*) (Birmingham, E.): I am not an Irishman.

MR. JOHN MORLEY: I beg the right hon. and learned Gentleman to pardon my mistake. I regret that I should have fallen into error; but I suppose that I was led into it by the previous connection of the right hon. and learned Gentleman with an Irish constituency, and the zeal which he previously evinced in his support of the views entertained by the great majority of the Irish Members. Well, Sir, it is quite true, as the right hon. and learned Gentleman said last night, when he told us that the Government, by the mouth of the noble Lord the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in conceding a day for this discussion, had warned the House that there was very little prospect of the Government coming, in the slightest degree, into agreement with the proposals of the hon. Member for Cork (*Mr. Parnell*). It is quite true the noble Lord said that; but, while admitting that the noble Lord carefully took that position, I ventured, at the time, to entertain a hope that, upon examination, it might be found that the

proposals of the hon. Member for Cork might not be wholly unacceptable to the Government. In the interval, and during the course of the discussion that followed, that hope, which I entertained before the Bill was brought in, has been strengthened rather than weakened; because, in that interval, we have seen more and more reason why the Government should not throw away a single possible opportunity of assenting to any reasonable proposal of a conciliatory and harmonious kind. The position of the Government as regards the maintenance of social order in Ireland, the right hon. Gentleman opposite (*Sir Michael Hicks-Beach*) will agree with me, is not altogether a smooth or an easy one. The right hon. Baronet, I am sure, had that feeling in his mind when proposing, during the coming autumn and winter, the carrying out of a firm and a stern administrative policy, such as in 1883-4 and half of 1885 was attempted to be carried out, and was carried out with some degree of success, by my noble Friend (*Earl Spencer*). But the right hon. Baronet, and the Government as well, must feel that there are great and remarkable disadvantages in their case compared with the position of *Earl Spencer*. For one thing, *Earl Spencer* and his administration had the advantage, so far as it was one—and he (*Earl Spencer*) undoubtedly thought it was one—of the Crimes Act. The right hon. Baronet, however, has no such instrument as that at his disposal. Another thing, I remember, is that when *Earl Spencer* was able to keep a kind of order the branches of the Land League were then only scores, where now, since the Conservatives came into power last year, they are numbered by hundreds, or thousands. These are two enormous disadvantages; but there is a third which should make the Government especially careful to do all they can, as I say, to throw away no opportunity of conciliating Irish feeling, and to remove excuses, pretexts, and all good or bad reasons for Irish disorders. And the third reason why the Government should give no pretext or reason for the occurrence of disorder is that the Government themselves, by the answer given by the noble Lord opposite last Wednesday, have promised to bring in legislation of the utmost importance, which must unsettle a great deal in Ireland,

[*Second Night.*]

whether it settles anything else or not. That promise has, undoubtedly, raised expectancy and created a suspense in the minds of the people, which makes it all the more desirable that the Government should do the best they can to remove every excuse for an outbreak of social disorder. The right hon. and learned Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department told us, in plain and straightforward terms last night, that the Government would not assent to the second reading of the Bill of the hon. Member for Cork, as they did not believe it was in any way necessary or justifiable. I am not going to labour the point as to the fall in prices; but I must say it seems to me that the hon. Member for Cork made out a case under that head which has not in the least degree been overthrown, either by the figures of the hon. Member for Cambridge (Mr. Penrose Fitzgerald) or any of those who came after him, including the hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Gibson). [*Laughter.*] Well, I know that a considerable number of statistics were adduced on the other side of the House, but those statistics were not really tested and measured; and I will only give one instance of the want of proper preparation which marked a great deal of the criticism under that head. The hon. Member for Cork stated—what was not denied by the hon. Member for Cambridge, and what was admitted by the Chief Secretary for Ireland on the previous day—that there had been an enormous fall in the prices of butter and of stock. But the hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General for Ireland got up and said with an air of triumph—“Ah! but there is a rise of 60 per cent in the price of wool.” Now, what does that amount to? I am not going to weary the House with many figures. These are the only figures I mean to read; but they will enable the House to see what weight ought to attach to this enormous rise of 60 per cent in the price of wool, and how little that rise affects the argument of the hon. Member for Cork. I have here a Return which was prepared by very competent authorities in Ireland when I was at Dublin Castle. This estimated Return shows that the gross value of the crops grown in Ireland in 1885 was £29,873,000. The value of milk and its products is taken

at £14,000,000. The sum estimated for live stock is £16,800,000. Now, on the other side of the question, the total of the wool, the increase in the price of which has so rejoiced the hon. and learned Gentleman, was only £320,000. So that, while there was a depreciation in the prices of produce and stock valued at £30,000,000, all that could be said on the other side was that there was an increase in the prices of an article which represented £320,000. I do not believe any of the other figures were more valuable as an argument in respect of the fall of prices. I am not going to labour, either, the question whether or not the Land Commissioners did take into account a probable fall in prices when awarding judicial rents. All I know is, that when I left Ireland the universal opinion—I think I may say not only among the partizans of the hon. Member for Cork, but also among those who look at the question in a more impartial way—was that rents had not been valued with a view to leaving a margin for a possible depreciation in prices. The hon. Member for North Meath (Mr. Mahony), who has been an Assistant Commissioner, has given us his testimony on the point; and I may say that not very long ago I met another Assistant Commissioner, a gentleman who has been at work since the commencement of the Act, and is at work at this moment, and he assured me that it was a matter of common notoriety that the Sub-Commissioners, in fixing rents, had simply looked back upon an average of five or six years, and had not looked forward to the probabilities of the future with a view of making allowance for a fall. This gentleman told me, too, that since the depreciation became very marked and decisive the reductions in rent had been very much larger, and had brought the rent much lower down in proportion to the Poor Law valuation than had been the case anterior to the 1st of January, 1885. I took the trouble to verify, by looking at his awards, that gentleman's statement, and I found that his statement was fully borne out by the actual figures of those awards. I need not, however, dwell at all on these points; because, after all, the remarks of the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department did not deal so much with the merits of the Bill as with the contention of my right hon.

Friend the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone), that the appointment of the Commission does, in fact, constitute a *prima facie* case for the second reading of the Bill now before the House. The right hon. and learned Gentleman denied that the terms of the Reference of the Commission bore out my right hon. Friend's contention, that the Government must have some information which led them to suppose that it was at least a possibility, that judicial rents had been fixed too high in view of the depression which has since taken place in the value of produce. He read the terms of the Reference to the Commission, and he laid great stress on the words "if any," as if it was meant to imply that there was no depreciation in prices. What did Lord Salisbury say? The right hon. and learned Gentleman was very indignant with my right hon. Friend the Member for Mid Lothian, because he did not quote the very words of Lord Salisbury. I do not think that a quotation of the very words of Lord Salisbury in any way shakes my right hon. Friend's case, or the case of those who say that the position of the Government really indicates the possibility of such legislation as this, in some form or other, being expedient. Lord Salisbury said—

"I have great doubts whether this inability to pay is true to a great extent."

You see, Lord Salisbury did not imply that it did not exist to any extent. Then Lord Salisbury went on to say—

"But if it should turn out that the Courts have made blunders, and that there is that impossibility in any case of paying rent, I think it is not the landlords who should bear the loss; I think this would be one of the cases for the application of the principle of purchase by the State."—(3 *Hansard*, [308] 67-8-9.)

The right hon. Baronet opposite the Chief Secretary for Ireland also, on the 23rd of August, used these words—

"Her Majesty's Government have never, from the beginning of this matter, looked upon the Commissioners who have decided rents as infallible, either in their method or in their knowledge of the question. We admit that it is possible that they may have been wrong; and, therefore, we include this matter in the inquiry which we propose."—(3 *Hansard*, [308] 298.)

But the right hon. and learned Gentleman opposite (Mr. Matthews) complains of my right hon. Friend for applying a strained and undue interpretation to the

terms of the Reference and to the position taken by the Members of the Government. I should like to argue that point. Let us see what the Government have said. They have admitted, at any rate, that there is a possibility that the awards of the Commissioners may have been erroneous, and that blunders may have been made. [*Ministerial laughter.*]

Oh, yes; but that is so. Now, upon that admission, the hon. Member for Cork and those who support his Bill found the case for such a Bill as is now before us. Suppose your Commissioners should ultimately report that rents in some cases have been too high. ["No, no!"]

But you cannot deny the possibility of that being the tenour of their Report; you admit the point to be a doubtful one; by the mouth of the Chief Secretary you have admitted it to be an open question. Well, the Bill treats it as an open question, and does no more than treat it as an open question. ["Oh, oh!"] I say it does no more. The 1st clause gives a purely judicial discretion to a judicial tribunal. The Bill makes the Land Court do in detail, in cases as they arise, what your Commissioners have to do vaguely and at large. Is it not a fair statement of the purport of the Bill that the Land Court becomes under this Bill a Commission of Inquiry, though a Commission, I am glad to admit, with executive powers? The Bill does, in fact, meet, though it does not decide, the point raised by Lord Salisbury himself of ultimate compensation by the State, if Parliament should think fit to accept Lord Salisbury's policy. What he says is that if it should turn out that the Courts have made blunders, and that there is an impossibility in any case of rent being paid, it is not the landlords who should bear the loss. Now, whether Lord Salisbury's view of compensation to the landlords out of the funds of the State be right or wrong, the Bill does not close—does not prejudice—the question whether the State or the landlord is to bear the loss. All that the Bill is founded upon, and what I chiefly value it for, is that if, in Lord Salisbury words, it should turn out that the Courts have made blunders, and that there is an impossibility in any cases of rents being paid, is the position that, whatever may be the rights between the landlords and the State, at any rate it is not the tenants who should bear the loss.

The right hon. and learned Gentleman asked how we were to find out whether there has been blundering and consequent hardship? But how is your Commission to find it out, except by going into given individual cases? How are you so likely to get at cases of hardship, severity, and impossibility to pay rent so conveniently as by giving an open access to a Court? The right hon. and learned Gentleman said it would take years to investigate all the cases that may arise; but that is an objection that must apply quite as much to the Commission of the Government as it does to the Bill. To make Lord Salisbury's proposed compensation in given cases possible, how are you going to find out the cases except by judicial inquiry and investigation in Court? I hope some Member of the Government will meet that argument for the Bill. Our contention is—my contention at least is, in giving my support to the Bill—that it provides a better machinery and a better method for answering your own questions which you have put to your own Commission. It gives you a practised tribunal which has enormous daily experience gained by dealing with the very matter in hand, and it insists upon particular and specific proof coming from the parties concerned. The hon. Member for Cambridge asks the hon. Member for Cork to show how the Land Court is to distinguish between what he calls the "can't pay" from the "won't pay"? The hon. Member for Cambridge cannot have very well mastered the details of the Bill, for they show that the difficulty cannot arise. The Court will not have to distinguish between those who cannot pay and those who will not pay; because the *onus probandi*, the burden of proof, that a tenant cannot pay is thrown by the Bill upon the tenant who makes the application to the Court. I am so anxious that the House should understand the case for the Bill, which, to my sincere regret—and I say it in good faith—the Government are going to throw out—I am so anxious that the case should be understood, that I should like to point out three or four other objections that might have been easily obviated and met, if the Government would only have accepted the principle that there may be cases in which there is a *bona fide* impossibility to pay rent owing to the fall of prices, and that it is desirable that these cases should be

investigated by the Land Court, and a judicial decision come to upon the merits of the cases. It has been said, as a reason why the Government cannot support the Bill, that the deposit of 50 per cent of the antecedent arrears of the rent is much too small. If that be all, why should not the Government have tried to alter the terms of the Bill and have raised the deposit from 50 to, say, 75 per cent? I do not say I am personally in favour of that course; but it is obvious that the objection to the Bill, that the amount of the deposit is too low, can be met by an Amendment in Committee. It is said that very few landlords, and no good landlords, would evict if tenants offered what the hon. Member for Cork first proposed—namely, a deposit of 75 per cent. I daresay that is so; but, if this be your objection, you can easily set it right in Committee. A second objection is that the Bill gives relief to tenants whose inability to pay arises not from a fall in prices, but from faults of their own, from excessive drinking of whisky, or excessive subscribing to testimonials. What could have been easier than to remedy what I think is an unfortunate omission in the Bill, by providing in half-a-dozen words that a tenant must show that his inability arose, as is assumed in the Preamble, from the fall in prices? Another objection is that it is said the Bill would give compulsory credit for half the rent, to every tenant who chooses to come to the Court, until his case is disposed of. It has also been maintained that the Bill takes stock out of possible assets. Now, both the hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General for Ireland and the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department made a mountain out of the molehill contained in this provision as to stock. Does not everyone in the House see that the question whether the stock should, or should not, be an asset is a matter which could be settled in an hour in Committee? In saying that, I pronounce no opinion on the merits of making stock an asset; but it is idle to refuse a second reading to a Bill of this importance and urgency, on account of objections which can so easily be met. It would have been easier for the Government to provide, as they were bound to do by the terms of the Reference to the Commission and by the language of

their own speeches, all the safeguards and limitations which the ingenuity of hon. Members opposite could have invented. I do not say that all of us on this side would have approved of all those limitations; but you have a majority—I wish you were going to put it to better use—and you might have moulded the Bill in its details. You might have made it a condition that the Court should dismiss applications summarily, where it should appear that the landlord has made an offer that the Court thinks reasonable. Landlords might also have had power given them, during the period of suspension, to apply to the Court for leave to issue an execution, if it should appear that crops or stock were being improperly made away with. It might also have softened the prejudices of hon. Members opposite, though I should have regarded the condition with great disfavour, if it had been provided that the remitted arrears should be charged upon the tenant right for a certain number of years, say three or four, on the ground, which lawyers understand, that a tenant ought not to acquire a right to retain his holding by a reduction of liabilities such as the Bill would provide for, and then pocket all the money which might actually come to him from the sale of the tenant right on quitting his holding. These are points in which the Bill might have been modified; and I think it probable that the hon. Member for Cork and his Friends would have been willing to consent to some of these modifications rather than the Bill should make shipwreck. Further, it would have been possible to introduce provisions by which all the dishonest practices indicated by speakers on that side of the House might have been entirely frustrated and rendered impossible. I cannot help thinking that the landlords are making, not for the first time in their history, a grievous mistake in allowing this Bill to be thrown out. I hope no worse thing may befall them. The effect of passing this Bill would have been, for one thing, to shift the odium of refusing a reduction, in cases in which reduction is not justified by the circumstances of the tenants, from the landlords to the Court; and I submit to hon. Gentlemen opposite from Ireland that that would have been no small advantage to the landlord in the relations between himself and the ten-

ant. What have the landlords to fear from the cases going into Court? If their position is just; if there is no case for a reduction in consequence of depreciation; if the tenant who makes application in a given case is able to pay his rent, so far as the fall in prices affects his ability, why need the landlord fear any wrong being done or inflicted upon him? Perhaps the right hon. and learned Gentleman will take the opportunity later on of explaining that to the House. For my part, I cannot see it. From the point of view of the Executive Government, everything was to be gained by avoiding such collisions as are too likely to take place if the tenants who are unable to pay their rents from causes not under their own control are evicted and thrown out. It is quite as much the interest of the Executive Government, as it is the interest of the landlords, to get these cases into Court—to get the cases heard, so that there may be no sense of latent grievance in the minds of the tenants, and no want of confidence in the mind of the country at large, and no feeling in this country that injustice is being done. It would have strengthened the hands of the Government in whatever direction they may have elected to proceed as regards legislation in the future, and it would have mitigated the relations between landlord and tenant, if an assent had been given to the second reading of this Bill, subject to such modifications as I have indicated. I am glad, Sir, to gather, from the line taken almost unanimously by those who have spoken on that side of the House, that the necessity which has given rise to this Bill is bringing home to the minds of hon. Gentlemen from Ireland the necessity and the expediency of getting the Land Question settled on a firm and stable basis. Sir, I have always contended, for my part, that it is impossible to have social order in Ireland restored until you have the Land Question dealt with in a bold and courageous spirit. [“Hear, hear!”] Yes; but I do not consider that it will be dealt with in a bold and courageous spirit, if you are going to make the Imperial State the direct landlord of the tenants of Ireland, and if you are going to advance millions of money, as you are about probably to do, from the British Exchequer. That solution is impossible, unless you have an Irish State

authority interposed as a buffer between the tenant and the State landlord. I agree most fully that you may deal, and will probably find it convenient to deal, with these two questions in distinct measures; but I submit that the course of this debate has shown that even you on that side know that it is impossible to have peace in Ireland so long as you have a great body of tenants in Ireland in the relations that now exist between themselves and the body of gentlemen whom, by a long and unfortunate tradition, they have been brought to regard with feelings of the utmost hostility.

COLONEL KING-HARMAN (Kent, Isle of Thanet): No, no!

MR. JOHN MORLEY: What, the hon. and gallant Gentleman says no such feelings exist!

COLONEL KING-HARMAN: I say not for a long time—not for five years.

MR. JOHN MORLEY: Does the hon. and gallant Gentleman say that this relation—this hostility between the landlord and tenant in Ireland is only a matter of five years, and do hon. Gentlemen approve of the statement! Why, Sir, what is the whole history of Ireland but a history of an incessant land war? What has been the reason and justification for all your long array of Coercion Acts, if it has not been for the land war? ["No, no!"] Why, does the hon. and gallant Gentleman think that the White Boys, the Rockites, and all the long list of agrarian mutineers, have only existed since the hon. Member for Cork took part in public affairs? I do not wish to use the word offensively; but a more ludicrous contention could not possibly be brought forward. A noble Duke in "another place," in the course of a discussion this Session, found great fault with me because I said somewhere or other that the Irish land system has been the most wretched and monstrous ever imposed on a country, and he said that was a great historical misrepresentation. I am not going into that question now, and I should not have referred to the subject but for the astonishing assertion of the hon. and gallant Gentleman opposite; but I say, without fear of contradiction from anyone who knows what the history of the Land Question in Ireland has been, that it has been a most wretched and most monstrous system. I am not

now dwelling on the great historic confiscation; but I make that assertion, that it has been a wretched and monstrous system, because your own Commissions—the Devon Commission, the Richmond Commission, and the Bessborough Commission—all show it. I say that the Irish landlord has been in the habit of preventing the Irish tenant from reaping the fruits of his industry. It is not the historic confiscations of centuries ago that weigh with me, but the constant daily confiscation that went on until the legislation of my right hon. Friend the Member for Mid Lothian. I am not going to prolong this argument. We shall have abundant occasions before we part with the Irish Question to go over all those points; but I should have been glad if we could have looked forward during the coming autumn and winter—all of us, in all parts of the House, and from all varieties of view—to being in a position—free from exposure to disturbance from agrarian outrage in Ireland—to look fairly into the merits of the questions which constitute the Irish problem. I believe the Bill of the hon. Member for Cork tends, as nothing else can, to give us this chance of a smooth and calm autumn and winter. Without that, depend upon it, when we meet again, whether in February or earlier, the country and the Members of this House will not be able to give the Irish Question that calm, and full, and reasonable consideration which, as we are beginning to find out by disastrous experience, is more urgently than ever demanded.

MR. CHAPLIN (Lincolnshire, Sleaford) said, he should not follow the right hon. Gentleman who had just sat down into any controversy as to the relations between Irish landlords and tenants, except to remark that those relations had been greatly aggravated since the right hon. Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) had tried to deal with the subject. He must also tell the right hon. Gentleman, with reference to his statement that the whole tendency of the Reports of the Bessborough and Richmond Commissions had gone to prove that the Irish landlords had been for years engaged in depriving Irish tenants of the fruits of their industry, that if he would take the trouble to study them with a little more care he would find that they

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pointed to an exactly opposite conclusion. Indeed, as a proof of that statement, he might refer to the words of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian, who had declared, on the occasion of the passing of the Land Act of 1881, that the great majority of the Irish landlords had been placed upon their trial; and that, having been tried, they had been acquitted. The right hon. Gentleman (Mr. John Morley) began his observations by offering the Government some reasons, which he said were far stronger than any which existed some months ago, for their acceptance of the proposals of the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell); and he reminded the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, in a somewhat ominous tone, that no Crimes Act was now in existence. "Remember," said the right hon. Gentleman, "where some years ago there was but one branch of the Land League throughout Ireland there were now 20 or 30." This was nothing but the argument of fear, which the right hon. Gentleman had used with reference to another Bill, and which his experience at that time should have shown him that the House of Commons, and most certainly a Conservative Government, was not disposed to listen to. The right hon. Gentleman stated that the fact that the Government had resolved upon granting a Royal Commission to inquire into the working of the Land Act of 1881 was an additional reason for giving support to the Bill of the hon. Member for the City of Cork. That was not a reasonable view to take of the proposal to hold the inquiry. If anything in the way of an argument at all, it was an additional reason for postponing legislation on the Irish Land Question at the present time. With respect to the question of the fall in prices, the right hon. Gentleman dealt with the contention that had been frequently used on that side of the House, that the Commissioners must have taken the fall of prices into consideration in fixing judicial rents. He said that several Land Commissioners whom he had spoken to assured him that nothing of the kind was taken into account at the time. That only showed that these particular Commissioners were totally unfitted for the discharge of the duties with which they had been entrusted. He remembered distinctly that at the time the Land

Commissioners sat first of all there was a general expectation of a fall in prices. At all events, the matter was freely talked of at the time. There was one point upon which the right hon. Gentleman offered no explanation, but which he should like to hear explained by some hon. Member opposite. He wished to know how it was that, although so many Irish tenants were unable to pay their rents, as the House was informed, at the present time, they were always able to afford to give such exorbitant prices for the tenant right of any desirable holding? That question must be answered before hon. Members could justify themselves in supporting the proposals of the Bill, for it was absolutely impossible to contend that rents could be excessive so long as people were found every day in abundance ready to give extravagant prices for the privilege of paying these alleged excessive rents. There was another part of this question with which he wished to deal, and to which he desired to call the attention of the hon. Member for the City of Cork in particular. Judicial rents were not the only things that were authorized and provided for by the Land Act of 1881. That Act also authorized, among other things, the sale of tenant right in many parts of Ireland where it had not previously existed. But the Bill of the hon. Member for the City of Cork dealt only with the question of the reduction of rent; whereas it was obvious that if the rents were injuriously affected by the fall in prices the value of the tenant right must be equally affected by that circumstance. The hon. Member for the City of Cork professed to be anxious to do justice to all parties. He (Mr. Chaplin) should like to know whether the hon. Member would accept a modification which would apply the reduction asked for not only to rents but to tenant rights? He doubted very much whether a Bill containing such a provision as to reduce the tenant right by one-half would be so popular in Ireland. The right hon. Member for Mid Lothian had contended that the Reference to the Commission contained an admission of an inability on the part of the tenants to pay the judicial rents and a promise to afford them relief. But it did not follow that because the Government opposed this Bill they were determined not to

afford any other form of relief to tenants who were placed in the unfortunate position of having undertaken to pay a higher judicial rent than the circumstances of their particular case rendered it possible for them to pay. He would now deal with the main provisions of the Bill for a few moments. The right hon. Member for Mid Lothian had taunted the Representatives of the Irish agricultural constituencies with having nothing whatever to say in opposition to the measure of the hon. Member for the City of Cork. He, therefore, as the Representative of an English agricultural constituency, desired to state the reason why he was altogether opposed to this Bill. He did not think that he should err greatly if he were to characterize this measure as the most extravagant, and he would even say the most impudent, proposal that had ever been submitted to Parliament. The speech in which the hon. Member introduced his Bill drew more largely on the credulity of the House than any speech he recollected. The hon. Member would have them believe that the operation of this Bill would be perfectly simple and easy, and that only a limited number of tenants would come under its consideration. He (Mr. Chaplin) doubted if that would be so. All that was intended was to compel the bad landlords in Ireland to do what the good landlords in Ireland and in England were already doing. He took issue with the hon. Member for Cork on each of these points; and he held that this Bill did nothing more nor less than postpone all proceeding for the recovery of one-half of the rents in Ireland, in all cases for a year, and in many cases for a period to which no limit whatever was assigned by the Bill. The Bill provided that a judicial tenant might make a certain application; and until that was disposed of all proceedings, even for the recovery of the half-year's rent, must be suspended for an indefinite period of time. What must such provisions of necessity lead to? The tenant would have to satisfy the Court of two things—first, that he had paid half his rent; and, secondly, that he could not pay the balance without depriving himself of the capital necessary for stocking his holding. By making such an application the tenant had nothing to lose, while he had much to gain; and it was not at all impro-

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bable that the provisions of the Bill would have the effect of inducing the greater portion of the tenants in Ireland to make such an application to the Court. In that case, what would become of the assertion of the hon. Member for the City of Cork that his Bill would apply to the cases of only a small number of the tenants? What new duties would this measure entail upon the Court? It might, doubtless, be easy enough for the Court to satisfy itself that half the rent had been paid; but how was it to satisfy itself in each individual case that the tenant could not pay the rest of the rent without depriving himself of sufficient capital to carry on and to stock his farm? This latter question was one which would depend upon a great variety of circumstances, each of which must receive the most serious consideration. The proposal, in fact, would involve a careful personal inspection, by a duly qualified person, of every single holding with regard to which the claim was made; and if he was right in his estimate of the probable number of claims, it would mean a general re-valuation of all the statutory holdings in Ireland. He hoped it would not be supposed from what he had said that he was lacking in sympathy with the agricultural tenants in Ireland. He had had too much experience himself of agricultural depression in this country at the present time; but he did wish to say this, in justification of their brother landlords in Ireland—that they were placed in a totally different position. The landlords in England had never come—and he hoped they never might—under the sinister influence of the legislation of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian. They might depend upon it that, if that should unhappily occur, there would be an end, as had happened already in Ireland, to the good feelings which had existed for so many years—and, thank God, still existed in England—between the landlords on the one hand and those who dwelt on their estates on the other. [Mr. MUNDELLA: The Agricultural Holdings Act.] The Agricultural Holdings Bill! If he remembered right, the Agricultural Holdings Bill was nothing but a copy of the measure on that subject which he had introduced himself on two or three occasions previously in the House. The legislation of the

right hon. Member for Mid Lothian had altered the position of the Irish tenant altogether from what it had formerly been. The Irish tenant was now under the strict and severe regulation of the law. The whole matter had been altogether taken out of the hands of the landlords, and the contract entered into was between the tenants on the one hand and the right hon. Member for Mid Lothian, as representing the State, on the other. The right hon. Gentleman had insisted upon depriving the landlords of their rights and privileges, and had insisted upon the rents being judicially fixed. But, on the other hand, the right hon. Gentleman had induced Parliament to give the landlords, in return, a guarantee that under no circumstances would the judicial rents be interfered with for a period of 15 years, and that if from any cause the rents were not paid they should recover possession of their land. That was a distinct understanding, and it was an honourable understanding, on the part of Parliament, which Parliament, by all the pledges it had made, should adhere to. If this had been an arrangement between individuals, no one would dream of repudiating it for a moment; and he had yet to learn that the honour of Parliament and the good faith of the State was less to be prized and less to be observed than that of any individual in the country. But he held that Parliament was under an obligation of honour to the Irish landlords; but although, in his opinion, Parliament was barred from further interference with the landlords, he did not say there might not be further opportunities of giving relief to all classes. That was the position which the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian took up last night when he said the Solicitor General for Ireland had declared against any relief in any shape whatever. That was not so. There might possibly be cases where tenants were really unable to pay their rents. They might even be so numerous—he (Mr. Chaplin) could not say, for he had no information—as to amount to a national calamity. But a national calamity was a thing to be borne, not by one class, but by all classes of the community. Why was that burden to be thrown on the landlords alone? The Government and the Parliament of that day recognized the principle that the

landlords alone should not bear the burden in the case of the Arrears Bill; and if the necessity for giving the tenant relief had arisen now, he (Mr. Chaplin) knew no reason why the same principle which was adopted then should not be adopted in the coming Session of Parliament. Again, there was another mode in which relief might be given, though he confessed that he (Mr. Chaplin) was afraid of shocking the susceptibilities of hon. Gentlemen opposite by mentioning it. What was the cause of this trouble at the present time? Everybody admitted that it was caused by the fall in prices alone. Then a rise in prices would be the rational and certain remedy for the present state of things. Was it in their power to bring about in any way a rise in prices? Of course it was; it could be done in a moment. The hon. Member for the City of Cork last night gave the House a long list of articles the prices of which he said had fallen considerably. He, however, much to his (Mr. Chaplin's) surprise, omitted to mention one article. He said nothing about sheep. Now, as his information from Ireland went, sheep had risen very considerably in price lately. He (Mr. Chaplin) was told that 6s. a-head was not too much at which to place the rise in price; but that was very judiciously omitted by the hon. Member for the City of Cork from his list. [An hon. MEMBER: He mentioned mutton.] Yes; but he thought the hon. Member for the City of Cork said that mutton had fallen, and he (Mr. Chaplin) did not understand how mutton could have fallen and sheep had risen. Then the hon. Member mentioned butter. That, no doubt, was a commodity of the greatest possible importance in the South of Ireland. But why had butter fallen? It had fallen from the simplest reason in the world—from the enormous increase in the consumption of American butterine, which he (Mr. Chaplin) believed was a nasty adulterated compound of which he had very little experience. Well, then, why not prohibit, or at all events limit considerably, the sale of butterine in Ireland? He was well assured, from all the confirmation that reached him, that no measure could be more popular in the South of Ireland at this time—that, in fact, it was infinitely more popular than a National Parliament or Home Rule for ventilating their obsolete opi-

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nions. In venturing to express these unorthodox opinions, he was well aware that he would be told they were contrary to the opinions of political economy. Political economy, indeed—in Ireland, above all places in the world! Why, political economy had been consigned to Jupiter and Saturn years ago by the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. W. E. Gladstone), so far as rents were concerned, and why on earth, then, should they not be accompanied by American butterine? He had mentioned two things which might possibly afford means of relief to some tenants in Ireland who were suffering from the fall in prices, and, for all he knew, there might be a great many others. He only mentioned these in order to show that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian and his Colleagues, and the hon. Member for the City of Cork and his Friends, laboured under an entirely erroneous assumption when they supposed, because Gentlemen on the Ministerial side were determined to oppose this particular Bill, they were also absolutely opposed, in all circumstances, to the giving of relief to the tenants. He hoped the few words he had had an opportunity of saying that night might, in some degree, remove that erroneous impression. He had nothing more to add. He was very grateful to the House for having listened to him so attentively. He thought it had been abundantly shown in the course of the debate that they could not interfere further with the rents of the Irish landlords until the expiration of the statutory period, when, of course, Parliament could do exactly what it pleased without a distinct breach of solemn engagements of honour and good faith. It had also been shown that the necessity for this Bill had not been proved; and further, if the necessity should be proved, that there were other means of relief for the distressed tenants which it was open to Parliament to adopt. That being so, he hoped Parliament would offer a determined opposition to the passing of a measure which, if carried, would cast a merited and standing stigma upon its honour and good faith, upon the authors of the Land Act of 1881, and above all upon the reputation—whatever of it still remained after the declaration of last night—of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian.

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THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON (Lancashire, Rossendale): I am aware that hon. Members on both sides of the House are anxious to arrive, if possible, at a decision upon the question which is now under discussion, and also that there are a large number of Members far better qualified to discuss the details and principles of the Bill than I am, who have still to address you; and I shall, therefore, endeavour to trespass for as short a time as possible upon the time of the House. I can assure it that I have no intention of attempting to go into the discussion of all the points that have been raised in the debate so far as it has proceeded. But, Sir, my right hon. Friend the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) made last night a somewhat direct appeal to Gentlemen sitting on this side of the House, who are supposed to be specially pledged to the support of the Irish policy of the present Government; and he appealed to us, as he appealed to every other Member of the House, to give a candid consideration to the arguments which he placed before us. Therefore, I feel bound, as shortly as I can, to state the reasons why I find it impossible to arrive at the conclusion announced by my right hon. Friend the Member for Mid Lothian. My right hon. Friend has not committed himself to any of the proposals contained in this measure. He has committed himself simply, as I understand, to the assertion that a case has been shown for a measure of relief for some portion of the tenants of Ireland who hold on statutory conditions. I shall revert, in a very few minutes, to the particular position my right hon. Friend has taken up. Before I do so, however, I want to point out that my right hon. Friend has not only abstained from committing himself to the proposals of the measure, but he has also equally carefully abstained from committing himself to approval of the language and arguments by which it has been supported by the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell). My right hon. Friend passed by altogether and declined to follow the hon. Member for the City of Cork either into the question of the fall in prices and its effect upon the ability of the tenants to pay, or into the statistics which he gave upon the subject of evictions. Although my right hon. Friend (Mr. John Morley)

has to-night made some observations on the subject of the fall of prices, I have observed that he also has entirely declined to follow or to support the case laid before the House by the hon. Member for the City of Cork, as far as it rested upon an alleged increase of evictions by the landlords for the payment of impossible rents. Now, my right hon. Friend (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) has rested his support of the second reading of the Bill exclusively upon the fact that it has been announced by the Government that a Commission is to be issued to inquire into the operation of the Land Act in Ireland, and upon the terms of Reference to that Commission which have been announced in this House. He has said that the appointment of that Commission contains an admission and a promise. Well, Sir, I suppose that to some extent it may be said that an undertaking to inquire into any matter whatever does contain an admission and a promise. But I fail to see in this particular case that the appointment of a Commission, or the terms of the Reference to the Commission, bear out the contention of my right hon. Friend that a case is thereby established for the present relief of any portion of the tenants of Ireland. It appears to me that the reasons which I gave the last time on which I ventured to address the House on this subject show a good and reasonable cause for the appointment of a Commission to inquire into the agrarian question of Ireland. We all admit—it has been admitted again this evening by my right hon. Friend the Member for Newcastle (Mr. John Morley)—that the agrarian difficulty in Ireland is at the root of the whole difficulty of the Government of Ireland. It is admitted also that the attempt which was made by the legislation of 1881, and by subsequent legislation, has not altogether solved the agrarian difficulty in Ireland. It is admitted that the relations between landlords and tenants, although I hope in many instances they have been improved, have not been placed upon a thoroughly satisfactory footing—that the sense of security which it was the object of the Act of 1881 to give to the tenantry of Ireland, and thus induce them to devote their time and their energy to the improvement of their holdings, has not been fully realized. The fact is admitted that the system of

double ownership which was established by the Act of 1881 has not been, up to the present time, a complete success. It appears to me, therefore, that the time is now fully ripe for an inquiry, and a complete inquiry, into the reasons which have prevented that legislation from having all the beneficial effects which were anticipated from it, and for endeavouring to ascertain what is the cause of the partial failure of that legislation. At the same time, when that inquiry is instituted, it is perfectly reasonable that, amongst other things, the Commissioners should be directed to inquire what are the causes which have impeded and frustrated the beneficial operation of the Act, and whether those causes are mainly due to the impediments which have been placed in its way by the action of the National League; or whether they are in any degree due to bad times and the fall in prices, which undoubtedly have had a very considerable effect upon the interests of all classes connected with agriculture during the last few years. At the same time, I must say that I do not find that there is in the terms of this Reference to the Commission any such admission as that which is alleged by my right hon. Friend to be found there—that there are in Ireland at this moment judicial rents which the tenants are incapable of paying, and that a case is thereby established for the suspension of the ordinary process of the law for the purpose of recovering those rents. And, Sir, I venture to think that, up to a very short time ago, my right hon. Friend himself did not find in the appointment of this Commission any reason for establishing the admission which he now seeks to draw. My right hon. Friend, on the 24th of August, spoke, after the terms of the Reference to the Commission had been made known to the House, and upon the Motion of the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell). Now, the hon. Member for the City of Cork asked the House to declare that there was in Ireland, on account of the fall of prices, a state of things which would make it impossible for the Irish tenants during the coming winter to pay their rents. My right hon. Friend's words, in speaking to the Motion of the hon. Member for the City of Cork, were these—

“I can perfectly understand why, with the knowledge which the hon. Member possesses,

and with the responsibility which he feels as an Irish Member, he should find himself entitled and bound to make declarations respecting the difficulty of the payment of rent in Ireland and respecting the probability of evictions, in which it would hardly be warrantable on my part to join, though, on the other hand, it is not in my power to assert the contrary of what has been stated by the hon. Gentleman. The reason why I do not wish to enter into a proceeding of that kind is this—that I think, upon the whole, it is for the advantage of the country that no attempt should be made by the House at large, as distinguished from the Representatives of Ireland, and those who may think fit to act with them—that no attempt should be made to procure a precipitate or hasty decision by the House upon the policy propounded by Her Majesty's Government. It would not be fair to the Government; it would not be fair to the House.”—(3 *Hansard*, [308] 411.)

MR. W. E. GLADSTONE: I criticized their policy.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Yes; it is quite true that my right hon. Friend did proceed to criticize the policy of the Government; but what I desire to point out is this—that when my right hon. Friend used these words he had before him the fact of the appointment of the Commission, as well as the terms of the Reference to it, and he had also before him whatever he has now of the admission and the promise.

MR. W. E. GLADSTONE: I said the same thing then.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: My right hon. Friend may have criticized the policy of the Government in the same terms; but what I am trying to point out is that at the time he spoke the words which I have quoted he declined to even join the hon. Member for the City of Cork in an expression of opinion with regard to the payment of rents during the ensuing autumn and winter; and that now he is prepared, not only to join the hon. Member for the City of Cork in an expression of opinion, but he is also prepared, and has pledged himself, to take some action not proposed by the Government, which he said only a few weeks ago it would be unfair on the part of the House to attempt. Now, I maintain that, in order to justify such legislation as is proposed by the hon. Member for the City of Cork, it would be incumbent upon him to place before the House a case of overwhelming strength—a case very different, indeed, to that which he has presented to the House. The hon. Member for the City of Cork has presented to

the House a case founded partly upon a fall of prices and partly upon an increase in the number of evictions. Now, I am not going to discuss these two points at any length. They have been already tolerably fully discussed, and will, no doubt, receive further elucidation in the course of the debate. But as to the question of prices, it is not necessary for us to assume that the Commissioners had, in fixing the judicial rents, in their minds such a fall of prices as has taken place. If we are to doubt the fairness of the rent we want to consider a great many things besides this question of prices. We know that the rents were fixed at a time very shortly succeeding a period of great agricultural distress, a period of very bad seasons; and what we want to know is, not merely what the prices were which the Commissioners thought would be obtained for agricultural produce, but what they considered would be the probable value of the out-turn of the produce of the holding of which they were settling the rent. I maintain that it is not at all proved that the Commissioners have over-estimated, in any of the cases where they have decided the rent, the probable present value of the agricultural out-turn of the holding. Then, as to evictions, the hon. Member for the City of Cork says that the Return of evictions is very alarming; but he is obliged to admit that during the last quarter of 1885 and during the first quarter of 1886 they were actually decreasing; and if there is an increase in the second quarter of the present year, or in the time which has elapsed of the present quarter, the hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General for Ireland has shown, in his speech last night, that that is only in accordance with what has taken place in previous years, and that an increase in the number of evictions has always taken place in these special quarters in which it is now alleged that the increase is so alarming. But before the House can proceed to pass legislation of this character—founded upon a Return of evictions, it appears to me that we want to know a great deal more upon the subject of the evictions than we can obtain from the bare Return quoted by the hon. Member for the City of Cork. He stated, and I believe it will not be denied, that in this Return are included a large number of evictions for other causes than

non-payment of rent. And even with regard to those evictions for non-payment of rent, before the House draws a definite and final conclusion from the figures quoted it will be necessary to know how many of them are for non-payment of rent recently due, or for arrears long standing, the existence of which arrears shows that the tenants are either unable or unwilling to pay any rent at all for the holdings they now occupy. It would, I think, also be desirable that we should know something of the proportion of these evictions for non-payment of rent which have taken place, or are taking place, on the holdings which are under statutory conditions. But without any information of this kind, and solely upon a bare Return of a certain increase in the number of evictions, we are asked to proceed with legislation which, at all events, it will be admitted on both sides of the House is of a totally unprecedented and somewhat revolutionary character. Well, Sir, we are told—we have been told to-night by my right hon. Friend the Member for Newcastle (Mr. John Morley)—that this is a question of social order. I certainly shall not deny that in Ireland the question of social order is, and always has been, intimately connected with the agrarian condition of the country, and more or less with the prevalence, the frequency or otherwise, of evictions. But when the House is asked to legislate in this fashion upon the rights of property for the purpose of securing social order in Ireland, it appears to me that it will do well to attach a good deal of importance to what may be the opinion of those who are responsible for the government of Ireland on this question. There has been no responsible Government of Ireland which has ventured to propose such legislation as this. Her Majesty's present Government do not desire to propose such legislation, and the Government which they succeeded proposed no such legislation, nor did they express any readiness to entertain it. I consider that when a responsible Government says to Parliament that the state of social order requires certain measures, even though those measures may involve an interference with the rights of property, Parliament will incur great responsibility if it does not sanction those measures. I think that it incurred great responsibility when the House of Lords, in 1880,

rejected the Compensation for Disturbance Bill. I think Parliament would have incurred great responsibility in 1882 if it had rejected—as it was asked to do—the Arrears Act which was passed in that year. But I maintain, at the same time, that Parliament will incur still heavier responsibility if, when the Government, who are in the first instance responsible for the maintenance of law and order in the country, do not ask to have their hands strengthened by such legislation as that now proposed, but, on the contrary, assert that such legislation would be prejudicial, in their judgment, to law and order, and would give encouragement to Socialistic, Communistic, and lawless ideas—I say that Parliament would incur a still heavier responsibility by forcing upon the Government measures of relief for a particular class at the expense of the rights—the ordinary rights—attached to property. I say that no responsible Government has proposed legislation of this kind. The late Government had a state of facts before them very much similar to those which we have now. The depreciation of prices is not a matter of the last few months. It is alleged that the fall in prices prevailed during the whole of last year. The legislation proposed by the late Government would not have dealt with the immediate question of rent or evictions in Ireland; and the late Government did not think it necessary to propose any special legislation dealing with this question of a temporary relief to the tenants; and if we may judge from the reception which the suggestions of my right hon. Friend the Member for West Birmingham (Mr. Chamberlain) received from those Benches at that time, the late Government would not have been disposed to give a very favourable consideration to such legislation if it had been proposed by anybody else. As I have pointed out before, the action of the late Government was entirely opposed to any idea such as that put forward, that judicial rents were impossible rents, or were fixed on a scale which made them unfair. The inseparable connection which the late Government maintained existed between the Government of Ireland measure and the Land Purchase Bill may be at an end; but still my right hon. Friend and his Colleagues cannot escape from the responsibility which

attaches to them of having proposed the latter measure, and they cannot escape from the inferences which we are entitled to draw as to the frame of mind in which they proposed it. The plan of the Land Purchase Bill was founded upon the judicial rents which had been settled by the Land Commission. The basis of the transaction which the late Government proposed to take place between the landlords and the tenants of Ireland and the taxpayers of this country depended upon the judicial rents, where judicial rents existed, whether they had been settled in 1882, 1883, 1884, 1885, or 1886. Those judicial rents were to be the basis of the transaction; and in cases where judicial rents were not found the Land Commission was to take as the basis of the transaction a proportion between the judicial rents settled in the district and Griffith's valuation. Therefore, I think I am justified in urging to the House that at that time, in the opinion of my right hon. Friend, no case existed for the assertion that the judicial rents, or any part of them, had been framed upon a wrong or an excessive valuation. As I have said, my right hon. Friend is committed to this proposition only—that there is need for some temporary relief in certain districts; and that in consequence of the admission made by the Government by the appointment of a Commission there must be a temporary suspension of proceedings for the recovery of rent. The details by which this measure is to be worked out are to be settled in Committee. That appears to me, Sir, to be an impossible procedure which is suggested by my right hon. Friend. My right hon. Friend does not, will not, commit himself to the details of the plan of the hon. Member for the City of Cork. The Government reject the basis of the plan, and they cannot be expected to make themselves responsible for all the alterations in the details. My right hon. Friend the Member for Newcastle (Mr. John Morley), it is true, has this evening suggested certain modifications of the plan in detail; but we do not know whether my right hon. Friend the Member for Mid Lothian will accept as a satisfactory scheme the Bill modified as proposed by my right hon. Friend the Member for Newcastle; and still less do we know—I should be very much surprised if we

heard it in the course of this evening—that the hon. Member for the City of Cork and his Friends would consider the Bill modified, as proposed by the late Chief Secretary, to be a satisfactory solution of this problem. Sir, it seems to me that the House is not in a position to elaborate a new scheme in place of that which is set before us by the hon. Member for the City of Cork. We must either accept the main provisions of the measure or reject it altogether. In my judgment, the plan of the hon. Member for the City of Cork is not one which any alteration in detail ought or could render acceptable to the House. In my opinion, it is not as it professes to be—as it is defended as being—simply a Bill for arresting the process of ejectment in certain cases. It may far more accurately be described, in my judgment, as a Bill for stopping altogether for a time the collection of rent all over Ireland, and for making the eventual collection of more than one-half the rent in Ireland a matter of extreme difficulty. Let me point out for a moment what the operation of the Bill would be in the case of a tenant who is already considerably in arrears, and who will next November owe another half-year's rent. Will that tenant under this Bill, or under any modification in detail introduced into it, have any inducement whatever to pay any portion of the rent accruing due, or of the arrears due, to make any payment whatever to the landlord when the next rent day comes? It appears to me that under this measure such a tenant would only have to refuse to pay altogether—to refuse to pay a farthing. He will put his landlord to his remedy of ejectment. The landlord will have to bring a process of ejectment against him. It will be in his power to suspend that process of ejectment by paying at the last moment half the arrears and half the rent; and whatever may be the decision of the Court when the case comes before the Court and has been decided the landlord will only be able to recover half those arrears; the other half of the arrears and the half of the rent due would only be recoverable by a new process of ejectment and a new series of legal proceedings. It seems to me, Sir, that this Bill offers a temptation to every tenant to withhold the payment of his rent until the landlord has been driven to take

legal proceedings against him. He will be able to take that course with perfect security from the knowledge that he can always arrest the legal proceedings of his landlord by the payment of half his debt, and that it will be a matter of the most extreme difficulty for his landlord ever to recover the other half. Any modification of detail such as is proposed by the late Chief Secretary will only mitigate, will not remove, the fundamental injustice which appears to me to be contained in the principle of the measure by placing an impediment in the way of the only legal remedy which the landlord has for recovering his rent in the case of every holding and every tenancy in Ireland. Sir, I say this legislation, as far as I know, is absolutely without precedent in the history of all our dealings with the agricultural interest either in England or Ireland. Reference has been made to the Arrears Act, and a portion of a clause in this Bill is, I believe, copied from the Arrears Act. But the Arrears Act was legislation of a totally different character. It was introduced under totally different conditions. It was introduced for the purpose of giving a fair start to the Land Act of 1881. It was essentially of the nature of a compromise—a compromise between the landlords, the tenants, and the State; and it insisted that each should make certain sacrifices and each obtain certain advantages. It had all the elements of a compromise. It was a compromise which was generally accepted by all the parties to it; but in this case there are no elements of a compromise whatever. The utmost the landlord can secure immediately under this Bill is half the rent that is due to him, whatever may be the circumstances of his creditor; and great difficulties will be placed in the way of his ever obtaining any more. The Government of my right hon. Friend in 1880, of which I was a Member, had to deal with a state of things in some respects similar to the present. In 1880 there was an agrarian crisis in Ireland of a far more acute description than anything which has been proved to exist at the present time. Parliament had already taken various measures which testified to its conviction that, owing to a succession of unprecedentedly bad seasons, a serious state of destitution and want prevailed in certain districts of Ireland. The Government of my right hon. Friend

felt themselves compelled to legislate in reference to the state of the agricultural tenant. Well, Sir, in this far more acute agrarian crisis, did the Government proceed on any principle in the slightest degree similar to that which we are now asked to adopt? Not in the slightest degree. In the Compensation for Disturbance Bill my right hon. Friend pointed out that there was no such thing contained in that measure as a suspension of the legal powers of the landlord to recover his rent. He pointed out that every remedy which the landlord possessed for the recovery of his rent was left entire and untouched by his Bill. That Bill merely provided that in certain districts, during a certain time, the tenant should not lose by eviction for non-payment of rent the benefit which had been conferred upon him by the legislation of 1870. The tenant would receive no compensation under that Bill unless he could prove—first, his inability to pay; secondly, that that inability was due to recent visitation of bad seasons; thirdly, that the tenant was willing to accept reasonable terms; and, fourthly, that those reasonable terms had been unreasonably refused by the landlords. Those were the conditions which my right hon. Friend at that time thought sufficient to meet a far more serious agrarian crisis than is admitted to exist now. But what has happened since 1880? The position of the tenant has been enormously strengthened and improved, and every protection which it was proposed by the Bill of 1880 to confer upon the tenant is already possessed by him without any additional legislation at all. What was the idea in the mind of Parliament at that time of a reasonable offer to be made by the tenant that the landlord might unreasonably refuse? It was either that he should endeavour to agree with his landlord as to the terms of rent on which he should remain, or that the landlord should permit him to sell his interest in the holding, and that he should satisfy such portion of the arrears as he could, and he should not be turned out destitute into the world. Well, but, Sir, that power of selling his interest is already possessed to the fullest extent by the tenant, even if he is under process of ejectment. The Returns which have been given to the House show that, even in the present depressed times, the interest of the

tenant which he possesses is a valuable interest, for which he is able, in most cases, to obtain a very considerable sum; and, therefore, I say that the tenant already possesses, without any special legislation for the purpose, every power for his protection against unjust or harsh evictions which my right hon. Friend in 1880 thought it necessary, by special legislation, to confer upon him. Now, Sir, under these circumstances, what are the reasons which would make it necessary for the House to adopt the proposal which has been brought before it by the hon. Member for the City of Cork? It is perfectly true that the language which has been used in this House by the hon. Member, both in this and previous debates with respect to the agrarian question, has been studiously moderate; and the hon. Member has refrained from anything like language which would be calculated to intimidate or threaten Parliament. But, Sir, we have heard from adherents of the hon. Member perfectly distinct intimations that the political controversy on the subject of the Government of Ireland is, during the coming autumn and winter, to be transferred to the agrarian question. The hon. Member for Belfast (Mr. Sexton), in a speech in this House not very long ago, virtually adopted the language which has been used by the hon. Member for Wexford (Mr. J. E. Redmond) and Mr. O'Brien in their speeches at the Chicago Convention. We have been told that the policy of the Irish National Party was to be one of fight; and we were told that during the coming winter a strike would be raised against rents, which it was asserted in some cases it was impossible to pay, and in all cases were exorbitant. Well, Sir, we know from the language used that the policy of the Party of the hon. Member for the City of Cork is to transform the political agitation into an agrarian agitation during the coming winter, and we must be prepared from that knowledge for what that knowledge entails. It is perfectly evident that it is necessary for the hon. Member for the City of Cork and for his Party not altogether to alienate Parliamentary and popular sympathy in this country; and, therefore, in the struggle—the agrarian struggle—which it is the announced intention of his lieutenants to commence in the winter, it is obviously necessary

that some grounds should be laid in this House by a proposal, however wild, however impracticable, which may appear to offer an excuse for the agrarian agitation with which we are threatened. I quite admit that it would be very agreeable and pleasant if, by the acceptance of any reasonable proposal, we could deprive the friends of the hon. Member for the City of Cork of the weapon which they propose to employ during the autumn and winter. It would also be very agreeable if we could devise some means by which there might be no pretence for anyone to say that the rights of the landlords were being harshly used over the tenants. I trust that the landlords of Ireland will know and will remember what is the responsibility which rests upon them. It is admitted that many of them have already recognized the necessity which is cast upon them, and have made reasonable abatements in cases where they have appeared necessary. But, Sir, I would point out that there is still more which some landlords in Ireland can do. There are some landlords who are in a position to use great influence with their neighbours; and they should not be satisfied with making the reductions which they themselves may consider necessary in the case of their own rents, but they may use the influence which they possess in order to impress upon others that it is necessary for them, in certain cases, to make similar sacrifices. Sir, I hope that those who are in that position will use their influence in that direction, and I have no reason to think that they will not use that influence. But, Sir, however agreeable it may be to put into the hands of some legal tribunal the power which would relieve us from the possibility of a conflict between the interests of the landlords and the interests of the tenants in the coming autumn and winter, I do not think the House will be justified in dealing with this question merely in its political aspect, and as a move in the political game. The House has to consider, first, whether that which it is proposed to do is warranted by the principles of justice and equality between man and man; and if it finds that it is not so justified, then the House will not be entitled, however tempting it might be, to use its power for the purpose of depriving any class of the community of rights guaran-

teed to them by law. I cannot think that even for far stronger reasons than have been laid before the House it would be justified in accepting this measure, which, in the absence of inquiry—in fact, on the very eve of inquiry—will absolutely destroy one of the most essential principles of the settlement of 1881—namely, the security on one side of the statutory tenancies which have been created for a period of 15 years, which will deprive the landlords of the rights which have been left and secured to them by the Act of 1881, and will lay down the principle that in a period of agricultural distress the whole burden, the whole loss, is not to be shared among the different classes affected; but is to be borne entirely and solely by one class, because that class is not in a position to protect its interests and its rights.

Mr. R. T. REID (Dumfries, &c.) said, he could not help thinking that if the noble Marquess the Member for Rossendale (the Marquess of Hartington) would carry his recollection of past events a little backward, to a period before it had become his custom to whisper his preferences into the ears of Conservative confidants, he thought the noble Marquess would recall that the Party who had followed him before, and most of whom now followed the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian, were not accustomed, for the sake of mere Party convenience, knowingly and willingly, to sacrifice the principles of equity and justice against any class whatever. The noble Marquess recommended them not to accept the Bill, because, amongst other reasons, he said they ought to look for advice to Her Majesty's Government in a matter of this importance. He (Mr. Reid) would like to know whether the noble Marquess had been on this very subject concerned in the task of giving advice to that very Conservative Government whom he now asked them to treat as persons to give advice? The truth was that he was afraid the noble Marquess had come to regard the principles which he had followed for a considerable time as lacking some of the virtues which they once possessed; and because those of them who still adhered, erroneously perhaps, but, at all events, as they believed, conscientiously to those opinions, because they could not see through the

same glasses as himself, the noble Marquess said they had lost some of the merits he saw in them before. He (Mr. Reid) wished very shortly to state the grounds on which he was prepared heartily to support the principle of the Bill. And let him first say that he was not prepared to support all the details of it, and there were some of them, he thought all would recognize, were capable of great improvement. The crisis in Ireland at the present time was, in his humble judgment, quite as serious as that of 1880. The Land League, denounced at that time, had not the power the National League now had, and it would be true to say the National League almost governed the country at the present time. He did not enter into the reason for that; but the position in Ireland now was that they had prices so low that he believed they had not been so low for 15 or 20 years, and whether the National League desired it or not, unless something were done in reference to the present highly-fixed rents, settled as they were by Act of Parliament, for the purpose of preventing evictions where rents were impossible, he believed a serious state of things would arise in the course of the coming winter. Let him ask—for the question was one the House ought to consider—was it established as a fact that prices were such that the rents could not be paid? Not in all cases, but in a large and appreciable number of them. The statement of the hon. Member for Cork (Mr. Parnell) that the prices were exceedingly low was not questioned either by the noble Marquess or the Members of Her Majesty's Government; indeed, the noble Marquess went so far as, in a very eloquent passage, to entreat the landlords in Ireland to be moderate and temperate in the use of their power, and to exhibit forbearance to the tenants who were unable to pay their rents. The noble Marquess seemed to little appreciate how that cut away the ground of his own contention when he said there was no crisis in Ireland in which the people were unable to pay their rents. The hon. Member for Cambridge (Mr. Penrose Fitzgerald), who moved the Amendment, made a similar appeal, and during his speech compared the prices of 1885 with those of 1852; but he took extremely good care not to go through the prices obtained at various

[*Second Night.*]

times during the last 10 or 15 years, knowing perfectly well that if he had done so it would have appeared that prices were ruinously low at the present time. It had, he thought, been shown that the situation was such as to justify the introduction of a Bill of this exceptional character; and the Government, at any rate, must be in possession of confidential Reports sent to them from all the best authorities in Ireland. The House was aware of one communication from Sir Redvers Buller, who, having been sent on a mission, into the particulars of which he (Mr. Reid) would rather not enter, had thought it part of his duty to write the Government that "throughout Kerry and Clare the rents uniformly were too high." ["When?" "Where?"] He could assert only what he believed to be stated in that House. [*Cries of "By whom?"*] The Question was put by the hon. Member for West Belfast (Mr. Sexton) to the right hon. Baronet the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, whether it was not the case that Sir Redvers Buller had written a Report, in which he said that the rents in Kerry and Clare uniformly were too high? and the answer was—"Yes, Sir." [Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: No.] He at once accepted the correction. He was not himself in the House at the time. He presumed that no hon. Member remained in the House throughout the whole of every Sitting; and one must be excused in trusting in some measure to reports in the newspapers. He would, of course, not pursue the subject for a moment; but that did not in the least affect the argument he was entering upon. This, however, he would say—that he held the Government were in possession of private information necessarily upon this subject, not obtained specially, but information which came to them in the course of their official duty. The hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Gibson), and the right hon. and learned Gentleman opposite the Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews), addressed elaborate and most powerful arguments against this Bill, dealing with details, and also with the criticisms that had been made on the Opposition side of the House; but he did not hear either of these hon. and learned Gentlemen, nor had he heard any Member of the Government, with

all the information which was necessarily at their disposal, say, on his responsibility, what they might very easily say if it was true, that, in their judgment, the situation had not arisen in which there was an impossibility or a general inability to pay rents in Ireland. He considered the House was entitled to have from the Government, who were in possession of all the information on the subject, a statement whether or not, according as their information went, it was the fact that, in many cases, the fall of prices had prevented the rent from being payable in different parts of Ireland? Those were the grounds which led him to think that, almost by admission, there had been established a serious case, in which some interposition and some relief were necessary. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Sleaford (Mr. Chaplin) had described the two nostrums by the application of which the Tory Party were going to give whatever relief was required. The first of these was the payment of their rents by the State. The other was the protection of articles of food, so as to raise prices to such an extent as would enable the tenants to pay their rents. Such suggestions were not deserving of serious consideration; and, therefore, he would pass on, without discussing them, to a consideration of the provisions of the Bill, to which he would refer for the purpose of meeting an argument of the Secretary of State for the Home Department, and of the noble Marquess the Member for Rossendale. It had been urged, both by the noble Marquess and the right hon. and learned Gentleman, that to interfere with the statutory rents before the expiration of the 15 years that were requisite under the operation of the Act of 1881 was a breach of good faith and a violation of the principle of that Act. But, in his (Mr. Reid's) judgment, this Bill was a necessary complement of the Act of 1881; and either it or some Bill of the same kind, if closely looked at, was essential for the purpose of carrying out the true principle of the Act of 1881. What was the principle of that Act? It was that Parliament, from long experience of the unhappy relations between Irish landlords and tenants, had found that they could not allow the landlord and tenant in Ireland to make their own bargain in regard to the matter of rent; and that it was for

the interest of the public and the State that the tenant should be protected by not being liable to pay more than a fair rent—one which would enable him to live in decency and moderate comfort. Now, circumstances had arisen, if his view of the facts was right, which had made that which originally was a fair rent to become an unfair rent in every sense of the word; and it was a corollary of the Act of 1881 that Parliament should step in and prevent the landlord insisting on being paid an exorbitant rent. He quite agreed that it might be a hardship to the landlords; but, so far as the tenant was concerned, could there be anything clearer than this—that if it was unfair to the tenant to pay by open contract too large a rent in 1881, and if it was contrary to the interests of the public that that should be permitted in 1881, how could it become fair to him, or reconcilable with the true interests of the public, that in 1886 he should pay a rent which, in point of fact, was not a fair rent, merely because there had been a statutory fair rent fixed in the meantime? It so happened that the fall of prices had made the rents too high in many cases. He quite agreed that it might have been that prices had risen instead of fallen; and he thought it was possible that prices might hereafter rise above the level upon which the rents when fixed were based. It seemed to him, in that case, that if they interfered with rents by reason of the prices being too low, there would be no answer if they were asked to interfere with a fixed rent in the event of prices becoming higher. For that reason he thought it was also a necessary corollary, even to the temporary Bill introduced by the hon. Member for Cork, that it would follow that they ought to have a more frequent revision of rents in Ireland than every 15 years, in order to have statutory rents either adjusted by a sliding scale or more commonly adjusted. With the principle of the Bill he agreed most heartily. He, however, thought the measure required a good deal of improvement; and he thought, also, if the Government did not venture upon that course, which he believed, if they did venture upon, would be fatal to them—namely, a course of buying out the Irish landlords out of the State funds—a scheme he had always opposed—if the Government abstained from that, and

next Session endeavoured to see that rents should really be fair, so that when prices were good the landlord would get more, and when the prices were bad the tenant would pay less, he believed by that means even the practical operation of the Bill would be perfectly free from any injury to the landlords. In the inflamed condition of Irish feeling, he thought it was hopeless to trust to the voluntary action of Irish landlords for the preservation of good feeling and quiet. He did not, however, wish to be uncharitable to Irish landlords. Although there were some bad landlords, he did not believe that, as a body, they were worse than their predecessors. He would not apply to them the language which the Earl of Clare applied to their predecessors, when he said their occupation was to grind to powder the tenants on their estates. He did not wish to make any sweeping assertion against Irish landlords; but everyone knew that some among them had been very guilty of shortcomings in the discharge of their duty to their tenants. As he had before observed, the noble Marquess the Member for Rossendale had made a very strong appeal to Irish landlords. But it seemed to him (Mr. Reid) a great anomaly that the late Government, of which the noble Marquess was one of the most trusted and respected Leaders, should have passed a Bill which was based on the assumption that Irish landlords were not to be trusted in their dealings with their tenants; and that they should, nevertheless, be expected to hope for unprecedented forbearance during the coming winter from those landlords in answer to the appeals of the noble Marquess. It was also an unfortunate thing, but he believed it to be the fact, that the Government of this country had become very unpopular, chiefly because it had been regarded by the Irish people as the collectors of rent for Irish landlords. Speaking without any Party feeling, he would regret if the Bill were rejected and no substitute put in his place, because he was afraid it would be regarded by the people of Ireland as only another proof that the way in which the Irish best and most thoroughly knew the Government of Great Britain was as a rent-collecting Government.

COLONEL KING-HARMAN (Kent, Isle of Thanet) said, he did not recollect that he had ever heard a Bill

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brought forward in that House so "damned with faint praise" as the measure they were then discussing had been in the speeches made by its professed supporters, from the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Gladstone) downwards. In his opinion the principle of the measure was entirely erroneous, and it was based on misconception and misrepresentation. What was really wanted in Ireland was not a further reduction of rent, but the suppression of the National League; and he believed the latter course would be the outcome of the inquiry which the Government were about to make. Lord Spencer's Government had dealt with the Land League so effectually that it had disappeared and hidden itself for weeks and months, and only emerged cautiously and branch by branch in the name of the National League. It ought to have been strangled in its infancy; but, unfortunately, it had been allowed to continue its growth until now it was so strong, and its influence so great, that he believed such evidence would be forthcoming of the strength and nature of its evil influences that the Government would be compelled to put it down as Lord Spencer had put down the Land League. The right hon. Gentleman the late Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. Morley) had made a statement that prices of produce had fallen so low as to render the payment of rent in Ireland in many cases impossible; that statement had been challenged, and the right hon. Member had promised to prove it before he concluded; but he had sat down without doing so. The right hon. Member had, indeed, tried to show, with reference to the rise in the price of wool, that there had been a poor clip in Ireland in 1885, and that, consequently, the rise of price would not affect the Irish farmers to any great extent. Surely the right hon. Gentleman was aware that a rise in the price of wool was hailed with the greatest satisfaction by agriculturists as usually preceding a general improvement in trade and prices. [*Laughter.*] Hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway opposite laughed; but he doubted whether they knew very much about it. He held in his hand a telegram, from a gentleman whose word was to be taken implicitly, which had arrived that evening from Skibbereen—a district where there was

as much distress as anywhere—and it spoke of the fair held there yesterday. It said—

"The fair was in every respect a great improvement on recent fairs. Largest attendance of buyers seen for three years. Splendid supply and brisk demand, exceeding all anticipations. Milch cows averaged £14; on the whole, very satisfactory and cheering to farmers."

He had been trying to ascertain from the portions of Ireland which he knew best what the state of affairs exactly was in the West and in the centre of Ireland. The hon. Member for Cork (Mr. Parnell) spoke of the potato blight as having broken out with great severity. The accounts which he (Colonel King-Harman) had from Longford, Roscommon, Sligo, and Westmeath, agreed that the potato and oat crops were never better. In Sligo, especially, oats were a splendid crop, even on the mountain side, and in places where it had been more or less a failure for the last four or five years. Hay was in such profusion in Sligo that it was being shipped in large quantities to England, leaving sufficient supply in the county, and at a better price than it had been for some years past. At Longford butter was selling at 11d. per lb., and oats fetched 11s. per barrel of 14 stone. Now, the only argument adduced in support of this Bill was the inability of the tenants to pay the judicial rents consequent on the depreciation of prices; but in face of the facts he had adduced he could not imagine how that contention could be made good. He perfectly agreed that prices were very much lower than they were in 1874, which was the culmination of a number of good seasons—good alike in produce and in prices. He remembered that in 1874 beef sold at 80s. per cwt.—he sold it at that price himself—but he did not remember that the landlords in Ireland raised their rents in consequence. On the contrary, what they learnt and what they could prove was this—that between 1840 and 1880 rents were raised in England by 23 per cent, in Wales by 34 per cent, and in Scotland by 49 per cent; whereas in Ireland they were absolutely diminished during the same period, and how much further they were cut down by the Act of 1881 hon. Members opposite knew as well as he did; but, taking the statements of the hon. Member for Cork as accurate, it was from 18 to 22 per cent.

Colonel King-Harman

Very little had been said on his own side of the House, and nothing at all on the other, to answer this extraordinary fact, which was adduced quite early in the debate. If the agricultural tenants were in this miserable pauperized condition that they were represented to be in; if they were absolutely unable, as one hon. Member stated, to support themselves in common decency; if they were quite unable to pay the reduced rents, how was it that they were able to give such enormous prices for the goodwill of their neighbours' holdings directly vacancies occurred? One ounce of fact was worth a bushel of theory, and he would give the hon. Gentleman an ounce of fact with regard to this particular question. Only yesterday he telegraphed to his agent with regard to the selection of one of two tenants, who had both offered full sums for the goodwill of a farm coterminous with theirs. It was a small farm, the rent of which was £32. The adjoining tenants were not men who had been in America and made their money there, and who had come back with the insane desire of giving about 16 times the value of what the holding ought to be. They were small farmers who had made their money by farming in Ireland, and in no other way; and either of these men, in order to become the tenant of that small farm, offered £170 in hard cash. Besides that, when he doubted the *bonafides* of one of them, both of them came into the estate office, and each deposited before the agent £170. And these were the downtrodden and oppressed people who, according to the hon. Member for Cork and his Friends, could not feed themselves and pay their rents, and to protect whom hon. Members below the Gangway were pressing the Government to assent to this Bill, and to banish political economy even further than Jupiter and Saturn — he supposed to Uranus or some undiscovered planet. Now, he put it to the House, had any case been made out by the hon. Gentleman who brought in the Bill, showing any destitution in Ireland that would warrant such a measure as this? He asked hon. Gentlemen to remember that whilst English farmers had suffered severely by five bad years since 1879, and by a heavy depreciation of wheat, in Ireland farmers had had a succession of four or five exceedingly good years.

[*Laughter.*] Hon. Members below the Gangway laughed; but he appealed to those above the Gangway to listen to him without prejudice, and not to disbelieve him, simply because he happened to be a landlord. He referred them for proof of his assertion to the Reports of the Registrar General, which could be obtained in the Library; and on consulting them they would find that what he said was backed up by figures and facts which he defied hon. Members below the Gangway to contradict. The Irish landlords did not want anything exacting or harsh. He saw no reason why it should be supposed that Irish landlords were bigger fools than English landlords, or that they wanted to evict their tenants and turn them out upon the roadside, or to send them to the workhouse, and thereby raise the rates, which they themselves must pay. They wanted to keep their people quite as much as English landlords did, and in many parts more; because there the soil was only fit for spade husbandry; and, if only for pecuniary reasons, they would wish to keep the tenants upon it. The fact really was that all these cries had been got up, and were being kept up, with one object. He did not believe that hon. Gentlemen opposite were at that moment rejoicing at the good weather that was now prevailing in Ireland — ["Oh, oh!"] — as the farmers were. He remembered that in 1879 the hon. Member for Cork addressed a meeting of farmers and labourers in Tipperary at a time when the rain was pouring down in great quantity, and the heavens were overcast by tempestuous clouds, and, telling them about the reduction of rent which he intended to bring about, he expressed his pleasure at the wet weather which prevailed, and remarked — "The heavens are with us." He remembered also how that extraordinary sentiment was flashed across Ireland from one end to the other, and how the opinion was engendered that the hon. Member blessed the bad weather then because it gave him an accession of power; and very probably his Party were now regretting the fine weather with which Providence had blessed Ireland during the last few days. ["Oh, oh!"] The hon. Member for Cork had made a great many rash observations. He was sorry the hon. Member was not in his place; but he very seldom was.

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The hon. Member put out his figures very glibly, but not quite so accurately as could be wished. For instance, he stated that there were 500,000 small tenants in Ireland the rents of whose holdings would be less than the cost of a process of eviction—namely, £2 16s. The Government Returns, on the other hand, showed that the total number of tenants whose holdings were less than five acres, which would be about the equivalent of £2 16s., was only 105,600. Moreover, many of these tenants had shops and other avocations, and were by no means dependent upon their land. He asked the House not to rely upon the hon. Member for Cork's figures, unless they were verified by the official Returns. Another point which the House should consider was that if the Irish tenants did get lower prices for their produce, they had to pay wonderfully less for their chief articles of consumption. Flour had fallen 33 per cent during the last three years. American flour was selling at any Irish port at 9s. 6d. per 100 lbs.—that was, a little over 1d. a lb., and Indian corn had reached a lowest price on record—namely, 20s. 2d. per quarter, and there was always an unlimited supply of it in the country. He asked the House whether, with potatoes plentiful, oats a better crop than ever before, with a rise in almost every description of produce, and with food cheaper than ever before, this was a time that Gentlemen from Ireland should come to that House, and ask it to pass, as a matter of urgency, such a Bill as this; and he contended that it was a measure which, if the House had time to consider it, no business man would support. He hoped that, with the facts and figures before them which he had stated, hon. Gentlemen would do nothing of the kind. They knew perfectly well what the meaning of it was. Something must be done to foster and foment and keep up the agitation, and something must be done to show the Irish people—at least, that unfortunate part of them that submitted to be duped by agitators and by those who led them astray for their own selfish interests—that the English people and the British Parliament would not listen to them. A case of dire distress, if it were true, which it was not, had been set before the House; but he asked the House not to take for granted the truth of such statements, and not to

support a measure which was entirely opposed to political economy, and which was not wanted. He particularly appealed to the English and Scotch Liberals, as men of common sense, not to be persuaded into following the hon. Member for Cork into the Lobby; and he trusted that the number of hon. Members comprised in that following would be exceedingly small when the division was taken.

MR. WALLACE (Edinburgh, E.) said, he rose for the purpose of expressing, as a Member wholly unconnected with Ireland, a few reasons which had induced him to give a hearty support to the second reading of this Bill. He did so, first of all, because he was unable to see how it was possible to carry out the principle of the legislation of 1881 without this Bill, or something in the nature of it. That legislation was legislation distinctly for the protection of the tenant. At that time the landlord needed no protection, but the tenant did; and the spirit of the Act of 1881, as well as the legislation that preceded it, was for the protection of the tenant. That was its essential character, for the Act provided that, during the continuance of a statutory term, a tenant should not be compelled to pay a higher rent than was fixed at the commencement of the term. Nothing was said about satisfying the rights of the landlord to exact a higher rent. The mistake made by many hon. Members opposite was that they regarded the rent, of which the Act of 1881 spoke, simply as what one might call an "arithmetical" rent, and not as an "equitable" rent, and there was a very great distinction between these emphases of the term. The rent spoken of by the act of 1881 was a "fair rent," determined by the Court, "considering all the circumstances of the case, holding, and the district." He wished especially to direct attention to the expression, "considering all the circumstances of the case, the holding, and the district." Since the legislation of 1870 the word "fair," as applied to rent, meant that, whatever became of the share of the produce that went to the landlord, out of that produce, if it were possible, the tenant must have his own personal subsistence, and also the means of continuing his capacity for cultivating the soil. Prior to 1870 that was not recognized as the correct distribution of the

produce of the soil ; but the Legislature at that time accepted and settled that principle, and it was now too late to question it, unless they were prepared to repeal all the legislation that began in 1870. He submitted that a rent that was to be arrived at by considering all the circumstances of the case, and to be continued for 15 years, could not be fair unless an unexpected and exceptional fall in agricultural prices was one of the elements taken into consideration ; and no one would say that a positive and exceptional fall was not one of the circumstances which it was intended should be taken into account. It also appeared to him that an exceptional fall in agricultural prices was exactly one of those circumstances that could not be taken into consideration beforehand, because it could not be foreseen. It could only be taken into consideration by a body of Commissioners composed of prophets, and prophets were not always at hand. The Legislature had, therefore, put itself in the paradoxical position of expecting the Commissioners to expect the unexpected. But if all the circumstances had not been considered the rent was not a fair one, and the Legislature must correct the miscarriage of its own machinery, if it intended to carry out its original promise. That was not only justified, but demanded, by the legislation of 1881 ; and even if it were not so, it was completely justified by the legislation of 1870. At the time of the passage of the Land Act of 1870 the landlords had a right, by the Common Law, to whatever rent they were able to exact by means of unlimited competition from their unfortunate tenants, just as now they said that they had a right by statute to a judicial rent for 15 years. He did not see why a statutory right should be more sacred than a Common Law right. The practical question to him was the question whether there had been this unexpected and exceptional fall in agricultural prices. He had listened with great attention to the discussion on both sides, and the impression made upon his mind was very strongly in the direction of a belief that this fall had taken place, and, possibly, had not yet reached its termination—that it had been a serious fall, and one that the Legislature could not with propriety disregard. He was not going to discuss the statistics, because there was

evidence before him which was better than statistics—namely, the testimony of persons of experience, whom they believed to know fully all the circumstances of the case, and in whose veracity and trustworthiness they could place confidence. They had here a combination of three very remarkable classes of witnesses, who were equally well qualified, and who all agreed in the same testimony. They had the testimony of the Representatives of Ireland, of the landlords of Ireland, and of those who acted as umpires between the tenantry and the landlords—namely, the Land Commissioners. When he found all these witnesses conspiring in one testimony, the effect left on his mind was that of absolute conviction. There could be no doubt that hon. Members from Ireland stated most distinctly that there had been a very serious and exceptional fall in prices. Although hon. Members opposite might refuse to take their testimony, yet there could be no doubt that the Irish Members were competent to give an opinion, each as to his own district. He also differed entirely from hon. Members opposite in having full confidence in the trustworthiness of the Irish Members ; but he rejected at once, as unworthy of consideration, the representation he heard, and had seen given, of these hon. Gentlemen as simply a company of venal agitators, animated by their own selfish purposes, and as having no real love for their country ; their real anxiety being, it was said, to humiliate England, and to exalt themselves. He had studied closely the public utterances and the public action of hon. Members from Ireland ; and he had been deeply impressed, not only with their eminent ability, but with their general honesty of purpose, the genuineness of their patriotism, their dutiful attention to the claims of their country, and their courageous pertinacity in bringing forward their grievances in the face of great discouragement and opposition. Believing both their competence and their trustworthiness, he was satisfied to accept their testimony, and did not require statistics. With regard to the right of the Irish Members to speak on behalf of the Irish nation, while not claiming infallibility for the people on all occasions and on all matters, yet he thought that on all occasions, when not overborne by force, or

beguiled by fraud and misrepresentation, the verdict of the people might be regarded as one of wisdom and veracity, and safely acted upon, and he was bound to regard them as the mouth-piece of the Irish nation in this matter. Then he had the testimony of the landlords of Ireland, which was all the more valuable that it agreed with that of those who spoke the words and beliefs of the Irish people. Hon. Members opposite, while, on the one hand, they denied that it was impossible for the tenants to pay judicial rents, and endeavoured to show that there had been no fall in prices, and, therefore, that there was no necessity for intervening in the interest of the tenant, always finished up by asking, on the other, that they, the landlords of Ireland, might be trusted to do all that was right in remitting such portion of the rents as they might think fit; because, on account of that fall of prices which they had before been industriously denying, they were reducing rents 20, 30, 40, and even 50 per cent. He believed so much of the landlords of Ireland as to be certain that, in business matters of that kind, they would not do that which was foolish and stupid and causeless; and if they had lowered their rents in that way, that, to his mind, was one of the strongest possible testimonies that the rents required lowering, that prices were falling, and that the nature of the legislation which was now proposed was in harmony with the facts of the case. In his view, therefore, it would be better not to trust the landlords in the matter, and he thought that the legislative proposal contained in the Bill of the hon. Member for Cork was in harmony with the actual facts of the case. His third witnesses were the Land Commissioners of Ireland. No denial had been, or, he believed, could be, given to the statement that the Land Commissioners in recent weeks and months had lowered rents by a percentage which was even greater than that which had been suggested by the promoters of this Bill. On these three grounds of testimony, therefore, he was clearly convinced that this alleged necessity for intervention on account of a fall in prices had been made out. At all events, it had been so clearly made out, to his mind, that it had settled what his vote should be; and when he found this confirmed by

the notorious fact of the agricultural depression produced by competition from the West he could reasonably have no shadow of doubt left in his mind. Accordingly, he did not feel the necessity of troubling himself with going into all the statistics that had been given in this matter. He would only say, the little attention he had been able to give to them, as much as a Member whose time was very fully occupied could be able to give, had satisfied him that the conclusion at which he had arrived, on the personal testimony of experts, was trustworthy and reliable. At all events, if the evidence did demonstrate the conclusion in support of which it was brought, it justified him in saying that a *prima facie* case had been made out; and, if that were so, the duty of the Legislature was still the same. In that case, it was the duty of a just Government to make arrangements, so that, if it turned out as was alleged, a mode of dealing with it should be ready when the occasion arose. There could be no harm, at all events, in being prepared. If it should turn out that the Bill was not needed, if it should prove that this fall was a false alarm, who was to be harmed? The Bill would simply not be needed, and the Land Court would not be put to the trouble of investigating that which required no investigation. The only inconvenience would be to the landlords, who would be compelled, for a short time, to be kept out of their rents to which they might have been entitled at an earlier period. Considering all the circumstances of the case, he did not think it was asking too much of the landlord class, in their position, to submit to this temporary loss and inconvenience for the sake of a very much larger body of people. The best authority he could find for taking up the position he did was that of the Government itself, in the language of the Reference to the Royal Commission; because, unless the ability of the tenants to pay the judicial rents had been affected by the fall in prices, there was no ground for the appointment of the Commission. The nature of this Reference was, to him, a clear indication that there was something that required to be provided against; and, if that were so, why should there be delay? If there was any reason for going into this matter at all in the interest of the tenants,

that remedy should be applied without delay. It must, moreover, be kept in mind that, in dealing with this question, the House of Commons was engaged, not in investigating a scientific question, but one that concerned the happiness and the lives of thousands of people. In certain papers put before him by the Loyal and Patriotic Union he found that evictions were spoken of as trivial matters. Probably the arithmetical proportion of these evictions to the population might appear trifling as a mere matter of dry statistics; but, to him, the fact that 20,000 tenants, out of a total of 500,000, were evicted and ruined in a year appeared to him to indicate an appalling amount of human misery. It had been asserted that outrages had been the fewest where the number of evictions had been the greatest; but hon. Members opposite might carry the argument still further, and might contend that, if the whole of the tenants were evicted, Ireland would become a paradise of tranquillity. He believed it to be true that ruin would lead to desperation, and that injustice would cause resentment, and that where they had these feelings evoked on anything like a large scale there would be outbreaks of revenge of a serious nature. He considered this Bill was a most moderate and Conservative proposal in respect to land policy generally. Hon. Members must remember that the question of Irish land was not exclusively an Irish question. If they had allowed it to be dealt with in a Parliament of Irish people they might have insulated the question; but, since the Party opposite had insisted on having principles connected with it threshed out in the Imperial Parliament, they must bear in mind that they were only forcing them more and more on the attention of the Imperial population. He would tell hon. Gentlemen opposite that certain very remarkable meditations were fermenting in the minds of the people of this country with respect to the policy which was to be pursued with respect to land. The landless millions were beginning to look around them, and to see with surprise that England was taken possession of by a comparatively few thousands of individuals, who, with a small percentage of honourable exceptions, they regarded as an idle, selfish, and overbearing class, spending in

luxury and in frivolous self-indulgence the wealth that had been procured through the tears, the sweat, and even the life-blood of a pinched and frequently half-starved population. These people were beginning to ask how it was that this landholding oligarchy, whose Chiefs had also clothed themselves with hereditary power and honour, had come to be possessed of all England, and had shut the real people of England out; and many of them were beginning to form a belief that the so-called title must originally rest simply on a transaction of violent seizure, and that those who had subsequently purchased, having purchased in the full knowledge of what these people believed to be an original act of spoliation, could be in no better position as regarded title than those from whom they derived it, and who had acquired it by the original act of spoliation to which he had referred. In days when the landholding oligarchy were supreme, and when the landless millions were politically powerless, these musings might have been, and doubtless were, treated with very little alarm, as being unworthy of consideration. But nowadays the tables had been turned. Although the complete emancipation of the landless ones was only a few months old, the question was, Would the millions, now they had the power in their hands, leave the thousands in unquestioned possession of all England without the consent of its people? He confessed he had his doubts upon that question. He should not be surprised that more or less revolutionary ideas were shaping themselves in the minds of many of the people. He, for one, although he had some doubts on the general question of the ownership of land, deprecated all violent and sudden revolutions; because he knew that, though useful and beneficial to succeeding generations, they were always afflictive of much misery and suffering to the present one; and he hoped he had sufficient love for his species to desire the happiness of the generation that was existing, as well as of the generations that were still non-existing; but he must confess that if the landowners of this day refused to be moderate and conciliatory in the coming struggles about the land, which were as certain to come as they were sitting there, he could foresee that something

like violence and danger would arise in the settlement of the question. It was just because this Bill, or the principle of it, at all events, seemed to him to give landholders an opportunity of encouraging a land policy as regarded Ireland that should advance the question, not by violent jerks and by sudden and cruel ruptures, but by a smooth, gradual, and gliding movement, that he should support its second reading. It was upon that ground and many others that he regarded this measure as not only good for Ireland at the present moment, but also for England and for Scotland in the times that were to come.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.) said, that feeling, as he did, that every word he uttered in the debate would be canvassed in his constituency, and having made up his mind to give an unhesitating and unfaltering vote against the second reading of the Bill, the House would, perhaps, bear with him while he gave his reasons for so doing. The measure of the hon. Member for Cork had one recommendation—it was not complicated; it was sublime in its simplicity. If ever a man was sent to the House pledged in favour of the leaseholders he (Mr. Russell) was. On every hillside of South Tyrone he had pledged himself to vote for any measure that would give leaseholders the advantages of the Land Act. He was pledged to the leaseholders, but not to the leaseholders *plus* whatever the hon. Member for Cork chose to stuff into a Bill along with them. The leaseholders ought never to have been excluded from the Act of 1881. He might be told that contract was a sacred thing; but that was an argument against the whole Act of 1881. When that Act was passed, and contract violated in every way, it was rather hard to leave the leaseholders out of it; and he hoped that the Government would turn their attention to the question during the Recess. If the condition of Ireland was as the hon. Member for Cork represented it to be, this Bill would not meet the emergency. The number of tenants in Ireland in December, 1884, was 565,000, and up to that time only 157,000 fair rents had been fixed. That left 400,000 tenants utterly outside the provisions of the Bill. They were the leaseholders, the holders of town parks and glebe lands; those whose rents had been fixed since December 1884; those

whose claims had not been adjudicated upon; and those who had never gone into Court at all. Not one of these would get one iota of advantage from this Bill, which was to relieve the pressing necessities of the Irish people. Hon. Members who voted for the Bill would be voting for a Bill for the advantage of 150,000 tenants, who had had abatements of rent, and would do nothing for those tenants who had had no abatements at all. The average reduction of 1882 was 20·5 per cent; in 1883, 19·5; in 1884, 18·7; and in 1885, 18·1 per cent; so as a simple fact those who got their rents fixed in 1885, and who were abitrarily excluded from the action of this Bill, got smaller reductions than those whose rents were fixed in 1882, 1883, and 1884, and who were to be benefited, as the hon. Member had said. What was the reason for this? It was because they were such a numerous class—about 20,000. He never had a high opinion of the way the hon. Member for Cork and his Friends would treat a minority in Ireland. He had said so everywhere; but he had never expected to convict them out of their own mouths, as was the case when they excluded these tenants from the benefits of the Bill. The Land Commissioners in the present year had reduced the judicial rents 9 per cent below those fixed in 1882-3-4; and on that basis the hon. Member for Cork asked the House to authorize the Land Courts to reduce judicial rents by 50 per cent. Why were the judicial tenants up to the end of 1884 to have relief, and those of 1886 to be treated in this way, while the tenants of 1885 were to receive no abatement whatever? He was not himself a landowner, and he had not the slightest connection with landlords or landlordism. His whole connection was with the farming class. [*Laughter.*] Yes; it was quite true that he was independent of landlordism, and he was not afraid to say that in Ireland they owed to it much of the trouble and the difficulties from which the people had been suffering. But when he was told that the people of Ireland were now face to face with a crisis such as they experienced in 1880 he entirely dissented from such a statement. In 1880, if the Irish people were not in the midst of a famine, they were but slowly recovering from its effects; but this year there was

the prospect of more than an average harvest—[*Cries of "Oh, oh!"*] Well, let them read *The Farmers' Gazette*. Anybody who had been in Ireland lately knew that it had been more than an average year; and they ought to be very thankful for it. He was always inclined to regard the condition of any people from the consumption of luxuries, for they were always the barometers of prosperity. [*A laugh.*] Of course, hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway knew what he was coming to. He would take the year 1877, when he found that the cost of the spirits and beer consumed in Ireland amounted to £12,169,915. 1877 was an exceptionally good year; but 1880 was an exceptionally bad year, as he had already stated, and in that year the consumption of spirits and beer fell off by some £3,000,000—went down to £9,174,803. He well remembered hon. Members below the Gangway making a great argument of this decrease in the expenditure of the people, which they attributed to their destitution. Now he came to the present year, in order to see what this spirit and beer barometer indicated. He found that for the 12 months ending March, 1886, this so-called distressed country—a country not of large towns, there were only six large towns in it, but a country almost exclusively agricultural—consumed spirits and beer to the amount of £11,250,000. He was not finding fault with the Irish people for being over much addicted to the consumption of spirits and beer. They consumed far less per head than the people of either England or Scotland; but what he said was this, that the figures he had quoted—an expenditure of £11,250,000 upon spirits and beer—was not evidence of the distress which hon. Members below the Gangway declared was prevalent in Ireland at the present time.

MR. M. J. KENNY (Tyrone, Mid): Where do you get those figures?

MR. T. W. RUSSELL: From the Excise Returns.

MR. HARRIS (Galway, E.): How much of the spirits is exported?

MR. T. W. RUSSELL, continuing, said, that the figures he had given represented the consumption that had taken place in Ireland. He was too old a hand in a matter of this kind to mix statistics of export up with

the statistics of home consumption. The question was whether the pressure on the Irish people was so great as to warrant them in interfering with the national contract of 1881 without a syllable of inquiry. Three weeks ago he had voted against the Amendment to the Address brought forward by the hon. Member for Cork, in which that hon. Gentleman raised nearly the same issue as was contained in the Bill now under notice; and he (Mr. Russell) had not found, after giving full consideration to all the circumstances, in anything that had occurred in Ireland since, nor in what had been stated in that House, anything calculated to alter his opinion. He was not, fortunately, in the position of hon. Members below the Gangway, of whom the hon. Member for Cork might say of each—"When I say come he cometh, when I say go he goeth, and when I tell a third to do this he doeth it." The Government had given the names of the Royal Commission that evening, and not a word of objection had been raised. The Government had promised an early inquiry, and he should like to say that this was a subject that would not brook delay. He was perfectly satisfied that there had been a fall in prices. He did not dispute or doubt that for a moment. The inquiry which was to be held must be searching. It would be possible for the tenants to wait now; but matters would not brook anything like trifling. He had faith in the present Government. Indeed, he was not ashamed to say that he had more faith in the present than he had in the last Government. He believed that the Government recognized the gravity of the situation, and, believing that they seriously intended to grapple with the Irish Land Question, he would vote against the second reading of the Bill of the hon. Member for Cork. The hon. Member for East Edinburgh stated that every eviction crusade was followed by crime. He (Mr. Russell) disputed that altogether. If he thought that was a fact, he might, perhaps, be inclined to vote for the second reading of the Bill. But what were the facts? What inducement had the landlords to evict their tenants? Did the landlord who evicted get anything by evicting his tenants? He did not get his rent, and he had to pay the costs. True, he

would get his land; but it was of no use to him. He could not let it to anyone, and if he put Emergency men upon it the cost was very great. The landlord could not evict for six months' rent; he would not evict for even a year's rent. If the Eviction Returns were complete it would be found that people were not evicted in Ireland for a year's but for three and four years' rent, unless as the result of combination. Hon. Members said that crime followed evictions. If they took up the Parliamentary Returns they would find that in Ulster, where the percentage of evictions was highest, the percentage of agrarian crime was lowest. He had lived in Ireland 30 years, and had been a close observer of what was going on there, and if he got a map he could trace the course of this land agitation by a line dotted with blood. Crime did not necessarily follow evictions; it followed this agitation. Class was set against class; everything honest was openly reviled and scouted. If this Bill was passed, in the first place it would block the Land Court. Every man who had got a judicial rent would rush into Court, and every landlord would resist this 50 per cent reduction. The whole of the Sub-Commissioners would be re-constituted and sent over the country, and he could hardly imagine a greater calamity to Ireland than that would be. It was an amusing thing to see how the Land Commissioners worked. They took the present rent and jotted that down, then they jotted down Griffith's valuation, then the landlord's valuation, and then the tenant's, added them all up, and divided by four, and that was the judicial rent. He knew of no greater calamity than to reconstitute those Commissioners and allow them to make ducks and drakes of other people's property. It would take three or four years to settle the matter, and meantime you would have on the one side some 400,000 farmers in open and absolute revolt, and on the other 150,000 favoured tenants. Within the last six or seven weeks hon. Members must have noticed that the applications for loans under Lord Ashbourne's Purchase Act had increased. The tenants purchasing under that Act had made arrangements by which the reduction in the payments came to something like 16

per cent on the judicial rent. Hon. Members from Ireland below the Gangway did not want that land purchase scheme to go on; and this Bill was placed before the tenant farmer, and a reduction of 50 per cent was dangled before his eyes, in order to stop the progress of Lord Ashbourne's Act. Under the Bill the landlords would not get back the land; but there was nothing to prevent the gombeen man, who was the prince of scoundrels in Ireland, from obtaining possession of it. In fact, everyone under the Bill, save and except the landlord, might have a shot at the tenant. He was glad to have the opportunity of giving his reasons for voting against the Bill, and he should be equally ready to explain them to his constituents. He recognized the fall in prices, and was anxious to assist the tenant farmers in difficulties which were not of their own creation; and he refused to compare the circumstances of the present day with the circumstances that obtained under Griffith's valuation. Labour was higher, the cost of living had increased, and the necessities of every class had increased since the days of Griffith's valuation. He, therefore, refused to make the comparison. He admitted the fall in prices; but he had no reliable information as to the extent of the fall, or how far it affected Irish tenants, or whether it was temporary or permanent in its character. He had received pamphlets on each side; but they could not legislate upon pamphlets. He declined to be a party to the upsetting of contract until these facts were ascertained, and that could only be done by the Royal Commission. He did not believe that the Irish landlords were thirsting for evictions, because all their interests were against evictions. The landlords, in his opinion, or, at any rate, the great majority of them, might be trusted, and it was to their interest to recognize the gravity of the situation. He did not think that the landlords of Ireland were going to play into the hands of the hon. Member for Cork so quietly as he thought they would. The Act of 1881 was a great charter. It gave fixity of tenure to the Irish tenants, and appointed an impartial tribunal to fix a fair rent. After that Act came Lord Ashbourne's Purchase Act, under which the whole of

the purchase money could be advanced to tenants who were willing to buy. Before he stepped in and assisted to undo the solemn contracts which had been made under these Acts, he must have before him that evidence which the Royal Commission only could produce. It might be said that this Bill of the hon. Member for Cork was but a temporary measure; but he should like to hear the hon. Member or any of his Friends talking in that sense in Ireland. There was not one of them who would dare to say in Castlebar or Cork that this Bill was meant to be of a temporary character. Because he believed that the Bill was not brought forward with any honest intention, and because it was, in his opinion, an impossible Bill, and would stand in the way of the work which the Government intended to undertake, he should give an unhesitating and an unfaltering vote against it.

MR. J. W. BARCLAY (Forfarshire, W.) said, he thought all the objections of the hon. Member who had just sat down might have been met in Committee. If the tenants under leases were not properly dealt with, he might have taken measures to have their case properly attended to in Committee. He (Mr. Barclay) intended to vote for the second reading of this Bill; but, at the same time, he thought it would have been more in the interests, not only of the tenants but of the landlords, if the Bill had been drawn on wider lines. It proposed to deal only with impecunious tenants; but he was prepared to appeal to the principle stated by the noble Marquess the Member for Rossendale (the Marquess of Hartington), of equity between man and man, and make the Bill apply generally to the rents of all tenants in Ireland. That was the natural consequence of the position which this House took up in 1881. For good and sufficient reasons Parliament at that time interfered for the purpose of revising rents in Ireland. The Land Courts fixed these rents according to the circumstances of the time; but if they were able to prove that circumstances had materially changed since then, as a natural consequence this House was bound again to take such measures as they might think necessary for fixing fair rents. The right hon. Member for Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin) contended that Parliament having inter-

fered to fix fair rents in 1881, was bound to guarantee the payment of the rents so fixed for the next 15 years. If that were so, then Irish landlords were by the Act of 1881 more fortunate than landlords in England and Scotland. The whole question turned on whether the rents fixed by the Land Courts three years ago were fair rents now. The Irish landlords blamed that Act for the fall of rents; but in point of fact the primary cause of the reduction was the great fall in the values of produce since 1878. The reduction of rents in England and Scotland had been considerably more than the reduction of rents in Ireland, and he could only regard the Act of 1881 as a means whereby the landlords of Ireland had been more tenderly dealt with, and as protecting them from the effect of that fall in values which had come directly on the landlords of England and Scotland. The fall in price of agricultural produce during the last three years was sufficient to justify them in saying that the judicial fair rents fixed in 1881 were not fair rents now. Another matter which was too often disregarded was that this fall in price of agricultural produce was not, to any appreciable extent, counterbalanced by any decrease in the cost of production, which, under normal conditions, was about three-fourths of the price. The fall in price, therefore, fell entirely upon the rent and the tenant's profit, and the tenant whose rent had not been reduced was the sufferer. If people in England with capital and science at their disposal, were unable to make their land pay, he asked how this was to be accomplished by the poor, ignorant Irish tenant? One argument used by the opponents of the measure was that, as tenants had paid in the past, they would continue to pay their rents in the future. He was afraid that hopes built upon such an anticipation were doomed to disappointment. Rents had been paid in recent years not out of the profit on the land, but out of the tenant's capital in hopes of better times; but a day of reckoning was at hand, and could not long be postponed. This Bill was based on the necessities of the case to assist the impecunious tenants who could not pay their rents. How, under any circumstances, could landlords get rents from such men? True, they might evict; but the force of public opinion

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the Bill in Committee into a shape which they may desire, but which the hon. Member for the City of Cork may disapprove? I may remind the hon. Member for the City of Cork, who, I believe, has not shown such interest in his own Bill as to induce his continuous presence in the House—I would remind him of his own words that “this is a temporary Bill to meet a temporary emergency.” I agree with the hon. Member for South Tyrone (Mr. T. W. Russell), who addressed the House so eloquently a short time ago, that the Bill of the hon. Member for the City of Cork would not be regarded in Ireland as a temporary measure to meet a temporary emergency in the South and West of Ireland. If this Bill were to become law it would be accepted and interpreted in the South and West of Ireland as a Bill breaking up the settlement established by the Land Act of 1881. This Bill condemns the main principle on which that settlement was arrived at. The hon. Member for the City of Cork, who is not responsible for that Act, told the House yesterday that, owing to the fall in prices, it had proved of no benefit to the Irish farmers; that it had injured the landlords by the reduction of rents by some 20 per cent; that it would injure the tenants by 3 per cent; and he might have added that it would injure the labourers also by depriving them of employment which they previously obtained. Well, that is not surprising to us who, in 1881, took exception to the principle on which the Land Act was based as being contrary to those great truths of political economy which cannot be violated by Parliament with impunity. [Mr. W. E. GLADSTONE: Hear, hear!] It is surprising that the right hon. Gentleman should cheer that, because, at any rate, he has held up that Act as a settlement of the Irish Land Question.

MR. W. E. GLADSTONE (Edinburgh, Mid Lothian): No; only as against you.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: And yet the moment statements come from Irish Members which affect his own mind, and before we announce our intention of dealing with the subject at all, merely because we announce a Commission of Inquiry into the operation of that Act, he charges us with having so disturbed it—[Mr. W. E. GLADSTONE:

Sir Michael Hicks-Beach

Hear, hear!—that he, forsooth, is obliged to be foremost in its destruction. There can be no doubt that the Bill of the hon. Member for the City of Cork does upset, not temporarily, but permanently, the settlement which was attempted by the Land Act of 1881. I will not detain the House by discussing the question of the leaseholders, whose position the hon. Member for the City of Cork proposes to alter. The hon. Member frankly explains that he inserted a clause bringing them within the scope of the Land Act of 1881, not so much on account of the fall in the price of produce, as because he thought that they had waited too long already; but I do not think that the right hon. Gentleman and those who have consistently opposed up to this moment the admission of leaseholders to the benefits of the Act of 1881, can say that their case is so urgent that it ought to be dealt with at once, in the manner proposed by the hon. Member, and with so little consideration as Parliament, in September, could devote to it. I will not ask the House to dwell on that matter. [SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: Hear, hear!] I am glad that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby agrees with me on that point, and I hope to hear from him that he and his Colleagues on that Bench object to that clause of this Bill, and agree with me that the position of the leaseholders, in whatever way it may be dealt with in the future, at any rate, at present, is not so urgent that it ought to form part of any measure which the House is now asked to accept. Now, I quite agree with the hon. Member for the City of Cork that if he had proved that a considerable number of the tenants of Ireland could not afford to pay their judicial rents on account of the fall in prices, Parliament ought at once to take some measures for maintaining them in their holdings and relieving them from the possibilities of eviction pending a further consideration of their case; and that neither the season of the year, nor the labours that we have already undergone, ought to excuse us from promptly and quickly dealing with the question. But what I say is this—the difficulties with which this question is beset are very great, and those difficulties have been practically admitted by the action of the hon. Member himself. Why, this is the

third proposal which the hon. Member for the City of Cork has made within the last month for dealing with this matter. On the 25th of August he suggested that there should be a revision of rents every three years, according to prices to be fixed by a man in an office in Dublin, with power to the Court to discriminate as to evictions, when the tenant lodged, not 50 per cent, but two-thirds of the rent due in Court. Then, again, on the 3rd September, he proposed that there should be power to suspend proceedings on ejectments on payment of three-fourths of the original rent into Court. Now we have a very different proposal, and although the hon. Member may have very good grounds, though he did not show them in his speech, for altering his mind on this question, yet the difference between his proposals proves that this is a question of no small difficulty, and not to be dealt with by this House without, at any rate, very careful consideration.

MR. PARNELL (Cork): I beg the right hon. Gentleman's pardon; I have not altered my mind at all.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS - BEACH: Even if the hon. Member has no further proposals to make, he has certainly altered his proposals, if he has not altered his mind. But if he has, he will have an opportunity, in replying upon the Amendment of the hon. Member for Cambridge (Mr. Penrose Fitzgerald), of stating how he proposes to modify the Bill, so as to bring it into accordance with the wishes of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian. I think the hon. Member had at first more than the judicial tenants in his mind—at any rate, he did not confine his statements to judicial tenants. Now, my hon. and learned Friend the Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Gibson) has shown that this Bill, as it now stands, would only apply to about 100,000 of the 500,000 existing Irish tenants—namely, to the holders of judicial tenancies who have had their rents fixed up to the end of the year 1884. He will have nothing to say to those who have had their rents fixed since January 1st, 1885. They are to have nothing, while the others are to have practically all the benefits of the Bill. I have inquired into this matter, and I find that the percentage of reduction made by the

different authorities in the judicial rents, as compared with the former rents on tenancies before the 1st of January, 1885, was 18·320 per cent, and on tenancies after the 1st of January, 1885, 17·248 per cent, so that the tenants the hon. Member does not propose to benefit have actually had a less reduction, on the average, in their rents than the tenants for whom the hon. Member invokes the powers of this Bill. Let me carry that a little farther. The hon. Member, and some other hon. Members, made a good deal of the abatements which have been made by the Land Commission during the earlier months of the present year; but when I come to look at the figures, I find that for September, October, November, December, 1885, and the month of January, 1886, the percentage reduction on the rents was very much the same as it had been in previous years. Why does the hon. Member stop at the 31st of December, 1884? If the Land Commissioners have fixed the rents of the tenants up to the 31st of December, 1884, at too high a rate, surely, according to those figures, they have committed the same error up to the end of January, 1886. The reductions for February, March, April, May, June, and July, 1886, were, no doubt, larger than they had been before—from 6 to 8 per cent, I think—but they do not justify the proposal of the hon. Member to reduce the judicial rents 50 per cent. More than that, these reductions are the only foundation of the hon. Member's argument, and they are fallacious, because, in the last few months, the work of the Land Commission in fixing judicial rents has been very small indeed. Up to the end of December, 1884, judicial rents amounting to £2,350,000 in all were dealt with, while in May and June, 1886, judicial rents to the amount of only £7,565 were dealt with. You will find the same thing running through all the months of 1886. You will find, no doubt, higher reductions, but made upon a very small number of rents, and therefore you cannot calculate averages upon them, so as to test the work of the Commission. The hon. Member for the City of Cork proposes that those who were so fortunate as to have their judicial rents fixed before the end of December, 1884, are to benefit by this Bill. Well, now, in all

of these cases, the Bill proposes simply to get rid of that obligation arising from judicial decisions under the Land Act of 1881, which was affirmed so lately as June last by the late Government, with the tacit consent of hon. Members below the Gangway opposite, as so sacred a compact that the proposed Irish Parliament was to be especially prevented from meddling with it; and now we are asked to get rid of 50 per cent of these judicial rents, without even an inquiry into the state of the circumstances. And for what reason? Of course, the whole basis of the argument of the hon. Member has been the exceptional fall in the prices of produce; but any hon. Member who has studied this Bill will see that, in the enacting parts of it, there is not a word about the fall in the prices of produce. The tenant, whatever may be his position, occupying under a judicial rent fixed before December, 1884, may simply decline to pay that rent, and may obtain the suspension of proceedings for the recovery of his holding on payment of half-a-year's rent into Court, so that he may apply to the Court to lower his rent on the ground of his inability to pay in accordance with the provisions of the Bill. But that inability may be due to any other cause than a fall in prices. It may be due to his having given too much for his tenant right. It may arise from incompetency or reckless expenditure, through which the tenant may have rendered himself unable to pay his rent, and yet, on the general argument of the fall in the prices of produce, he is to be excused half that rent on application to the Court, if he can show his inability on any ground to pay what the Court has adjudged to be a fair rent for his farm. It is not necessary to dwell longer on this point, because I think it has been completely dealt with already in the course of the debate. The Bill, in this respect, is simply a Bill for permanently reducing the judicial rents fixed before the 31st of December, 1884, by 50 per cent. Upon what grounds is it proposed that that should be done? I do not wish to impute motives to any hon. Members; but I confess that it seems to me the result of the acceptance of such a proposal as this by Parliament would be, in the first place, to give a death-blow to the purchase, by the tenants, of their

holdings under the provisions of the Land Act of 1885, which was unanimously passed by Parliament; and, secondly, to give the Irish tenants, quite irrespective of their necessities, a very large slice out of the property of their landlords. The ostensible reason is, that the Commissioners under the Land Act have fixed the judicial rents without due regard to the possible fall in the prices of produce. I should like to know very much when the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Newcastle-on-Tyne first arrived at the conclusion that it was possible that the Commissioners under the Land Act could have taken such a course as that? I should like to know from the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby when he addresses the House—as I presume he will—when that conclusion was first arrived at? The Land Commissioners were immaculate for a long time. When they were attacked from the landlords' point of view, no language could be too strong to describe the iniquity of the attacks. Now, they are thrown overboard altogether, and it is to be taken for granted, without any inquiry at all, that they have not done their duty by taking into consideration the possible fall in the price of agricultural produce in fixing judicial rents. The hon. Member for the City of Cork drew a comparison between the prices of farm produce which prevailed before 1884 and between 1884 and 1885. I ventured to assert, in a previous debate on this subject, that I did not believe that looking at the amount of the judicial rents then fixed, it was possible that the Assistant Commissioners could have fixed them merely on the prices which then prevailed. I quoted to the House the relation between the totals of the judicial rents fixed up to the end of the year 1886, and the valuation of the same properties under Griffith's valuation. I showed that the judicial rents amounted to £2,603,000 on properties valued in Griffith's valuation at £2,440,000, and I went on further to show the prices of produce on which the rents were fixed by Griffith's valuation. More than five important articles included in the Schedule are absolutely higher at the present time than they were in 1852, and I think, Sir, that that, generally speaking, proves that the judicial rents could

not have been fixed on anything like the prices which prevailed between 1881 and 1884. Unless it was proved not only that prices would fall from the point at which they stood at the time of Griffith's valuation, but that the fall would be permanent and even increasing, there could be no real ground for any general reduction in judicial rents. The hon. Member for the City of Cork interrupted me on that occasion, and he asked me what the relation between the judicial rents and Griffith's valuation in particular counties was. I have looked further into the matter since, and I find that in the three counties of Cork, Limerick, and Kerry, the judicial rents are considerably higher than Griffith's valuation. That being so, I went on to inquire why; and I found that this was the reason—that the valuation of these counties was commenced in the years immediately succeeding the Irish Famine, and that they were settled, finally, by the middle of 1853, when the country was still suffering from the effects of that famine, when agricultural affairs were much depressed, and when poor rates were very high. Therefore, the valuation in these counties was fixed at a very low rate as compared with the valuation of counties fixed in succeeding years down to 1865. Furthermore, I also found that in these counties there had been large sums of money expended in improvements by loans from the State since Griffith's valuation, not to say anything about the private expenditure of landlords or tenants. There had been an actual expenditure in the counties of Cork and Kerry of £400,000 each, and in the county of Limerick of £284,000, money advanced by the State for the improvement of property by drainage and other works. Therefore, Sir, upon all these grounds, it is perfectly clear there would be reason why judicial rents fixed between 1881 and 1884 in these counties should be considerably higher than Griffith's valuation in 1853. Besides that, I have noticed that nothing was said about the fall of prices until the rejection of the Home Rule Bill of the late Government. Prices were lower in the spring and early summer than they are now; prices are distinctly rising at the present moment. I have an account here, taken

from *The Farmers' Gazette* of Ireland, and I am very glad to see it, which shows that at Banagher Fair, on the 15th of September, 11,300 sheep had been penned, and that only 350 remained unsold, and that prices had gone up 5s. to 6s. per head higher than they were last year. The horse trade also was very good. I have also a letter from Messrs. Hudson, the large provision merchants of Ludgate Hill, who say that the price of Cork butter is 30 per cent higher at the present moment than it was on the 30th of June last; firsts, which were at 75, are now 105; seconds have advanced from 62 to 83; and thirds, which were then 54, are now 70. That is borne out by the hon. Member for the City of Cork himself, who told the House, that although the price of butter had risen, it was an unfortunate thing that the Cork farmers had no butter to send. So much for the first ground on which the proposal of the hon. Member is based; but he takes another ground, and that is the dread that the landlords will largely resort to evictions during the coming autumn and winter, because the tenants are unable to pay their rent, and he quoted to the House figures, dating from some time back, of the total number of evictions. Now, Sir, I quite agree with what fell from the noble Marquess the Member for Rosendale (the Marquess of Hartington), in the earlier part of the evening, as to the eviction statistics. They are utterly misleading. ["Oh, oh!"] Yes, they are, and I will explain to the House why they are. Certainly, I shall make it my business to see that they are, in future, so stated as to give a fair report to the House of what actually takes place. The hon. Member for the City of Cork quoted a certain number of evictions in certain quarters of the year. I will not enter into the comparisons, but I will simply remind the House that so far as the quarter ending June 30th last is concerned, the total numbers—on which fact I lay no stress—were less than the corresponding quarter of the previous year; and, further, that the numbers in any quarter have nothing whatever to do, as the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Newcastle-on-Tyne knows very well, with the Lord Lieutenant or the Chief

[*Second Night.*]

Secretary who may happen to be in Office in that particular quarter. They are the result of previous processes in the Courts of Law. They come into execution at irregular dates, in regard to which the Government of the day can have no influence whatever. It is possible, no doubt, that the figures of evictions may increase during the current quarter as compared with the corresponding quarter last year; but what I would wish the House to remember is this—that the number of evictions increasing is no proof of the inability of the tenants to pay the rent. It may be that a combination to resist the payment of rent prevents the tenant from paying the rent. Therefore, if tenants who are able to pay do not pay, landlords have to resort to eviction as the only course open to them, and then after eviction, the authority of the combination is kept up by outrages. Therefore, Sir, if evictions should increase, I repeat that it is no proof of inability to pay. But I will go into the figures with regard to evictions. I am glad to find that for the week ending September 11, there were, in the whole of Ireland, only 19 cases in which tenants were absolutely evicted from their holdings. Cases of this kind vary from week to week in a most extraordinary manner. If you analyze the figures, and take away from the total number of evictions, the number of tenants reinstated as tenants or caretakers, I believe it is within the truth to say that, out of all the tenants in Ireland, the evictions for the year 1885 do not amount to three out of 2,000 tenancies. Further than that, there are many cases of reinstatement which do not come to the knowledge of the Government at all—for instance, where tenants are not reinstated at the moment as tenants or caretakers, but come in again under the power of the six months' redemption at a later date. Then, again, many of these evictions are due to debts to creditors who are not landlords at all. I will give the House some curious figures on this point. I have looked into the statistics of evictions in the month of August, 1886. They were reported as 482 in number, including 2,374 persons. Now, I find that if you eliminate from these numbers all except actual cases of evictions for non-payment of rent—

Sir Michael Hicks-Beach

Mr. T. C. HARRINGTON (Dublin, Harbour): Judgment evictions on title, or a bill of sale.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: Title has nothing whatever to do with the Bill of the hon. Member for the City of Cork. The observation of the hon. Member, therefore, is altogether irrelevant; the Bill of the hon. Member for the City of Cork would not stop a single eviction on title.

Mr. T. C. HARRINGTON: Oh, yes, it would.

Mr. PARNELL: Proceedings for recovery of rent are stayed.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: Evictions, as I have said, numbered 482 in August, and out of that number only 264 cases were due to the non-payment of rent—namely, 64 in Leinster, 53 in Ulster, 99 in Munster, and 48 in Connaught. I will tell the House something more, which I think will show that those evictions, at any rate, were due to other causes besides the fall in the price of produce during the past year. I find that out of the 264 cases, the number in which one year's rent was due was 26; 1½ years' rent, 58; 2 years' rent, 60; 2½ years' rent, 34; 3 years' rent, 38; and between 3 and 10 years' rent, 48 cases. I think that shows that, if you simply wish to look at this matter from the point of view of the effect upon the tenant of the fall in prices which has occurred during the last year or 18 months, you must eliminate a great many cases of long arrears. But there is something more. I cannot tell at the present time how many of those cases are cases in which judicial rents have been fixed, but my impression is that they are a very small number indeed. The Bill of the hon. Member only applies to judicial rents. It would not be necessary to stop evictions in cases where judicial rents were not fixed, if the tenants fell into difficulties, and in those circumstances desired to apply to the Land Court for the fixing of judicial rents. The evictions, to prevent which we are asked to make this great change in the law, are only those of judicial tenants whose inability to pay is due to the recent fall in prices. With regard to that small number of cases—and it is very small—I have already stated to the House, in a previous debate, that in the case of these tenants, the County

Courts are empowered, by a general order of the Judges, to suspend, at their discretion, the execution of the judgments; and a similar jurisdiction has always been exercised by the Supreme Court. I do not know, therefore, what more you want in order to guard against the few cases of undue hardship which may occur. I am quite certain that there is no ground whatever, looking at the facts of the case, for anything like the proposal of the hon. Member, which is, as I have already stated, a simple suspension of 50 per cent of the judicial rents fixed before 1884 over the whole of Ireland. Well, Sir, I have detained the House too long, and I really do not wish to reiterate anything I have previously said upon this subject. But I noticed that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Newcastle-on-Tyne expressed a great desire to get the Land Question of Ireland settled on a firm and stable basis. Well, Sir, that is a desire in which I can assure him we sympathize with him most heartily. But we do not think that the best way to get the Land Question of Ireland settled on a firm and stable basis is to upset the great settlement of 1881 at the first proposal of the hon. Member for the City of Cork. We think that these are matters sufficiently difficult and important and complicated to require you to look before you leap. The right hon. Gentleman prefers to leap, before he looks, and I think, if he landed in the second reading of this Bill, he would have very considerable difficulty in choosing ground on which to put his foot at the next stage. I regretted to hear from a right hon. Gentleman who speaks with the honesty and the fairness of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Newcastle-on-Tyne, taunts directed against Her Majesty's Government, for desiring to risk millions in making the State the direct landlord of Ireland. Sir, it is precisely because we do not desire to make proposals to Parliament which have not a substantial basis, and which we are not able to justify by sound and cogent argument, that we have decided on the inquiry which we have already stated to the House it is our intention to institute. We believe that there is scope for inquiry, both in regard to the Land Act of 1881 and the Land Purchase Act of 1885. We have already stated to the House the

terms of Reference to the Commission, whose appointment I have intimated to the House this evening. We propose that that inquiry shall be begun as soon as possible, and brought to a completion without any unnecessary delay, and upon the result of that inquiry we hope to submit proposals to the House next Session. The right hon. Member for Newcastle-on-Tyne tells us that our position in regard to social order in Ireland is not an easy one. He reminds us that we are under great disadvantages as compared with the Government of Lord Spencer. I know very well—nobody knows better—that the position of the Irish Government in this matter is not an easy one, that we are under great disadvantages; and I must state to the House that the position of affairs in Ireland now is such that it may well be that we shall have to ask the House to empower us to deal with the situation at an earlier date than may be anticipated. But we have no right to try to make our position in Ireland easy by the means which the right hon. Gentlemen suggests. He tells us that we make no attempt to secure peace and harmony with the Irish Party. I am very well aware what the value of peace and harmony with the Irish Party might be to the Government of Ireland; but we have no right to buy peace by doing injustice. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian, in 1881, characterized his own amendment of the Irish Land Law as one which had removed all injustice as between landlord and tenant. We take our stand upon that settlement until, by inquiry, it is proved to be wrong. We will not buy peace in Ireland by doing that which we are not convinced is right. We desire, as much as any hon. Members in this House can desire, to govern Ireland Constitutionally, in accordance with the wishes of the Irish people. But, Sir, we will not attempt to govern Ireland by a policy of blackmail. It is because that attempt has been made so often by right hon. Gentlemen who sit on that (the Front Opposition) Bench, from time to time, yielding to coercion and dictation on the part of hon. Members below the Gangway, that we are landed to-day in the great difficulties that environ the Irish Question, and that the hon. Member

for the City of Cork has been emboldened to place before this House a Bill which, though purporting to be a mere instalment of justice to the poor Irish tenants, is an act of gross injustice to the landlords of Ireland.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT (Derby): Sir, I think the House and the country will note with considerable alarm the tone of defiance and menace with which the right hon. Baronet opposite the Chief Secretary for Ireland is embarking on his mission of peace. We have never asked the right hon. Gentleman or the Government to seek peace through injustice; but what we have asked them to do is to seek peace in Ireland by a process which we believe to be just and right. [*Cries of "Oh!" from the Ministerial Benches.*] Yes, you may differ in your opinion as to that which is just and right; but for the right hon. Gentleman to accuse us, or any Members in this House, of deliberately seeking peace through "blackmail," is a charge which I venture to repudiate as indecent, unfounded, and uncalled for. The right hon. Gentleman commenced his speech with a very singular complaint. He said that the Irish Members had not spoken enough in this debate. Well, that was not a very prudent challenge to make to Irish Members towards the end of September. I suppose, the House is pretty well aware of what the views of the Irish Members below the Gangway upon this Bill are, and it was not at all unnatural they should desire that the views of hon. Members from England and Scotland upon it should be stated to the House. Well, Sir, having taken notice of the second, and, fortunately, the shorter part of the right hon. Gentleman's speech, in which he menaced the House with an early meeting, for purposes which we can easily detect, I will turn my attention to the earlier and more tranquil portion of his speech. It is not denied, and I, for one, do not deny for one moment, that this is a Bill of a most exceptional character. [*A laugh.*] I hope hon. Members opposite who laugh will agree with me that it is an exceptional Bill, which can only be justified on exceptional grounds. Therefore, the question we have to consider, in voting upon this Bill, is whether there are such exceptional grounds as will justify a Bill of this description? The Chief Secretary

for Ireland just now said that nothing had been heard about low prices, and their effect on the ability of tenants to pay their rent, until the Home Rule Bill was rejected. [An hon. MEMBER: Hear, hear!] An hon. Member says "Hear, hear!" Will he kindly say "Hear, hear!" to what I am going to read? Now, Sir, before the Home Rule Bill was rejected—on the 20th of March—a very high authority indeed—not a Nationalist authority—gave its views on the question of low prices and the reduction of rent. I really believe that the hon. Gentleman who cried "Hear, hear!" and some others, conceive that the idea of low prices, as affecting the ability to pay rent, is a wicked invention of the Nationalist Party. There are many hon. Members who are in the habit of reading *The Times* newspaper every morning, and this is what that great and infallible authority said on the 20th of March—long before the Home Rule Bill had been rejected. I want to show the House that the notion that this was an invention of the enemy, and that nothing was heard of the fall of prices until the Home Rule Bill was rejected, is altogether unfounded. Now, that great leader of public opinion—[An hon. MEMBER: Hear, hear!]
—I am glad that hon. Gentlemen opposite accept it as such—that great leader of public opinion stated on the 20th of March—

"Upon facts unhappily too patent to all the world—the fall in agricultural values on a soil to a great extent poor, worn out, and badly farmed—not only has rent disappeared, but cultivation has almost become impossible. It is not too much to say that the rental of 528,000 holdings in Ireland is practically irrecoverable by anybody, whether landlord, English Government, or Irish Government. Holdings of an average value of £6 offer no margin to meet such a fall in values as has already occurred, and that is very likely to be more seriously felt. We have reason to believe that the full extent even of existing shrinkages of values has not yet been experienced, and in that case all the weaker men, together with many of the comparatively strong, will go down, and their rentals will have to be written off as a bad debt. Thus one-third of the total rental of Ireland is worthless, and the other two-thirds are obviously and apart from all political difficulties indefinitely depreciated."

Now, that was not invented after the rejection of the Home Rule Bill. It was not the idea of the Nationalist Party; but it was the deliberate opinion

of *The Times* newspaper on facts patent to all the world. It is quite true that *The Times* now says exactly the opposite; but then you may set one authority against the other. I only quote *The Times* for the purpose of showing how ridiculously extravagant and absurd is the statement that the fall in prices was not invented till after the defeat of the Home Rule Bill, or that it was the invention of the Nationalist Party. I quoted in a former debate, and I will not quote again, another authority, neither a Nationalist authority, nor one subsequent to the rejection of the Bill. Mr. Murrough O'Brien, in his evidence before the Commission on the Depression of Trade, stated that the fall in prices would very seriously affect the ability of the tenants to pay their rents. I also quoted Mr. Tuke, to the same effect. An hon. Member complained that I did not also cite the remedies proposed by Mr. Tuke; but that was not the object with which I quoted him. I also quoted him to show that the fall in values had seriously affected the ability to pay rents, and that, according to Mr. Tuke, one-third of Ireland in the West was affected. Then, it is quite plain that these opinions were not invented at the moment for political purposes, because they are opinions which were promulgated and stated by more than one authority long before the rejection of the Home Rule Bill—six months ago. The hon. Member for the City of Cork has referred to the judicial decisions of the Land Commissioners in 1885. That is a most important circumstance, and I cannot think that the Chief Secretary for Ireland sufficiently appreciated the cogency of the argument. What are the facts? In Leinster, taking as the standard the Government valuation, which is practically, for Poor Law purposes, Griffith's valuation, the main body of judicial rents were 15 per cent above Griffith's valuation. During the first four months of this year they have been 16 per cent below. That is a difference of 31 per cent. Now, these facts have never been really dealt with on the other side of the House during this debate. In Connaught, the main body of rents were settled at 13·2 per cent above Griffith's valuation; and in the first four months of this year they have been 18 per cent below, or a differ-

ence of 31 per cent again. These are not the opinions of individuals, or things invented for political purposes by the Nationalist Party, but they are judicial decisions upon actual cases, and under the circumstances of the time. Well, in Munster, again, it is the same, although as regards Ulster, owing to peculiar circumstances, the case is different. In Munster, the rents were 25·8 per cent above the Government valuation in the former period; and in the first four months of this year they were 2·1 above it, which shows a falling off of 23 per cent. These are facts you have got to deal with, and I venture to say that you have not yet dealt with them. Answer this question—Why is it that the Land Commissioners, during the last four months of last year and the first four months of this year, have been fixing rents upon values so much lower than they were in the same districts formerly? I have before me the Blue Book which gives the rents fixed in the months of May and June at pages 34-5-6. There are whole columns of the rents, of which we have heard something of the Marquess of Clanricarde. What is the character of these judicial decisions? I will take one. The rent adjudicated upon was £25; the Government valuation was £21; and what was the rent judicially settled? It was £17 10s. In another case, the figures are, £41 rent, £39 valuation, settled rent £31. In another case, the rent £12 10s., valuation £12, settlement £9; and so on, all through these pages, there are figures representing a reduction ranging from 25 to 30 per cent. These are facts which have to be dealt with. Is it a fact that when other judicial rents were settled, they were settled upon a similar basis? What does the right hon. Gentleman say to this? He said that the fall of prices was great in 1885; but he finds that the judicial rents settled in 1885 were very much the same as in the previous period. That may be so; but everybody knows there is a great difference between the effects of the first year of a depression and those of a second year of depression. It is not until the second year that the real stress comes upon the tenants. It is because the Commissioners have found the long continuance of this depression that they have arrived at their decision to reduce the

rents. The right hon. Gentleman says it is quite true that the number of cases adjudicated upon is much less than it was in former times, and he does not see that that is an argument that tells very much against him. Why is it that few cases are coming in, or that any cases are coming in at all? In the former years since 1881, all the tenants who thought their rents were too high, and who thought they could get an advantageous reduction, came into Court to get them adjudicated upon. Those who did not come in, were those who thought, in the average run of the decisions, they would gain no sufficient advantage in the reduction of rent. But who are the people who have been coming in now? It is the men who did not come in before, because they thought they would get no reduction of rent, but who know that, under present prices, they can come into Court and get great reductions. Then I say, and all I ask myself and those who will vote for this Bill—[*Interruption*—the manners of the House of Commons are not what they used to be in days gone by. I repeat again, that I ask myself, and I ask those who are going to vote for the second reading of the Bill, is there not a strong *prima facie* case of probable injustice if you do not do something that is calculated to stay evictions? ["No!"] Well, that is the question. ["No!"] You may answer "No;" but I am going to give reasons why the answer should be "Yes," and I ask for the patience of hon. Members. I have given some evidence of the opinions that have been expressed, and I have stated what appears to be some cogent evidence in regard to judicial decisions; but there is evidence of another character. There have been, I am happy to say, in some parts of Ireland voluntary reductions going on. The hon. Member for the City of Cork has stated the case of Lord Fitzwilliam, as one proof that the fall in prices has created a necessity for the reduction of rents. I would call the attention of hon. Gentlemen to a paragraph appearing in *The St. James's Gazette*, which is not a Nationalist paper, a statement which gives the names of several landlords who have made reductions of 20 per cent, 25 per cent, and even 40 per cent. I want to know if that is not some evidence that there is a case for a

reduction of rent? But can you be satisfied, ought you to be satisfied, with the probability that all landlords are likely to act as those landlords have acted? I would ask the opinion of some hon. Members of this House on the subject as to whether or not there is a case for the reduction of rent. What is the opinion of my noble Friend the Member for Rossendale (the Marquess of Hartington)? He has objected to this Bill, on the very ground that there is no case for the reduction of rent. The greater part of his speech was received—and I am not surprised at it—with enthusiastic applause from hon. Gentlemen opposite. Yes; but there was one striking passage in his speech which was received with a remarkable silence, and that was the solemn appeal which he made to the landlords of Ireland. [*Cries of "No!"*] Not a cheer then. [*Renewed cries of "No!"*] Every man on those Benches was dumb; there was not a cheer. ["No, no!"] Hon. Members who were not here then, but who are here now, are very ready to cry "No!" My noble Friend appealed to the landlords of Ireland to act with a sense of their responsibilities. Responsibilities for what? Responsibilities for the existing judicial rents? Was that what my noble Friend meant? He appealed to the landlords in Ireland not only to do so themselves, but to use their influence to the same end with others. We have had no such appeal as that from the Chief Secretary for Ireland. All his speech was a justification, and an argument, to show the landlords of Ireland that there was no case whatever for a reduction of rents, and that anyone who spoke of it was preaching injustice. [*Cries of "No, no!" from the Ministerial Benches.*] I appeal to my noble Friend the Member for Rossendale; he knows something of the condition of Ireland; he made an appeal to the landlords to have due regard to their responsibilities, and to use their influence with their neighbours; and he gave the strongest indication as to what his view is as to the necessity for dealing kindly with the tenants. Well, Sir, that is not the opinion of the Loyal and Patriotic Union. I am very glad to see that my noble Friend is not always in accordance with them, though I believe he did attend one of their

autumn festivities. They declare, in their pamphlet, that there is nothing in the agricultural condition of Ireland which requires any change or any remission of rents. To prove that is the whole object of their pamphlet, and that is what they have declared. I was rather amused to find, in that rather large pamphlet, the drink argument, which has been served up in this debate more than once. The objection I have to the drink argument is, that I believe it is an argument entirely unfounded and untrue. What is the nature of that argument? The nature of it is, that the Irish people must be more prosperous, because they drink more than they used to do. But is it true that they are drinking more? I took up yesterday the latest Returns of the Board of Trade—the Return for August. Taking out the quantity of spirits kept for consumption in Ireland—it only deals with the whisky consumed and not exported—it appears that in the first six months of 1884, the consumption was 2,423,000 gallons; in 1885, it was 2,343,000 gallons; and in 1886, it was 2,209,000 gallons, a regular but most rapid decrease in the first six months of 1886. Well, the drink argument is a very silly argument at the best; but when you are using the silly arguments of the Loyal and Patriotic Union, you may as well have your facts correct. Well, then, I confess that, upon these and other grounds which I have stated, I come to the conclusion that there is a very strong *prima facie* case for the belief that rents upon the present prices may be and are too high. I would ask the Chief Secretary for Ireland, upon his own responsibility—for he has official information, he has the means of knowing—is he prepared to say that the rents are not too high upon the present prices in Ireland, or any part of it? Well, Sir, let him be aware of the answer to that question. If he says “No,” what does that mean? It means telling the landlord in Ireland that there is no reason why he should reduce his rents, if the Chief Secretary, on his own responsibility, says that there is nothing in the condition of Ireland which should lead to the conclusion that rents are at all too high. But, if that is so, why should any landlord reduce his rents? What reason is there? Therefore, if

that be so, it is a distinct justification to the landlords for proceeding for the utmost farthing and evicting the tenants. [*Ministerial cries of “No, no!”*] You cannot escape from that conclusion. If there is no reason for lowering rents, why should rents be lowered? [“Hear, hear!”] Then hon. Gentlemen accept that conclusion. If rents are exacted, and not paid, evictions must follow. But if the right hon. Gentleman were to take the other course, and say that there is possibly and even probably a case for the reduction of rents, what is the Government going to do? They say they are going to appoint a Commission. I will not argue technically upon the terms of that Commission; but every man of common sense will admit that you do not propose a Commission to inquire unless you think there is something wrong. I do not presume that Her Majesty’s Government would appoint a Commission to inquire into the advantages, if any, of the Monarchical form of Government, and then say that they express no opinion upon the subject, or that they would appoint a Commission to inquire into the advantages or disadvantages, if any, of continuing an Established Church. That is not the way an Executive Government proceeds with respect to a Royal Commission. They do not appoint a Commission unless they think there is something wrong, something that probably has to be amended. Well, but, if you are to have a Commission, I entirely agree with my right hon. Friend the Member for Newcastle-on-Tyne that the Commission proposed by the hon. Member for the City of Cork is a far better Commission than that proposed by Her Majesty’s Government. The Commission proposed by that hon. Member is the Land Commission, which knows all about the matter, which for five years has had experience of the condition of the tenants, and has a knowledge of all the tenements through the length and breadth of Ireland. It is a Commission which will bring full knowledge to bear on the inquiry; and, if there are grounds for doing so, can give relief and redress. Therefore, that is proceeding by a Commission which will have power to give relief. But your Commission—how is it going to proceed? Is it going to examine in detail or in gross? Is it going

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to decide, by looking at one place, where the rents are too high, that they are, therefore, too high in another place? That would be most unjust; it would be most unsatisfactory. The only way to come to a conclusion on the matter is to examine into all the places; or, at all events, to give to every place an opportunity of laying its case before a tribunal fitted to judge. My noble Friend the Member for Rossendale made an attack upon my right hon. Friend the Member for Mid Lothian with regard to what he said about the Commission, which attack was not altogether warranted. [Laughter.] Well, I give that as my opinion, and I have a perfect right to express an opinion on the matter. I am sure that it was from inadvertence that my noble Friend quoted one part of my right hon. Friend's speech and omitted to quote that which immediately follows the words which he read. My right hon. Friend the Member for Mid Lothian said, on the 24th of August, on the subject of the Commission—

"Even on the showing of the right hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Plunket) himself these evictions will take place before the Report of the Commission and, *a fortiori*, before it is possible that there can be any legislation upon it. Therefore, we are in this position—that we are saying to the tenant, 'You must pay your rent in November on pain of eviction,' and, at the same time, we are insinuating—and more than insinuating, we are carrying with considerable authority into his mind—the belief that his rent is an unjust rent by appointing a Commission to inquire whether it is unjust or not."—(3 *Hansard*, [308] 422.)

And yet my noble Friend has indicated that, with the full knowledge of the terms of the Commission, my right hon. Friend has entirely omitted to state that there was any ground whatever for any proceedings with respect to the stay of evictions. Then it is said that this may be all very true, and that rents may be too high temporarily in consequence of a temporary fall in prices. The landlords, it is said, will give relief in these cases. I am not going to say anything against the landlords of Ireland. I do not hold at all, as one hon. Member in this debate has said, that they have a double dose of original sin. I think they are very like other people, and I think that when a strong Government tells them that there is no case for a reduction in rents, and tells them also that the whole power of this country shall be at their disposal to levy rent,

the landlords of Ireland will take the Government at their word. Now, I cannot admit that the landlords are to be taken as very sound and impartial judges of their own case. They protested against the Land Act of 1881, I dare say in perfectly good faith. They said—"Our rents are fair, and not too high; why, then, should you legislate against them?" Parliament, in spite of what they said, passed the Act. The rents were submitted to examination, and what was the result? Why, that they were reduced nearly 20 per cent. The landlords, unfortunately, therefore, had been 20 per cent wrong in their estimate of fair rents. I hear constant complaints that the Land Act reduced rents in Ireland by £500,000. I dare say it did; but what is the conclusion to be drawn from this? It is that, for years before the passing of the Act, the landlords had been levying £500,000 a-year more than they ought. Well, Sir, my noble Friend the Member for Rossendale has made a solemn appeal to the landlords of Ireland to regard their responsibilities. He did not always confine himself to appeals of that character. In the year 1880, as he has stated, he was a Member of the Government which proposed the Compensation for Disturbance Bill. That Bill was rejected by an overwhelming majority of the House of Lords, and my noble Friend said that a great responsibility was thrown upon the people who rejected it. This was no doubt the case, and the rejection of the Bill was the cause, I believe, of most of the misfortunes and of the horrors which followed. In like manner, I believe your rejection of this measure will be responsible for a deal that may ensue. Now I will read what my noble Friend said on that occasion. He was speaking of the Act of 1870, and he said—

"The principal object of the Act was, as I have already stated, to give security to the tenant, subject, of course, to the payment by him of reasonable rent; but the bad harvests which have prevailed in this country, and still more so in Ireland, have rendered the payment of a reasonable rent in that country an impossibility. Almost all over England the landlords have most willingly submitted to a reduction of rent; but the bad harvests, which in England have produced partial failure of the crops, have in Ireland produced an almost total failure. In some parts of Ireland the impoverished"—mark these words—"circumstances of the tenant have placed in the hands of the landlord a

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weapon which the Government never contemplated, and which has enabled the landlord, at a sacrifice of a half or a quarter of a year's rent, to clear his estate of hundreds of tenants whom, in ordinary circumstances, he would not have been able to remove, except upon payment of a heavy pecuniary fine. I ask whether that is not a weapon calculated to enable landlords absolutely to defeat the main purposes of the Act? Supposing a landlord wished to clear his estate of a number of small tenants, he knows that this is the time to do it; and if he should lose this opportunity, he can never have it again without a great pecuniary sacrifice. Therefore, the exceptional circumstances of the times have placed in the hands of bad landlords in Ireland—and such there are—a power which will enable them absolutely to defeat the purposes of the Land Act of 1870.”—(3 *Hansard*, [253] 1715.)

Well, under those circumstances, he did not make an appeal to the landlords in Ireland. An appeal to the good landlords was not necessary; an appeal to the bad landlords was useless. What did my noble Friend do? He was one of the responsible Government which proposed and carried through this House a Compensation for Disturbance Bill—a Bill which was described and denounced by the Party opposite in exactly the same language as is now being used against this Bill. Now, Sir, see how this operates. Is it quite impossible that you will have harsh treatment or hard cases on the part of landlords under existing circumstances? Is that so? I referred before to Mr. Tuke's pamphlet to show what is going on in Ireland now; and anyone who will take the trouble to look into that publication will see cases given illustrative of the enormous sacrifices made by individual tenants, whose names are set forth, in order to meet the claims of their landlords. These are not stories told by the Nationalist Party. They are told by Mr. Tuke, and confirmed by the police. Page after page shows how the tenants under notice of ejectment, and in a condition of absolute starvation, are paying the rent at every possible sacrifice, in order to keep the roof over their heads. Sir, it is very often said—and I believe really that part of the great alarm felt on the matter is owing to this—that the condition of things in Ireland is very often judged by the conditions which surround landownership in England; yet the cases are very different. I do not think that families in such circumstances as those

referred to in Mr. Tuke's pamphlet would have been put under notice of ejectment. I have never heard of such cases in England. [“Oh, oh!”] Hon. Gentlemen opposite may have heard of them—I do not know whether it is an English or Irish Member who expresses that disapproval. In England a very large part of the rent—I believe as much as two-thirds—really represent the interest on money which the landlord has himself expended on the farm. In Ireland not always, perhaps, but as a rule, it represents no part of the rent. The rent in Ireland is the rent of the land, and nothing but the land. All the means of occupying and the means of cultivating it have been exclusively provided by the tenant; and that fact is one of enormous importance when you come to consider where the burden ought to fall in times when it is difficult or next to impossible to pay the existing rents. The hon. Member for Cambridge (Mr. Penrose-Fitzgerald), in his able speech the other night, said that the landlords of Ireland were being attacked on account of their fidelity to British rule. I think, however, that British rule has been attacked on account of the landlords of Ireland. I think it is because British rule has been employed so long in maintaining a land system which was unjustifiable that the feelings and hearts of the Irish people have been alienated from it. The right hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Matthews), the other night, said that Parliament had no moral right to deal with this question of rent—that it was precluded; and I think my noble Friend the Member for Rossendale followed in the same strain. I should like to ask those two Gentlemen how far they are prepared to carry that doctrine? Supposing they were convinced that the fall in prices had made the payment of rent absolutely impossible, would they still maintain that Parliament has no moral right to give relief to the tenants? Well, Sir, the doctrine of the Home Secretary is not a new one; it is, on the contrary, very old. We know it in very familiar language. It was laid down in a great case decided at Venice—

“It must not be; there is no power in Venice
Can alter a decree established;
’Twill be recorded for a precedent;
And many an error, by the same example,
Will rush into the State. It cannot be.”

Yes; the doctrine was enunciated by the noble Lord the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Lord Randolph Churchill), on the first night of the Session, amid the enthusiastic cheers of the landlords who sit behind him. They seemed to exclaim—

“A Daniel come to judgment!

Oh, wise young judge!

Oh, excellent young man!”

But it would have been well if the noble Lord, like Portia, had accompanied his judgment with the condition that the exaction and execution of the bond should be unaccompanied by the loss of not a drop of Christian blood. The right hon. Baronet the Chief Secretary for Ireland invited us, challenged us, demanded that we should stand by the Act of 1881. That is all very fine; but is he going to stand by the Act of 1881? What is the object of his Commission? He tells us, and the noble Lord told us on the first night of the Session, that they considered that the Act of 1881 was thoroughly wrong in its principle; that it was founded on a dual possession; and that one of the main objects of their inquiry was to set aside the principle of the Act of 1881, the principle of dual possession, and substitute for it the principle of sole ownership. What right have people to talk of standing on the Act of 1881, and engage in a campaign against the fundamental principle of it? Then, Sir, it is said—the hon. Member for Cambridge said—“Oh, there is another remedy—namely, the sale of land.” Ah, Sir, that is the keynote to the whole matter. The landlords want to force the purchase of their land at the expense of the English Exchequer. I spoke to an Irish Tory Member the other day, who said that rents must be kept up, because they were the great leverage for forcing the sale of the land. That sentiment transpired, I think, in the speech of the hon. Member for Cambridge, though it was well wrapped up. That is the real policy of the landlords; and when we are asked to rely on the landlords of Ireland to make abatements where it is necessary, it must be remembered that it is to their interest, if they want to force a sale, to keep up their rents. What are the Government going to do under the circumstances? They are going to do nothing themselves except to inquire. They have

told the landlords that there is no case for any reduction or remission of rents. What are the prospects—I do not mean of the disturbance of social order, but the material prospects—of the tenants during the coming winter? I do not know whether or not they are true; but I have seen the most alarming accounts of the condition of the potato crop in Ireland. I hope they are not true; but, if they are, the outlook is a most serious one. [“No, no!”] The noble Lord opposite seems to doubt it.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL) (Paddington, S.): I was asking the Chief Secretary if he had heard of it.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: Well, I take it from the same authority as that I have already quoted—not a Nationalist newspaper, but the *St. James's Gazette*—that the potato blight has developed itself most extensively within the last three weeks in the South and West, and is extending throughout those districts. The authority given for this is T. J. Clancy, in his butter report—a butter merchant who travels the country. I cannot vouch for the truth of this statement. I do not know the gentleman who makes it, or whether he is the Member—

AN IRISH MEMBER: It is not the Member for Dublin County, but a Conservative.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: At any rate, if the statement is well-founded, it discloses, no doubt, a very formidable state of things. What are the Government going to do?—nothing but inquire. They have told the landlords that there is no case for any reduction or remission of rent. [“No, no!”] Well, if not that, what has been the line of argument all through on the other side of the House, except that there is no reason for the reduction of rent? If the Government tell the landlords that, depend upon it they will take them at their word. On this side of the House, I think, the majority of us have come to the conclusion that there is a case made out. We consider that there may be, and probably will be, great injustice, great hardship, great oppression of tenants, unless there is some measure of relief extended to them. We believe that, there being that danger, measures should be taken to prevent that injus-

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tice; that there should be a proper tribunal appointed—namely, a Land Commission—to do justice between the parties, to secure the landlords, in all cases, at once a moiety of the rents and arrears; and that the question of the reduction of rent, “if any,” should be left to the Court to decide. Well, Sir, the Government reject these and all other proposals as a remedy for the dreaded evils of the coming winter. They have the power, they have the majority, and they also will have the responsibility. I am not surprised that the Party opposite is, *par excellence*, the landlords’ Party, and their policy the landlords’ policy. I do not complain of the Tory Party taking up that line; but what I want to know is, what is the course the Liberal Party are going to take under these circumstances? This is an occasion pregnant with future consequences. The division which is to take place is an important one. It will be remarkable by those who vote in it, but still more remarkable by those who absent themselves from it. What the great majority of the Liberal Party will do I think I know. They will vote with the Leader of the Liberal Party. My noble Friend the Member for Rossendale has left us in no doubt as to what he is going to do. He made to-night as stout a landlord speech as I ever heard in my life. I do not think I have ever heard the high prerogative of the landlord put on so high a level. I do not complain of my noble Friend for that. It is quite natural. I remember a story which I think is told of Joseph II., the Head of the Holy Roman Empire. He was discussing matters with a Liberal politician, and in the course of the conversation he said very frankly—“As for me, I am a Royalist; it is my profession.” Well, I do not complain of my noble Friend. What he has done is quite natural; he is a landlord; it is his profession. My noble Friend, though a most important Member, is not the only Member of the Dissenting Liberal Party. But at this fall of the year he sits there very like “the last rose of summer.” There is, no doubt, one “lovely companion” by his side—the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Grimsby (Mr. Heneage); but the others are mostly “faded and gone.” The noble Marquess described this Bill as revolutionary and Socialistic. Where

is my right hon. and learned Friend the Constitutional Adviser of the Dissenting Liberals (Sir Henry James)? Where is the voice of Birmingham? We have heard one voice, and that from the Treasury Bench; but at Birmingham “they are seven.” Where are the six? It reminds me of the constellation of seven stars, the Pleiades, in which there is occasionally a star missing. In the Birmingham constellation there are several bright particular stars missing to-night. Where is the senior Member for Birmingham (Mr. John Bright), the great champion in former days of the impoverished tenants? Has he come to the conclusion that force is the only remedy? Well, but there is another Member for Birmingham absent to-night, my right hon. Friend (Mr. Joseph Chamberlain), who, a few months ago, proposed as the only and necessary remedy for the maintenance of social order in Ireland the suspension of evictions. Where is my right hon. Friend? What has become of the eminent and select body, the Radical Unionists? There is another Member for Birmingham (Mr. Jesse Collings) distinguished from all—he will be recognized by the House when I say he is the hero of “three acres and a cow;” the friend of the poor tenant all over the world. When I ask where he is, I am reminded of a celebrated apostrophe of Lord Chatham—“Gentle shepherd, tell me where.” Birmingham used to lead the Liberal and Radical opinion of England; but, upon this great and critical question, what is the voice of Birmingham? Why, Birmingham speaks with one voice, and the voice of Birmingham is the voice of a Tory Minister. This Liberal Union does not seem to be much of a union after all. Here is a question most critically important to Ireland; they are, if anything, a Party united on Ireland. What is going to become of that Party to-night? How many are going to join my noble Friend, and how many are going to join hon. Gentlemen who are in seclusion? Well, these are interesting subjects of inquiry upon which we shall, perhaps, have light at another time; but, whatever the Dissentient Liberals may do, our course is clear. Acting upon the principles of the Liberal Party, we shall do what we can, while there is time, to prevent oppressive and dangerous exac-

tion, and to avert the grave dangers in which we foresee the policy of the Government will involve the country.

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.): Mr. Speaker, I feel that after the brilliant speech we have just heard it will be very difficult for me to engage the attention of the House while I go into the matters of detail on which I consider myself obliged to enter. I think it was hardly fair or generous of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) to charge the Irish Party with giving an air of unreality to this debate, when he must have known that many Members of the Irish Party were anxious to address the House. Several attempts have been made by my hon. Friends during this evening's debate to address the House; and so anxious was I myself to be permitted to speak on behalf of the Irish Party, that I availed myself of the ordinary channels of communication, and I was only prevented rising to speak at half-past 9 o'clock by the information that the right hon. Gentleman himself intended to speak at that time. Under those circumstances, it is hardly fair or generous in the right hon. Gentleman to charge us with taking no interest in this Bill. The Government might easily know, if they have any true information from Ireland, that we do take an interest in this Bill, and that we could not fail to take an interest in this Bill, representing, as we do, the great mass of the Irish tenantry. Sir, I listened to the tone of menace and defiance which characterized the speech of the Chief Secretary for Ireland with a great deal of regret, but without the least alarm—with a great deal of regret, because, in introducing this Bill, the Government might at least do us the justice to believe that our motive honestly was to procure for ourselves, as well as for them, an interval of peace in Ireland, during which we might lay before the people of England the cause in the justice of which we firmly believe. It is not because I fear the landlord Party of Ireland if this Bill is defeated, or because I believe that the landlord Party in Ireland will come out of the struggle which must inevitably ensue better if this Bill is defeated. But the reason why I listened to the speech of the Chief Secretary for Ireland with the deepest possible regret

is that I fear that the opportunity which is now given to Ireland to lay before the minds of the English masses, who now, for the first time in my lifetime, are willing to listen to our appeal, a true statement of the Irish cause—a cause which we believe in, and for which we have struggled—will be lost if this Bill is defeated. I look forward to the failure with no fear as to the ultimate result, and with no belief that the Irish landlords will profit by this new act of folly on their part, but with the most perfect knowledge that just as they have suffered for the rejection of the Compensation for Disturbance Bill, so will they suffer for the rejection of this Bill. In the speeches of most hon. Members who dealt with this subject there was a sad want of true appreciation of the situation. We were met with quibbling argument, with figures which I can hardly think that the men who quoted them believed to be correct. Not one of the hon. Members opposite who attempted to answer us can say that we did not give them an ample opportunity of stating their case, and yet not a single one dealt with the grave issues which lie beneath this question. I invite attention to this fact—and it is a fact which this country ought to know and observe—that though there are in the House many Members representing the landlord and Conservative Party in Ireland, not a single one of them has spoken on this Bill. It is a strange thing—an ominous thing—that the Motion for the rejection of a Bill affecting the tenant farmers of Ireland, and affecting directly no other class, should be made by an hon. Member (Mr. Penrose Fitzgerald) who represents the borough of Cambridge, and seconded by another hon. Member (Mr. Lewis) who represents the City of Londonderry, and that the hon. Members—and there is a fair number of them in this House—who are landlords themselves, and who represent Irish county constituencies, have not opened their mouths against this Bill. I say that is an ominous and important fact, and I believe that the true reason which underlies it is this—that while they will go into the Lobby against this Bill, they know, because they live in Ireland and have estates there, that the results in Ireland which will follow from the rejection of this Bill will be results of enor-

mous interest and of enormous danger to all who have landed estates in Ireland; and they know, whatever mock heroics may be indulged in by English Catholic snobs or by London solicitors, who have no connection with Ireland, except Irish Tory seats, which cost them dear, that the circumstances in which we are placed are circumstances of the utmost gravity and difficulty. Sir, I have said that no Member for an Irish county constituency has addressed the House against this Bill; but I must make one exception. We have had a speech from the hon. Member for South Tyrone (Mr. T. W. Russell), a Gentleman who seems to desire, on this occasion, to add one more to the many wreaths of laurel which he has already won in the House for performing the marvellous feat of standing on two stools. The hon. Member is a nominee and servant of the Tory Orange landlords of South Tyrone, and he does his work well for his masters; but I beg leave to state, without troubling the House long with the errors of that Gentleman, that the tune which we hear him sing here is a very different one from that he sang on the platforms before the tenant farmers of South Tyrone; for I have it from a gentleman, in whose veracity I have the most perfect confidence, that he listened to the hon. Member addressing meetings of his constituents at the last election, and that speaking to the poor tenant farmers of South Tyrone, whom he was then trying to inveigle into voting for him, the hon. Gentleman used these words—"The radical rents cannot be paid, and, what is more, they ought not to be paid." That is the language which does for the county Tyrone farmers; but the language we have heard to-night is the language which suits the English House of Commons. Now, I wish to say a word or two in answer to the criticisms which have been made as to the probable way in which the Bill which has been introduced by the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) would work in Ireland. It has been stated by hon. Members—nearly every Member who spoke from that side of the House made the statement—that it would probably take months and years to work this Bill; and when I heard that it makes me strongly suspect that hon. Members have not studied

this Bill, or the working of similar Acts. One argument which was greatly relied upon, and received with enthusiastic cheers on that side of the House, was that my hon. Friend the Member for the City of Cork pointed to the example of the Arrears Act, under which 132,000 cases were completely disposed of within eight or nine months. It was said—"Ah! but these were cases in which the landlord and tenant made joint application." But are hon. Members who use that argument aware of the implication which lies under it—namely, that the landlord, tenant, and the Court entered into a combination to defraud the English Treasury? It was the English Treasury that had to advance a year's rent to the Irish landlords. What was the wording of the Act? That the Court "shall inquire" whether the tenant is able to pay. It is assumed—the hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Gibson) triumphantly assumes—that no inquiry was made, and that the landlord and tenant came together, and that the landlord, the tenant, and the Court entered into a tripartite confederacy to defraud the Public Revenue. I make the hon. and learned Gentleman a present of that argument. If there was such a combination, the Solicitor General for Ireland has a very low opinion of the morality of Irish lawyers.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (MR. GIBSON) (Liverpool, Walton): I made no such imputation.

MR. DILLON: I never accused the hon. and learned Gentleman of making the imputation; but I said the imputation was implied in his argument. If he denies the imputation, then he asserts that the Courts did honestly investigate each case. Let him read the Act. What does the Act require? That the Court shall protect the public, and ascertain whether the tenant is able to pay; the Court shall satisfy itself the tenant was not able to pay, and not able to pay for certain specific reasons. This very Court to which we propose to refer the working of the Bill did, in six months, deal with 135,000 cases, and finished them all. Is there, I ask, any likelihood of anything like so many cases coming under the operation of this Bill? I will deal hereafter with the gross misstatements as to the number of cases

which will come under this Bill; but I will now draw attention to the way in which this Bill, if passed, would really work. My belief is that the vast majority of the Irish landlords, seeing what is before them, if they do not do justice, will make settlements with their tenants without going into Court at all, and that out of the 200,000 or 300,000 tenants who would come under the operation of the Bill three-fourths or four-fifths would come to an amicable settlement with their landlords without going into Court. My estimate is that, if this Bill were passed, not 20,000 cases would come before the Irish Land Court; and, with the experience of the present staff at the disposal of the Court, I have perfect confidence that it could dispose of every single case under this Act in six months. Well, now, I want to say a word or two in reply to the argument which has been so lavishly used about the small number of tenants to which this Bill would apply, and the enormous number who would be left out. We tried to make the Bill as moderate as we thought was consistent with the interests of the public peace, and now it is made a charge against us that we have not included the tenants whose rents were fixed after the 31st of December, 1884. I myself do not think it was fair to stop there. But why did we do it? Because we wanted to bring forward a Bill as slightly open to hostile criticism as possible. We knew we had to deal with the House of Commons, which is not very easily brought round to our view. Although we ourselves knew that the fall of prices did not affect the decisions of the Land Court until after the date named in the Bill, we felt it might have been argued, if we had gone to December 31, 1885, that we were including in our Bill the very tenants whose rents had been settled after the fall in prices. Now, what are the facts of the case? The hon. and learned Solicitor General for Ireland stated yesterday—I do not know where he got his figures; but I know they are entirely wide of the mark—that the Bill would exclude 70,000 tenants whose rents were fixed in 1885. Now, the tenants whose rents were fixed up to December 31, 1884, and who, consequently, will get relief under this Bill, number 153,465. The tenants whose rents were fixed during the year 1885,

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and who are left out of the Bill—hon. Gentlemen are perfectly welcome to put them in if they like—number 21,900, not 70,000; and the tenants whose rents have been fixed during the present year, and whose rents we do not claim to revise, because they have got the benefit of the fall of prices, number 19,500. I believe that of the 153,000 judicial tenancies to which the Bill would bring relief, not 20,000 would come before the Court. I believe that as soon as the Irish landlords saw how things were going in the Court a general settlement would take place all over Ireland on the basis of the few decisions given in the Court. There is no earthly reason why the Land Courts should not dispose of these cases with the utmost celerity. The operation of going over the land and valuing has been done; there is no occasion to repeat it. The records are in the possession of the Court, and can easily be got at, so that all that needs to be done is to inquire into the condition of the tenants, an operation exceedingly easy of performance. I will deal now for a few minutes with the two main arguments on which we rest this Bill. The two main arguments on which we have rested our case for the necessity of this Bill are these:—First of all, the totally unlooked-for and unexpected fall in agricultural prices which has taken place this year—coming on the top of another depression, through which everyone in Ireland expected we were about to pass; and the calamitous character of the season for the last month in Ireland—over the South and West—which is more serious than has been supposed. The second strong point in our argument is, what we consider to be the probable action of the landlords during the coming winter. In respect to the first of these reasons, the question of the reduction of prices has been so fully dealt with that I do not propose to enter into it now at all; but there are a few points connected with agricultural depression which I most reluctantly ask the House to have the patience to allow me to put before them. First of all, I wish to refer to the stale old argument which has done so much so much service and injured us so much in England, and which, if the House will allow me to trespass long enough on its time, I should like to dispose of once for all; and that is the state-

ment, repeated over and over again, that the valuation of Ireland was made in a time of great depression, and that, consequently, we must go back to the prices of 1852, or to the Act of 1852, in order to understand on what basis the valuation was made. Now, once for all, I entirely and utterly contradict that statement; and I shall be obliged to read to the House a very few brief extracts from the evidence taken by an important Committee of this House, which sat to inquire into the question of Griffith's valuation in Ireland in 1869. These extracts I shall read with a view of proving two propositions—both of them of the very utmost importance. The first is this—that in the opinion of Sir Richard Griffith his valuation was up to the full value of Ulster in 1869—the full letting value of Ulster, taking into account all the tenant's improvements. I think every hon. Member will admit the importance of that statement when I say that it takes into account all the tenant's improvements, which in Ulster—in 1869 I believe—were more than three-fourths of the entire value of the property. Secondly, he said that from 15 to 20 per cent added to the valuation of the three Southern Provinces would bring them up to the same standard as Ulster; and, thirdly, that in this valuation all the tenant's improvements—building and draining and fencing—were fully included. The valuers on the farms valued as they found them, and made no allowance whatever for the improvements made by the tenants. Sir Richard Griffith stated in reply to a question—

"The fact is, the improvement in agriculture was so great when we were valuing Ulster that it was shown by a Member of the Committee that our valuation was based on a scale too high, and to be nearly up to the rents. I know that on an estate of my own in Londonderry my valuation came out higher than my own rents."

Sir Frederick Heygate, then a Member of this House, and a Member of the Committee, was asked—

"What is your experience as to the way in which land is let?"

and he replied—

"Generally to the highest bidder. I do not think they always do it; it would be very unjudicious. The landed proprietors do not always take the highest bidder."

It is perfectly clear that outside Londonderry and a portion of the town he was of opinion that rack-renting was practised all over Ireland. Now, I come to the evidence of a gentleman who ought to have great weight in this House, for he is at present the Conservative Representative on the Land Commission in Ireland, Mr. John Vernon, one of the largest land agents in Ireland, who has an experience in these matters of over 40 years. He was asked by a Member of the Committee—

"Is it your opinion that official valuation differs much from the rack-rental of the proprietors?—In some parts of Ireland," said Mr. Vernon, "it does, and in some not much."

"Is it your opinion that the official valuation should represent the rack-rental?—Yes; I think it ought to be a uniform rate, to represent as far as possible the full value."

I want to prove that, in the opinion of Sir Richard Griffith and all these valuers, the official value was pretty nearly up to the rack-rental value in 1869. Now, I just want to read Mr. Vernon's opinion about the relation of the valuation to the value of farms in 1869. He was asked—

"Do you think the value of tillage farms has increased?"

He answered—

"Not more than the cost of production. The cost of production in Ireland, and particularly on the small holdings, has increased largely."

"Taking this element into consideration, have you reason to think there is an increase in the value of land in Ireland compared with what it was in Ireland years ago?—I think the valuation in Ireland of 16 years ago would not hold good in many parts of Ireland."

"Could the value be higher than it was 16 years ago?—No; because I think the cost of producing is so much more. This even applies to grass lands, where the cost of producing has just increased in so great a proportion."

I have shown that, in the opinion of Sir Richard Griffith and of Mr. Vernon, in many parts of Ireland the value now known as the Poor Law value was close on the rack-rental value of Irish land. Now I come to the last proposition. I want to prove the horrible injustice done to the tenants in Ireland. Mr. John Baldgreen—now Sir John—was asked—

"In making these reductions (in respect of poor rates) for your valuation, did you ever take into account the existence of tenant right in the North of Ireland?—No."

"That was not an element in your calculation?—It never was."

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I assert, and every Irish tenant in Ulster will bear me out, and I defy even the hon. Member for South Tyrone to deny it, that in Ulster, in 1869 and in 1862, when that valuation was completed, the whole valuation of the Province was more than half comprised of the unrewarded and unrecompensed labour of the tenantry. The improvements, the drains, the fences, were all made by them, and thousands and millions of acres of worthless bog and of waste mountain were brought into cultivation by their exertions, when these valuers came and placed upon the land a valuation which, by their own mouths, I have now proved was up to the rack-rental of the Province, confiscating at one fell swoop one-half of the value of Ulster from the tenantry. Mr. Vernon, in confirmation of this assertion, was asked this question, he being the agent of Lord Bath in the county of Monaghan—

"As far as you know, was the intrinsic value of the land taken without reference to the various interests that may have grown up by use and by the letting of the land?"

His reply was—

"I believe that to be the case."

Now, there is an act of the most bold and sweeping confiscation. They talk to us about robbing the landlord, but how about Griffith's valuation? Sir Richard Griffith admitted, upon being asked, that in the valuation he took an enormously high view of the agricultural prospects of the country. I think it has been proved that within the very last year the fall in values has averaged 20 per cent. But are we to conclude that the Irish Land Commissioners, in settling the rents, looked only to the values of the depressed years, 1881-2-3? We have heard from the lips of the Commissioners themselves that when they settled rents they settled them on an average, going back to the years 1877-8-9, and taking them into account as well as the depressed years, 1881-2-3. If that be allowed—and I say I have it on the authority of the Commissioners—the reduction is infinitely greater. Supposing a reduction of 25 per cent in the value of produce, what reduction is the tenant entitled to? The question has not been sufficiently put to the House. Sir Richard Griffith, who was no friend

to the Irish tenants, in his instructions to his valuers said—

"One hundred acres of tillage produces £692, and the cost of production is £369. Therefore, the amount to be divided between landlord and tenant is £323;"

and that is considerably less than 50 per cent of the total produce. But will anyone deny that in Ireland there has been absolutely no fall in the cost of production—not one shilling to the unfortunate tenant—and, therefore, he can bear a less cost on the net profit? Now, according to the calculation of Sir Richard Griffith, the net profit is considerably under 50 per cent of the gross profits on a tillage farm. What is the conclusion we arrive at on a fall of 25 per cent? The tenant is entitled to a reduction of at least 50 per cent, and probably more, on a tillage farm. The figures with regard to a purely grass farm differ very slightly; hence I contend that a clear case is made out for a reduction, from the calculation of the prosperous years in Ireland, of, at least, 50 per cent, those years being 1877-8, and this would not leave the tenants in as good a position as they were in 1877-8. In continuation of this evidence, let me quote a very instructive and remarkable case. A rent was settled by agreement in Ireland in 1880, about the time of the passing of the Land Act, and there was a reduction given of £30 on a rental of £185. Having got that reduction in 1881, the tenant applied to the Land Court in May of the present year, and got a further reduction of £50, being a reduction of nearly 30 per cent on the rent fixed by himself in 1881. I ask, can there be a case more strongly bearing out our contention? It will be found reported at page 13 of the Report of the Judicial Rents for the months of May and June last. Supposing the tenant had been unfortunate enough to apply to the landlord in November, 1881, or in 1882, or 1883, his rent would have been settled at £150, whereas the Land Court now comes in and reduces it fully 30 per cent—that is a case well worthy consideration by this House, because it bears so directly on our contention as to the necessity for further reductions of rent. Now, I wish to direct attention to a few more evidences of depression. In the month of November last the

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Central Antrim Tenants' Defence Association—a purely Protestant Association, which worked against us at the General Election—passed a resolution to the effect that 50 per cent will not meet the depression of prices; that the depression is so great that if it continues it will be quite impossible for the tenants in Ulster to pay rent and live. Further, this Association says that the tenant right of Ulster farms is unsaleable, except in choice and exceptional farms. We have heard a volley of assertions from the hon. Member for Londonderry as to the enormous prices given for Ulster tenant rights. All I can say is that I am perfectly content to place against the authority of that hon. Gentleman the authority of the Central Antrim Tenants' Defence Association. That is not all. I turn to still more remarkable testimony in Ireland as to the present depression, and of the deplorable state in which farmers are. I refer to an occurrence which took place in Kildare last week. At a meeting of the Kildare Board of Guardians the clerk brought forward a letter from another Board of Guardians calling attention to the sufferings of the farmers, and a resolution was proposed setting forth that the interests of the landlords as well as the tenants would be best promoted by the making of substantial abatements, and that 50 per cent off the Government valuation is the least that can do any good. The chairman of the meeting was a large farmer in Kildare, and there were several landlords present. Baron de Robeck, a landlord and a tenant farmer, said—

“I agree with everything Mr. Fenton has said, except regarding the percentage of reductions. I would agree to that, too, in a certain way; but I agree with Mr. Fenton as to the depreciation in prices. I am sorry to say that the bad weather this season has altogether spoiled the crop. I would agree to everything he said except to draw a hard-and-fast line at 50 per cent, as what one man might want might be too much for another. It may be necessary in some cases, but it is not necessary in all.”

Here is a well-known Conservative landlord, who stood in the Conservative interest for the County of Kildare at the Election in 1885, and his declaration at a meeting of the Kildare Board of Guardians is that a reduction of 50 per cent may be necessary in some cases, but not in all. He agreed, finally, in the reso-

lution. Other landlords followed. Major Burrowes, a Deputy Lieutenant of the county and a large landowner, supported the resolution. Mr. Mansfield, an *ex officio* Guardian and a large landowner in the county, supported the resolution. And what was the result? That a resolution calling on the Government to put a stop to evictions was passed. Not a single voice, except the voice of two individuals, in the whole meeting was raised against it; and these gentlemen did not object to the resolution, but said it was not the proper business of the Board. I want to know, Mr. Speaker, if this is not evidence to impress on the House the necessity for something being done, where are we to go for evidence? If you will not believe Irish Nationalists, will you believe Presbyterian landlords, will you believe Conservative landlords in the county of Kildare? It is utterly impossible to answer or contradict any of these facts. There was only one point in the speech of the hon. Member for Londonderry which I consider to be in the least worthy of consideration. It is perfectly true, as pointed out by the late Chancellor of the Exchequer, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby (Sir William Harcourt), that all the speeches from the Ministerial side of the House were addressed to showing that there was no strong and urgent cause for the reduction of rent in Ireland. The very proof of that fact is this—that the only strong point in the speech of the hon. Member for Londonderry had relation to what he made out to be the increasing wealth of the Irish farmers in live stock and cattle. I have noticed in this debate a most extraordinary perversion of figures. I do not say it was a deliberate perversion; but I believe the figures were supplied to hon. Members by agencies, and hon. Members who made use of them did not look into them for themselves. What did the hon. Member for Londonderry say? He said that there was an increase of all kinds of stock in Ireland, with the solitary exception of pigs. Will hon. Members listen to the true facts of the case? From 1884 to 1885 these are the figures. In horses there was an increase of 2,035, and this increase entirely took place in two-year-olds; and we who know the country will attribute this to the fact

[Second Night.]

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that farmers, having found the rearing of cattle entirely unprofitable, have resolved to try their hand at the rearing of horses. There was a decrease in one-year-olds, which shows that the experiment did not answer the expectations. Another item, the mention of which created some laughter, was that of asses. The Irish farmers do their carting with asses; but in the number of these animals there was a decrease of 912. The hon. Member for Londonderry quoted the figures in cattle, and he led the House to believe that there was an increase in wealth in Ireland in cattle. Last year, however, the net decrease in horned stock in Ireland was 44,824, and that only very slightly brings before the House the real facts, which are alarming and appalling in the extremest degree. There was an increase of milch cows of 1,300, a slight increase of three-year-olds—3,502—and why? Because the Irish farmers could not get any price for them. This is a thing to which I would beg the attention of hon. Members. In one-year-old stock there was a decrease in one year of 48,936, and why? The Irish farmers killed their calves, because they found they could not pay for rearing. I know the reason of that appalling decrease is the reason I tell you—the farmers were so dispirited and broken-hearted by the prices they were offered for store cattle that they killed the calves. Now, these figures utterly contradict the statements of the hon. Member for Londonderry, and reveal a condition of things which, to those acquainted with the real life of the Irish farmers, about which the hon. Member knows nothing, is simply appalling. The hon. Member pointed out that the people of Ireland have increased the amount of land under cultivation. He pointed out that there was an increase in the land under tillage of 76,000 acres, and of 59,000 acres as meadow and grass land. Now, the increase in land under tillage is only 17,000 acres, and of that 15,000 is in flax in Ulster and 2,000 in potatoes. We are told by hon. Gentlemen opposite that oats is the really paying crop; but what is the fact concerning oats? Why, that there has been a decrease in the number of acres sown with oats of 13,364. That looks, does it not, as if

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the wealth of the Irish farmers was increasing? I have alluded to the figures of the hon. Member, because they certainly surprised myself. I did not know how to account for them, so I had the figures made out to-day and carefully checked. It has been said that the Land Commissioners, in settling the rents, were friends of the tenants. That is a most audacious assertion. Why, Sir, hundreds and thousands of tenants I know in Ireland have refused to go into the Land Courts, because the Land Commissioners were mainly and largely men with landlord sympathies. I have here a Return which answers that completely. Out of 33 lay Land Commissioners appointed under the Land Act, 17 were landlords or agents—that is, 50 per cent of the members of the Land Commission were either landlords or agents. I do not know that anybody will venture after that to say that the Land Commissioners were in the tenants' interest. Now, what is it we ask you should do by this Bill? We ask you to make Irish landlords do what English landlords are doing—nay, we ask you to make Irish landlords do a great deal less than English landlords always have done. If the Irish landlords would act as English landlords have generally done, there would have been no necessity for any of the Bills which have been passed in this House. It is useless for men to talk of Irish landlords having been tried and found not guilty. If that is so, why were the Compensation for Disturbance and the Arrears Bills brought in? Here are a few rents which have been reduced in England and Scotland—£600 to £330, 45 per cent; £523 to £360, 31 per cent; £750 to £331, 56 per cent; £330 to £270, 27½ per cent. In view, too, of the reductions of 40, 45, and 50 per cent made this year in Scotland, can it be said we are making anything like an extraordinary or extravagant demand if we ask, not for a reduction of 50 per cent, but that the tenant, on condition of paying 50 per cent of his rent, shall be at liberty to apply to the Court to decide what reduction he is to have? Now, the second main reason for our Bill is the conduct of the landlords. I admit, if it could be shown that the Irish landlords were reasonable men, and could be calculated upon to act in

the face of this crisis as many undoubtedly will act and have acted—if the great majority could be expected to act reasonably, there would be no necessity for this Bill. But is that the fact? We deny it. We say that past experience has shown that the Irish landlords cannot be trusted to act fairly in this matter. It is perfectly impossible for me to go into the whole of our cases; but I must ask the House to have patience while I refer to some of the recent actions of some leading Irish landlords to show that these men cannot be expected to act reasonably; and that if you refuse us this Bill you will drive the Executive Government in Ireland into courses which the moral sense of England will condemn. We have heard a good deal of Lord Clanricarde. We know that this gentleman is an absentee landlord; we know he lives in London and on the Continent; that he never sees his estate, and never spends a shilling amongst his tenantry. Now, I want to call the attention of the House to certain reductions recently made on the estate of Lord Clanricarde. Lord Clanricarde's tenants came into Court in the month of May this year. If you ask me why they did not come to the Land Court before, I will answer that they were afraid to do so, because, as in the case of so many other estates in Ireland, terrorism was held over the head of the tenants in the shape of hanging gales and costs of appeals, and they were warned that, immediately they appealed to the Court, every penny of arrears would be taken out of them by writs in the Superior Court in Dublin. The tenants, however, went into Court at last. In one case, the tenant's rent, which was £30, was fixed by the Court at £15; in another, £7 10s. was reduced to £3 5s. This is on an estate where the tenants have been compelled, by the threat of writs from Dublin, to pay up to the last penny for the last five years since the Land Court has been sitting. This is the landlord whom you expect to act reasonably and to be merciful to his tenants. These two reductions I have picked out of a long list containing dozens; and, having got these relating to a certain estate, I have gone to other estates and have got others of a similar character. The point of the argument is fully borne out by the two cases I have quoted; for

they show that where a landlord has bullied and threatened a tenant to prevent him from entering the Land Court—when, at last, the tenant has entered the Court—he is adjudged to have been paying double what was a fair rent. This is the case of a landlord who has 3,000 or 4,000 tenants in Galway. Now, to come to another case in the Province of Connaught—of Mr. Martin McDonald, of Dunmore, who, to my knowledge, bullied and threatened his tenants from going into the Courts. They at last went, and the result was that a rent of £2 3s. was reduced to 17s. 6d.; one of £2 1s. 3d. to 16s. 6d.; one of £2 6s. 5d. to £1 2s. 6d.; one of £2 2s. to 18s.; and one of £2 to 17s. These are all cases in which, in my opinion, there ought to be no rent at all. The Commissioners were ashamed to do full justice. I know what Mr. Martin McDonald's tenants are. They are men who were evicted from their former holdings, and left naked and bare on the mountain side, and ordered to reclaim it, and then rent was put upon the land which they reclaimed, and the mud huts which they built. This is another landlord on whose forbearance the Government are relying. Then let us come to Mr. Loftus Tottenham. His tenants entered the Land Court, having, after a long pause, at last mustered up courage in the month of April last; and the general reductions average very close upon 50 per cent. This is one of the gentlemen who would get up in this House and defend the Irish landlords. Rents of £5 15s. have been reduced to £3; of £2 to £1 5s.; of £11 to £6; of £7 to £4 5s.; of £7 6s. 4d. to £3 12s.; of £5 to £2 10s.; and of £5 10s. to £3. This gentleman would, no doubt, in this House indulge in an appeal to us to rely on the reasonableness of the landlords. I now come to a case with which I am personally acquainted—that of a noble Lord whose estate has been referred to—Lord Annaly, whose agent boasts that he can bully any tenant in Ireland into submission, and that he trampled on the Land League. So he did, I am sorry to say, and he used to go strutting about Dublin, stating that he had broken down the Land League, and had tolerated no mediation from them. At last Lord Annaly's tenants summoned up courage to go into the

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Land Court, and here are some of the reductions—£20 14s. to £11 7s.; £8 10s. to £4 15s.; £13 to £6 6s.; £20 to £12; £4 to £1 15s.; £24 to £13 10s. I was denounced, in a speech in Dublin, by Lord Annaly's agent, because I recommended the tenants to combine and ask for 25 per cent reduction. I will leave the House now to express its opinion as to whether this agent has much room to be proud of what has taken place; this gentleman who boasted and bragged in Dublin that he had beaten down the Land League, and made the tenants pay the last penny. Now I come to Lord Kenmare. We have been told that we have been unjust to Lord Kenmare; and this is a case to which I invite the attention of the Chief Secretary for Ireland, because I warn him that in the case of Lord Kenmare's estate he will have great trouble this winter. It was stated in a letter the other day that there had been very few evictions on this Nobleman's estate. I tell the House the statement in that letter was not true; and, even if it was, the sting was in the tail of it; for the agent said that if the rents were not paid he would proceed to evict every tenant who would not pay. What is the case with regard to the Kenmare estates? Here are some of the reductions made by the Court—£27 to £17; £6 to £3 10s.; £6 to £4; £35 to £22; £25 to £18; £50 to £40. I admit all this time that I am picking out the worst cases; but, I say, is this House prepared to support, by the force and authority of the law in Ireland, men who are capable of dishonesty, such as this man, who can be declared in the face of England to have been guilty of this gross injustice to our countrymen—men who have been proved to have exacted 100 per cent more than their own just rents for years and years past? The House will see that the landlords not only charge the unjust rent, but they make the unfortunate tenant pay up the arrears on the old valuation. This noble Lord, who, no doubt, is shocked at the dishonesty of the Irish Land Leaguers, was applied to the other day for the poor rate and county cess in respect of farms from which his tenants had been evicted; he refused to pay, and the magistrates refused to decree on it. There is the honesty of the Irish landlords. I come now to another landlord, Lord Midleton,

whose son is a Member of the present Government, and is, therefore, able to speak for him. Lord Midleton's tenants applied for a reduction the other day; and a deputation was sent, representing some judicial tenants and some who were not judicial tenants, to ask for a reduction. What happened? Lord Midleton refused to see the deputation, or to discuss with them the propriety of a reduction. His reply was—"Not a penny under the judicial rents." What was the consequence? Not a man who was in arrear but who immediately had a writ. There are in Ireland, at this moment, landlords who boast and brag that they would not take a penny under the judicial rent, who will not be persuaded into giving reductions, and who look upon the judicial rents as sacred. I do not want to weary the House; but I am entitled to make as strong a case as I can in respect to the question which is all-important at the present moment—namely, what right the Government have to anticipate that the Irish landlords will act justly by their tenants? I think I have made out a pretty strong case. ["Oh, oh!"] Yes; I think I have, and I will wind up with a reference to an hon. Member who is here, and ought to be able to answer for himself, at all events he moved the rejection of this Bill—and I must say I think they ought to have selected another champion to undertake the defence of the landlords, and show the impolicy of passing a Bill to relieve the Irish tenants. That hon. Gentleman and his brother are not popular landholders in the South of Ireland. I will go further, and say they are harsh and cruel landlords. I have got some facts here which I think will make hon. Members believe that I speak nothing more than the absolute truth. Here is a circular, dated the 15th of March, 1873, signed Penrose Fitzgerald, and issued to his tenants. At this time, I may say, the farmers had reached the very summit and acme of prosperity and high prices. The circular says—

"He was informed that whilst some of his tenants held at a fair rent, and some very much under the real value,"

I am bound to say that the form of the circular to an outsider would not appear very unreasonable. He said—

"That his desire was to act fairly and justly to every tenant already in occupation—to leave

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him such a margin of profit as would enable him to live in comfort and respectability."

MR. PENROSE FITZGERALD: Will the hon. Member read the whole of the circular?

MR. DILLON: It is too long to read it all. ["Oh, oh!"]

MR. PENROSE FITZGERALD: Read it all.

MR. DILLON: Well, if hon. Members like, I will do so; but I do not think it will improve the hon. Member's case. He goes on to say—

"No general valuation of the estate was made during the present century."

MR. PENROSE FITZGERALD: I have asked the hon. Member to read the whole of the circular.

MR. DILLON: He says—this is the part the hon. Member considers important—

"I am informed that, whilst some of my tenants are paying fair rents, others hold the land at very much under its real value."

I do not think it necessary to read any more of this document. I have stated already that I have no fault to find with it; and I merely wished to quote it to show that the estate was valued in 1873. Then I have here a statement, which the hon. Member is at liberty to contradict, in reference to some recent occurrences on his estate. I give it on what I consider to be very good authority. First, there is the case of William Wall, rent fixed in 1873 at £61, reduced about three years ago to £56, which is the present rate. The Poor Law valuation is £43. No abatement off the March gale of 1885 was offered; an abatement of 20 per cent off the September gale was offered. The tenant hesitated to accept it, and was served with a writ, and had to pay full rent and costs.

"Shame!" Yes; I find that because he did not accept 20 per cent he was immediately served with a writ and compelled to pay full rent and costs. This statement is in reference to a recent occurrence upon the hon. Member's estate. There are a number of other cases on the estate where the rental is far above the Poor Law valuation, and in which the offers of payment of the rents by the tenants shortly after gale day were met by writs of eviction. Luke Sheehan had paid a rent of £26, the Poor Law valuation being £20. The rent had been fixed three years ago by

the tenant's acceptance of the landlord's offer; it has been without abatement, and was accepted by the tenant because he had no confidence in the landlord. In another case the rent was settled at £28; the Poor Law valuation is £22; rent was settled three years ago; an abatement of 15 per cent has been allowed on the rent fixed by the landlord. The tenant objected to sign the agreement until the agent's clerk said to him—

"Unless you sign it, you will be compelled to refund the allowance you have had for the last three years."

In the next case the rent was £62, and the Poor Law valuation £48 5s. 0d.; no abatement previous to this year; but 20 per cent was offered if the previous rents were paid. In the next case the rent is £54, and the Poor Law valuation £41; 20 per cent has been allowed off the last two half-gales. I am rather surprised at that; but it cuts two ways—it shows that the rents were extravagantly high. When the tenant ceased to accept the rent he got a writ from the Superior Court, and was compelled to pay the full rent and costs. I am quoting these cases as an illustration of the forbearance of the landlords. Cornelius M'Donald paid £32 in rent; the Poor Law valuation was £26. On September 12, 1885, he owed a year's rent; he offered to pay the year's rent with 25 per cent reduction; but this was refused. He asked for an interview with the agent; but this also was refused. He was served with a writ on the 1st of January, 1886, and his interest was sold by the Sheriff. A short time after friends of the tenant lent him sufficient money to pay the full rent. Mr. Penrose Fitzgerald's solicitor replied that his employer could not accept any offer, as matters had proceeded too far. He was evicted on the 31st of last August. Though he made an offer to settle the eviction, the very bailiff of the landlord would not listen to him when the rent was proffered. [Cries of "Shame!"]

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order!

MR. DILLON: The landlords gave grossly insufficient abatement of the exorbitant rent. A strong argument was used just now as to the evictions on title for rent. There are other evictions on title. The landlords now cling to the evictions, which they have discovered to

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be most fatal and ruinous to the tenant, to sell out his interest in the land under a decree of judgment, by which he forfeits his six months' redemption, and is deprived of all the rights that Parliament has conferred upon him. The hon. Gentleman who moved the rejection of the Bill, in common with all his forbearing brethren in Ireland, will say that these evictions are just. I will say no more about the forbearance of Irish landlords. Is there an English landlord sitting on these Benches who would not be ashamed to sit silent if such charges as these were made against him? Is there one single English landlord who, when his tenant had offered to pay 75 per cent of the rent, who, after the poor wretched tenant had been put to enormous cost, his interest sold out, and robbed of his rights by this cruel process of law, would proceed by ejectment? Is there an English landlord who, when his tenant would come and offer the gift of his relatives and friends, the full amount of the pound of flesh, the full rent with double costs, those of the judgment of decree and of the eviction of title, would exercise the sort of forbearance of their Irish brethren? I do not believe that there is a landlord in England or Scotland who would find it in his heart to act as I have described; and the hon. Member for Cambridge, who stood forward in this House speaking of the forbearing landlords, does not deny it. He knows what I have said is true, and yet he poses in this House as the Representative of the forbearing Irish landlords. Is it to men whose forbearance is like this that you are going to trust for the peace of Ireland? I appeal to English Members—do you look forward with satisfaction to having, during the coming winter, your forces placed at the command of the Lord Kenmare and the Lord Annalyse—do you look forward to the satisfaction of having the livery of English soldiers and Irish Constabulary moving in enormous masses to inflict on a wretched and impoverished people as cruel an injustice as ever was done in the name of law? Hon. Members tried, by trivial, contemptible, and pettifoggling arguments, to show the forbearance of the Irish landlords; but I maintain there is not a man in this House who does not know that if the landlords of Ireland try to get, as they can get, and

as you must let them get if you do not pass this Bill, the full measure of their legal rights in the coming winter, wrong—cruel and intolerable wrong—will be done to starving and industrious men in Ireland, and the Irish tenants will be taught that, in the hour of their despair and misery, this House turned a deaf ear to their cries, and treated their sufferings with jeers and contempt. When referring to the question of evictions, I heard with astonishment the hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Gibson), in one of those flights of stormy eloquence of which he takes so many, declare that only 1,300 families have been turned out of their homes in three months. The figures of the right hon. Baronet the Chief Secretary have gone on steadily rising, so that we may expect that at least 2,000 families will be turned out in the coming winter. I put it to this House, is it not indecent for a Member representing the Government of Ireland to place before this House, as an argument against giving any relief to the tenantry of Ireland, the statement that only 1,300 families were turned out of their homes in three months? I wish to draw the attention of the House to the question of Irish evictions, and more particularly with reference to one county, and that is the county of Kerry, where the greatest trouble will arise. Wherever you have evictions there will come the trouble. I only point to this particular county, because I want to bring to the minds of English Members two or three facts; for until they understand them they can never understand the cause of agrarian disturbance in Ireland. Every Irishman knows that, up to two or three years ago, the county of Kerry was one of the most peaceable counties in Ireland. Every landlord—and I may even refer to the notorious Mr. Samuel Hussey himself—could wander through the most lonely parts of that county, and would be welcome in the poorest hut. Seven or eight years ago there was not a landlord in Kerry who would not be as safe and as welcome in the house of his humblest tenant as anyone else. How has the change come about? No landlord in Kerry now dares to venture from his home without a guard. One would suppose that they were in one of the most dis-

turbed spots of a far-off Eastern land. Let us look at a short and simple record. In 1877 the total number of evictions in the county of Kerry families was 17; in 1878, it was 26; in 1879, it was 70; in 1880, it was 191; in 1881, it was 192; in 1882, it was 293; in 1883, it was 403; in 1884, it was 410; in 1885, it was 358, making a total, in these disturbed and fatal years, of 11,304 families driven from their homes in that county alone. I put it to this House, is not that explanation enough for any reasonable man for the present condition of affairs? And when we look at the last Returns we find that this state of things, so far from improving, is going on steadily from bad to worse. During the three months ending on the 30th of June last, we find that in the county of Kerry there were 187 families driven from their homes. Of these 73 were restored, giving a total of 114 families driven in three months from their houses out on the roadside. In the face of this, am I to be told that this House is to rely upon the toleration and forbearance of the Irish landlords? I appeal to hon. Members, is it reasonable to expect that we shall be content with assurances like these? We do not rely upon the forbearance of the Irish landlords, because we who have read the history of Ireland know it is a rotten reed to lean upon. I have never denied that there have been landlords in Ireland who have acted the part of just and reasonable men. You never hear of them, because they do not dispute with their tenants; but there is always a large residuum sufficient to keep the country almost in a state of civil war—men who have had no bowels of compassion, men who boast and brag that their tenantry fear them. It is against this class of men we demand protection from this House. If this House refuses to give us any protection—if this House comes to the conclusion that the tenantry of Ireland must be left, as they were left six years ago, without any relief except what they can win from their own exertions, all I can say is that, in my opinion, this House, and more especially the Unionists in this House, make a deep and grievous mistake. It has been said to me privately by hon. Members on that side of the House and by Unionists on this side, as an argument against our demand for the national self-government of Ireland,

that this House is never deaf to an appeal from the Irish Members—they have often told me that if we only brought forward our grievances they would be remedied. Well, an immense majority of the Representatives of Ireland ask that this Bill should pass. It would seem that the Government have made up their minds not to give us the Bill. That is a mistake for the Unionists of England. It is a deeper mistake for the landlords of Ireland. The Government seem to think, or at least they say, that we introduced this Bill in bad faith. I deny it. We introduced it as the most moderate measure that we could lay before this House, and as one which we honestly thought would bring peace during this winter to Ireland. I do not say it would save all classes of tenants in Ireland from hard-ship. I know there are tenants in Connemara and Gweedore whom this Bill would not save; but what I do say is that it would avert a crisis; that the trouble which would come, if the Bill were passed, would be local and trifling; and that we should be in a position to exercise our influence with the people to calm them down and help them to bear what they have to bear. I remember only too well that the very same class of arguments was used against the Compensation for Disturbance Bill in 1880. I recollect as well as if it were only yesterday leaving the House of Lords when that Bill was thrown out rejoicing, because I thought the rejection of the measure meant the ruin of the Irish landlords. I am five years older since then. I know what a struggle between the tenants and the landlords means better now than I knew in 1881; and while I am prepared to go into that struggle, and while I am confident of the result, I am anxious—sincerely and honestly anxious—that the truce of God, to use the words of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, should be prolonged in Ireland until, at least, we can have an opportunity of laying before the people of England our claims, the case in which we believe, and in the justice of which we believe, and which we are confident would recommend itself to their reason and to their conscience. I look forward with dislike and dread to the tumult of passion which will be let loose in Ireland by the rejection of this Bill; and

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while, as I say, I fear not the consequences, I am sorry that the Government has sent us back to our country with a message of hatred and defiance; sent us back to tell the people that this House will do them no justice; sent us back to tell them, as we told them in 1880, that to save themselves from ruin and extermination they have nothing to trust to but the combination which saved them in 1880, and which won for them every single right they have gained. Our course is clear. We have to-night brought forward this Bill with a sincere desire to have peace this winter in Ireland. This House has denied the Irish tenant justice. I go back to Ireland to tell the tenant that if he wishes to live he must trust to his own exertions, and not to this House; and so long as I have life and liberty—so long as the Government leaves me my liberty—I shall tell the people of Ireland to continue in that course of persistent and determined agitation by which in the past they have won every single liberty and every single concession which has been granted them, and by which in the future, if they only show perseverance and bravery, they will win, in spite of the Irish landlords and in spite of this House, the right to live as freemen in the land of their birth.

Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes 202; Noes 297: Majority 95.

AYES.

Abraham, W. (Limerick, W.)
 Acland, A. H. D.
 Allison, R. A.
 Asher, A.
 Asquith, H. H.
 Atherley-Jones, L.
 Austin, J.
 Balfour, Sir G.
 Barclay, J. W.
 Barran, J.
 Barry, J.
 Biggar, J. G.
 Blake, J. A.
 Blake, T.
 Blane, A.
 Bolton, T. D.
 Borlase, W. C.
 Bright, Jacob
 Bright, W. L.
 Broadhurst, H.
 Brown, A. L.
 Burt, T.
 Buxton, S. C.
 Byrne, G. M.
 Cameron, J. M.
 Campbell, Sir G.
 Campbell, H.
 Carew, J. L.
 Chance, P. A.
 Childers, rt. hon. H. C. E.
 Clancy, J. J.
 Cobb, H. P.
 Cohen, A.
 Coleridge, hon. B.
 Colman, J. J.
 Commins, A.
 Condon, T. J.
 Connolly, L.
 Conway, M.
 Conynbeare, C. A. V.
 Corbet, W. J.
 Coasham, H.
 Cox, J. R.
 Cozens-Hardy, H. H.
 Craven, J.
 Crawford, W.
 Cremer, W. R.
 Crilly, D.
 Crossley, E.
 Davies, W.
 Deasy, J.
 Dillon, J.

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Dillwyn, L. L.
 Dodds, J.
 Duff, R. W.
 Duncan, D.
 Ellis, J.
 Ellis, T. E.
 Esmonde, Sir T. H. G.
 Everahed, S.
 Fenwick, C.
 Finucane, J.
 Flower, C.
 Flynn, J. C.
 Foley, P. J.
 Fox, Dr. J. F.
 Fry, T.
 Gane, J. L.
 Gilhooly, J.
 Gill, H. J.
 Gill, T. P.
 Gladstone, rt. hn. W. E.
 Gladstone, H. J.
 Gourley, E. T.
 Gray, E. D.
 Grey, Sir E.
 Gully, W. C.
 Harcourt, rt. hn. Sir W. G. V. V.
 Harrington, E.
 Harrington, T. C.
 Harris, M.
 Hayden, L. P.
 Hayne, C. Seale-Healy, M.
 Holden, I.
 Hooper, J.
 Howell, G.
 Hunter, W. A.
 James, hon. W. H.
 James, C. H.
 Joicoy, J.
 Jordan, J.
 Kelly, B.
 Kenny, J. E.
 Kenny, M. J.
 Labouchere, H.
 Lacaita, C. C.
 Lane, W. J.
 Lawson, Sir W.
 Lawson, H. L. W.
 Leahy, J.
 Leamy, E.
 Lefevre, rt. hn. G. J. S.
 Lewis, T. P.
 Lockwood, F.
 M'Arthur, A.
 M'Arthur, W. A.
 M'Cartan, M.
 M'Carthy, J. H.
 M'Donald, P.
 M'Donald, W. A.
 M'Ewan, W.
 M'Kenna, Sir J. N.
 M'Lagan, P.
 Mahony, P.
 Maitland, W. F.
 Marjoribanks, rt. hon. E.
 Marum, E. M.
 Mason, S.
 Mayne, T.
 Molloy, B. C.
 Montagu, S.
 Morgan, O. V.
 Morley, rt. hon. J.
 Morley, A.
 Mundella, rt. hon. A. J.
 Murphy, W. M.
 Nolan, Colonel J. P.
 Nolan, J.
 O'Brien, J. F. X.
 O'Brien, P.
 O'Brien, P. J.
 O'Connor, A.
 O'Connor, J. (Kerry)
 O'Connor, J. (Tipperary)
 O'Connor, T. P.
 O'Hanlon, T.
 O'Hea, P.
 O'Kelly, J.
 Palmer, Sir C. M.
 Parnell, C. S.
 Paulton, J. M.
 Peacock, R.
 Pease, A. E.
 Pickard, B.
 Pickersgill, E. H.
 Pictou, J. A.
 Pinkerton, J.
 Portman, hon. E. B.
 Potter, T. B.
 Power, P. J.
 Power, R.
 Price, T. P.
 Provand, A. D.
 Pyne, J. D.
 Quinn, T.
 Redmond, W. H. K.
 Reed, Sir E. J.
 Reid, R. T.
 Reynolds, W. J.
 Richard, H.
 Roberts, J. B.
 Robertson, E.
 Roe, T.
 Rountree, J.
 Rowlands, J.
 Rowlands, W. B.
 Russell, E. B.
 Sexton, T.
 Shaw, T.
 Sheehan, J. D.
 Sheehy, D.
 Shirley, W. S.
 Smith, S.
 Stack, J.
 Stanhope, hon. P. J.
 Stanfeld, rt. hon. J.
 Stepney - Cowell, Sir A. K.
 Stevenson, F. S.
 Stuart, J.
 Sullivan, D.
 Sullivan, T. D.
 Summers, W.
 Swinburne, Sir J.
 Talbot, C. E. M.
 Tanner, C. K.
 Thomas, A.
 Tuite, J.
 Wallace, R.
 Warmington, C. M.
 Watson, T.
 Watt, H.
 Wayman, T.
 Will, J. S.
 Williams, A. J.

Williamson, J.
Williamson, S.
Wilson, C. H.
Wilson, H. J.
Wilson, I.

Woodall, W.
Wright, C.
TELLERS.
Redmond, J. E.
Sheil, E.

NOES.

Addison, J. E. W.
Agg-Gardner, J. T.
Ainslie, W. G.
Ambrose, W.
Amherst, W. A. T.
Anstruther, Colonel R. H. L.
Ashmead-Bartlett, E.
Baden-Powell, G. S.
Baggallay, E.
Bailey, Sir J. R.
Baird, J. G. A.
Balfour, rt. hon. A. J.
Banes, Major G. E.
Bartley, G. C. T.
Barttelot, Sir W. B.
Bass, H.
Bates, Sir E.
Baumann, A. A.
Beach, right hon. Sir M. E. Hicks-
Beach, W. W. B.
Beadel, W. J.
Beckett, E. W.
Beckett, W.
Bective, Earl of
Bentinck, Lord H. C.
Bentinck, W. G. C.
Beresford, Lord C. W.
De la Poer
Bethell, Commander G. R.
Bickford-Smith, W.
Birkbeck, Sir E.
Blundell, Col. H. B. H.
Bond, G. H.
Bonsor, H. C. O.
Boord, T. W.
Bridgeman, Col. hon. F. C.
Bristowe, T. L.
Brodrick, hon. W. St. J. F.
Brookfield, Col. A. M.
Bruce, Lord H.
Burdett-Coutts, W. L. Ash.-B.
Burghley, Lord
Caldwell, J.
Campbell, Sir A.
Cavendish, Lord E.
Chaplin, right hon. H.
Charrington, S.
Churchill, rt. hn. Lord R. H. S.
Clarke, Sir E. G.
Cochrane-Baillie, hon. C. W. A. N.
Coddington, W.
Colomb, Capt. J. C. R.
Commerell, Adml. Sir J. E.
Compton, F.
Cooke, C. W. R.
Corbett, J.

Corry, Sir J. P.
Cotton, Capt. E. T. D.
Cranborne, Viscount
Cross, H. S.
Crossley, Sir S. B.
Cubitt, right hon. G.
Curzon, hon. G. N.
Dalrymple, C.
Davenport, H. T.
Davenport, W. B.
Dawney, Colonel hon. L. P.
De Lisle, E. J. L. M. P.
De Worms, Baron H.
Dickson, Major A. G.
Dimadale, Baron R.
Dixon-Hartland, F. D.
Donkin, R. S.
Dorington, Sir J. E.
Dugdale, J. S.
Duncan, Colonel F.
Duncombe, A.
Dyke, rt. hn. Sir W. H.
Eaton, H. W.
Ebrington, Viscount
Egerton, hn. A. J. F.
Egerton, hon. A. de T.
Elliot, Sir G.
Elliot, G. W.
Ellis, Sir J. W.
Elton, C. I.
Evelyn, W. J.
Ewart, W.
Eyre, Colonel H.
Farquharson, H. R.
Feilden, Lt-Gen. R. J.
Fergusson, right hon. Sir J.
Fielden, T.
Finch, G. H.
Finch-Hatton, hon. M. E. G.
Finlay, R. B.
Fisher, W. H.
Fitzgerald, R. U. P.
Fitzwilliam, hon. W. J. W.
Fitz-Wygram, General Sir F. W.
Fletcher, Sir H.
Folkestone, right hon. Viscount
Forwood, A. B.
Fraser, General C. C.
Fry, L.
Fulton, J. F.
Gardner, R. Richardson-
Gathorne-Hardy, hon. J. S.
Gedge, S.
Gent-Davis, R.
Gibson, J. G.

Giles, A.
Gilliat, J. S.
Godson, A. F.
Goldsworthy, Major-General W. T.
Gorst, Sir J. E.
Gray, C. W.
Greenall, Sir G.
Greene, E.
Grimston, Viscount
Grotrian, F. B.
Grove, Sir T. F.
Gunter, Colonel R.
Hall, A. W.
Hall, C.
Hamilton, right hon. Lord G. F.
Hamilton, Lord C. J.
Hamilton, Lord E.
Hamilton, Col. C. E.
Hanbury, R. W.
Hankey, F. A.
Hardcastle, E.
Hardcastle, F.
Hartington, Marq. of
Hastings, G. W.
Havelock - Allan, Sir H. M.
Heathcote, Capt. J. H. Edwards-
Heaton, J. H.
Heneage, right hon. E.
Herbert, hon. S.
Hermon-Hodge, R. T.
Hill, right hon. Lord A. W.
Hill, Colonel E. S.
Hoare, S.
Hobhouse, H.
Holland, rt. hon. Sir H. T.
Holloway, G.
Holmes, rt. hon. H.
Hornby, W. H.
Howard, J.
Howard, J. M.
Hozier, J. H. C.
Hubbard, E.
Hubbard, rt. hn. J. G.
Hughes, Colonel E.
Hughes - Hallett, Col. F. C.
Hulse, E. H.
Hunt, F. S.
Hunter, Sir G.
Isaacs, L. H.
Isaacson, F. W.
Jackson, W. L.
Jarvis, A. W.
Jennings, L. J.
Kelly, J. R.
Kennaway, Sir J. H.
Kenyon, hon. G. T.
Kenyon - Slaney, Col. W.
Ker, R. W. B.
Kerans, F. H.
Kimber, H.
King, H. S.
King-Harman, Colonel E. R.
Knatchbull-Hugessen, hon. H. T.

Knightley, Sir R.
Knowles, L.
Kynoch, G.
Lafone, A.
Lambert, I. C.
Laurie, Colonel R. P.
Lawrance, J. C.
Lawrence, W. F.
Lechmere, Sir E. A. H.
Lees, E.
Legh, T. W.
Leighton, S.
Lethbridge, Sir R.
Lewis, C. E.
Lewisham, right hon. Viscount
Llewellyn, E. H.
Long, W. H.
Low, M.
Lowther, hon. W.
Lowther, J. W.
Lubbock, Sir J.
Lymington, Viscount
Macartney, W. G. E.
Macdonald, right hon. J. H. A.
Maclean, F. W.
Maclean, J. M.
Maclure, J. W.
Macnaghten, E.
McCalmont, Captain J.
Mallock, R.
Manners, rt. hon. Lord J. J. R.
Marriott, rt. hn. W. T.
Maskelyne, M. H. N. Story-
Matthews, rt. hon. H.
Maxwell, Sir H. E.
Mayne, Admiral R. C.
Mildmay, F. B.
Mills, hon. C. W.
More, R. J.
Mount, W. G.
Mowbray, rt. hon. Sir J. R.
Mowbray, R. G. C.
Mulholland, H. L.
Muncaster, Lord
Muntz, P. A.
Murdoch, C. T.
Newark, Viscount
Noble, W.
Norris, E. S.
Northcote, hon. H. S.
Norton, R.
O'Neill, hon. R. T.
Paget, Sir R. H.
Parker, hon. F.
Pearce, W.
Pelly, Sir L.
Penton, Captain F. T.
Percy, Lord A. M.
Plunket, right hon. D. R.
Plunkett, hon. J. W.
Pomfret, W. P.
Powell, F. S.
Puleston, J. H.
Raikes, rt. hon. H. C.
Rankin, J.
Rasch, Major F. C.
Reed, H. B.

Ritchie, rt. hon. C. T.	Theobald, J.
Robertson, J. P. B.	Tollemache, H. J.
Robinson, B.	Tomlinson, W. E. M.
Rollit, Sir A. K.	Townsend, G. F.
Ross, A. H.	Trotter, H. J.
Rothschild, Baron F.	Tyler, Sir H. W.
J. de	Verdin, R.
Round, J.	Vernon, hon. G. R.
Royden, T. B.	Vincent, C. E. H.
Russell, Sir G.	Waring, Colonel T.
Russell, T. W.	Watson, J.
Sandys, Lieut-Col. T.	Webster, Sir R. E.
M.	Webster, R. G.
Saunderson, Col. E. J.	Weymouth, Viscount
Sclater-Booth, rt. hn.	Wharton, J. L.
G.	White, J. B.
Sellar, A. C.	Whitley, E.
Selwyn, Capt. C. W.	Whitmore, C. A.
Shaw-Stewart, M. H.	Wilson, Sir S.
Sidebotham, J. W.	Winterbotham, A. B.
Sidebottom, W.	Wodehouse, E. R.
Smith, rt. hon. W. H.	Wolmer, Viscount
Smith, A.	Wood, N.
Smith-Barry, A. H.	Wortley, C. B. Stuart-
Spencer, J. E.	Wright, H. S.
Stanhope, rt. hon. E.	Wroughton, P.
Stanley, E. J.	Yerburgh, R. A.
Swetenham, E.	Young, C. E. B.
Talbot, J. G.	
Tapling, T. K.	
Taylor, F.	
Temple, Sir R.	

Words added.

Main Question, as amended, put.

Resolved, That, in the opinion of this House, it is inexpedient, at the present time, to make any further alteration in the Irish Land Laws.

House adjourned at a quarter after Two o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Wednesday, 22nd September, 1886.

Their Lordships met at Two o'clock.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILL—*First Reading*—Consolidated Fund (Appropriation).*

PROVISIONAL ORDER BILL—*Third Reading*—Tramways (No. 3) * (19), and passed.

House adjourned during pleasure.

House resumed.

CONSOLIDATED FUND (APPROPRIATION) BILL.

Read 1^a; and to be read 2^a To-morrow: and Standing Order No. XXXV. to be considered in order to its being dispensed with.—(*The Lord Stanley of Preston.*)

House adjourned at a quarter before Eleven o'clock, till To-morrow, a quarter past Four o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Wednesday, 22nd September, 1886.

MINUTES.]—SELECT COMMITTEE—*Report*—Kitchen and Refreshment Rooms (House of Commons) [No. 50].

PUBLIC BILL—*Third Reading*—Consolidated Fund (Appropriation), and passed.

ADJOURNMENT OF THE HOUSE—THE PROROGATION.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL) (Paddington, S.): It may be for the general convenience of the House for me to say that after the Consolidated Fund Bill has been read a third time to-day, I will move the adjournment of the House to Saturday.

QUESTIONS.

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—CASE OF — CRONIN, CONVICTED OF MOONLIGHTING.

MR. STACK (Kerry, N.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether a man named Cronin is now undergoing a term of ten years' penal servitude for alleged moonlighting in Duagh, county Kerry; was he convicted on the uncorroborated evidence of a woman of known bad character; whether the witnesses for the defence were men of unimpeachable reputations; whether several years of his sentence have already expired; whether several others who were convicted and sentenced with him are now at large; whether a Memorial signed by the resident magistrate and most of the grand jurors of the county was forwarded to Lord Aberdeen, praying for his release; and, whether, under the circumstances, he will advise the Lord Lieutenant to set Cronin free?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH) (Bristol, W.), in reply, said, it was true that a man named Cronin was now undergoing a sentence of 10 years' penal servitude for the offence mentioned. He was not convicted on uncorroborated evidence. He was not aware that the witnesses for the defence were men of unimpeachable reputation. Several years of his sentence

had now expired. Others who were convicted at the same time, but not equally guilty, had been released. A Memorial was forwarded to the late Lord Lieutenant, and had been considered, and it had been decided that the law should take its course. He wished to state that the Lord Lieutenant only had power to exercise the Prerogative of the Crown in Ireland, and it had never been the duty of the Chief Secretary to exercise it. If necessary, of course, he would advise with His Excellency on the subject.

MR. SEXTON (Belfast W., and Sligo, S.) asked if the right hon. Gentleman was aware that the Judge who imposed this heavy sentence of 10 years declared that he did so for the purpose of deterring others, and that he hoped afterwards to be able to advise a remission of the sentence, and if the Memorial which was presented to Lord Aberdeen when he was leaving Ireland was signed by Justices of the Peace and many influential inhabitants of the district; and whether, in the extraordinary circumstances of the case, the right hon. Gentleman would advise the Lord Lieutenant to consider the Memorial?

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH said, he could not answer the Question without Notice.

THE MAGISTRACY (SCOTLAND)—THE SHERIFF CLERK OF BERWICKSHIRE.

MR. A. L. BROWN (Hawick, &c.) asked the Lord Advocate, Whether the Sheriff Clerk of Berwickshire holds the following public appointments: County Road Clerk of Berwickshire; Clerk to the Commissioners of Income Tax, Berwickshire; Procurator Fiscal to Her Majesty's Justices of the Peace for district of Lauder, in said shire; Secretary and Treasurer to Duns Gas Light Company; Clerk to the Visiting Committee of Greenlaw Prison; Auditor to the Tweed Commissioners; whether it is the case that, when the said Sheriff Clerk was appointed, he came under an obligation to resign all or any of his other offices if required to do so; whether the Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry into the condition of the Crofters, presented to Parliament in 1884, recommends that sheriff clerks should be prohibited from doing any professional work, or any business for profit, other than the proper business of their office;

whether the Lord Advocate, in a Debate in this House on 21st April 1884, assented to this opinion; and, whether the present Lord Advocate purposes calling upon the Sheriff Clerk of Berwickshire to resign all or any of the offices mentioned?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. H. A. MACDONALD) (Edinburgh and St. Andrew's Universities): I have not been able to obtain full information to answer this Question, but, at the request of the hon. Member, I will answer it as far as I can do so to-day. I am not aware of the exact facts as they at present stand, not yet having received an answer to my communication. I understand that the Sheriff Clerk of Berwickshire does hold several appointments of public offices in the county in addition to the office of Sheriff Clerk. Mr. Crawford, who is the Sheriff-Clerk, did come under an obligation to give up any public appointment it might be thought advisable he should not hold. As regards the question referring to professional work, if I am rightly informed, Mr. Crawford does not perform any professional work at all except in so far as holding these appointments may be held to involve professional work. I may state as regards the counties, not having a large amount of public business for the Sheriff Clerk, the amount of salary for that office would not, in my opinion, enable the Crown to obtain a suitable person for the office, unless he were allowed to hold appointments not incompatible with the duty of Sheriff Clerk. But I may say the appointment was made just before the Conservative Government left Office in January, and I do not find in the records of my office that anything has been done since then; but I will look into the matter during the Recess.

HOUSING OF THE WORKING CLASSES—THE CADOGAN ESTATE, CHELSEA.

MR. OCTAVIUS MORGAN (Battersea) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, with reference to the contemplated scheme for pulling down houses on the Cadogan Estate in Chelsea, to which his attention was recently drawn, Whether he is aware that more than 4,000 persons of the working classes will be displaced, and compelled to seek homes at a distance from their employment; and, whether he will con-

sider the feasibility of providing by Law that an adequate notice should be given to the persons affected by such schemes, and for compelling some accommodation to be made for at least a certain proportion of the persons displaced, within a moderate distance of their old homes?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): I am informed that provision will be made by Lord Cadogan for a large number of the working classes who will be displaced by the contemplated alterations on the Cadogan Estate at Chelsea, which will constitute a public improvement. The total number of persons of all classes who will be displaced is considerably below 4,000. The number of the working classes displaced is, of course, much less. I will consider whether it is possible or expedient to interfere by law with dealings by a private owner with his own property.

MINES (UNITED KINGDOM) — SCALE OF ROYALTIES OR MINE RENTS.

Mr. PHILIP STANHOPE (Wendesbury) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether, in view of Her Majesty's Government having promised to procure similar information from Foreign Countries, he will cause inquiries to be made through Her Majesty's Inspectors of Mines with respect to the royalties or mine rents paid in the United Kingdom, so as to be able to lay upon the Table of the House a Return showing the scale of royalties which exists in different parts of the United Kingdom, and also giving information as to any penalties or restrictions which are placed upon the lessees of mines by the owners of minerals?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): The Inspectors of Mines have no authority to make the inquiries suggested, and no special means of obtaining the information desired, which could only be supplied voluntarily by the owners or lessees of mines. The time required for making such inquiries would seriously interfere with the duties which the Inspectors were especially appointed to discharge. The Home Office has no means of ascertaining what penalties or restrictions are placed upon lessees by owners of minerals. These are matters of private arrangement. A list of any penalties

or restrictions imposed by Acts of Parliament could be supplied and laid upon the Table.

POST OFFICE—POSTAGE OF UNPAID LETTERS.

SIR JOHN LUBBOCK (London University) asked the Postmaster General, Whether any arrangement could be made by which receivers of letters upon which the postage has not been paid might pay for them direct to the General, or nearest Branch, Post Office?

THE POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. RAIKES) (Cambridge University): In reply to the hon. Baronet, I think that some inconvenience would arise from adopting the suggestion referred to, and I think considerable risk might be incurred from people receiving their insufficiently paid letters and forgetting to pay the sums due to the Post Office. If I have not correctly apprehended the hon. Baronet's Question perhaps he will confer with me.

PUBLIC HEALTH—WATER SUPPLY (METROPOLIS)—THE POPLAR DISTRICT.

Mr. PICKERSGILL (Bethnal Green, S.W.) asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether his attention has been drawn to the Report for the past year of Mr. F. M. Corner, Medical Officer to the Poplar Board of Works, in which the following passage occurs:—

"A greater scandal cannot well be shown in matters vital to health than that, in spite of abundant evidence of the magnitude of the evil, thousands and tens of thousands of families living in houses, the rates of which are payable by the landlords, may at any moment, without a particle of fault of their own, be suddenly denied one of the first necessities of life, water, through the neglect or wilfulness of others. That disease and death are directly traceable to this want no one acquainted with sanitary work in London can doubt. Take this instance: water cut off, drains stopped, opening up of ground and drains, removal of filth accumulation, horrid stench, diphtheria, death. Should the tenant justly refuse to pay the rent, the water supply being included in the charge, the Law allows of the broker being put in, as was done in Cotton Street in 1885, when the goods of a widow were seized until the whole was paid, although the house had been without water for six weeks. In Hanbury Place, having six houses, there was no water supply for twenty-six days, and families numbering each seven, nine, two of six, and others, had to exist, in May 1885, with choked drains, yard flooded with sewage, and no water, and all be-

Mr. Octavius Morgan

cause of non-payment of rates by their landlord. In another case there was no water for seventeen days. In a third, from Nos. 2 to 10, Galbraith Street, with a population of seventy-four, there was no water supply from the same cause for fourteen days; "

and, whether, in the paramount interest of the health of the people, the Local Government Board will, pending legislation, make representations to the Water Companies, or take such other steps as may be necessary, with a view to prevent the recurrence of the condition of things here described?

THE PRESIDENT (Mr. RITCHIE) (Tower Hamlets, St. George's): The Report of the Medical Officer to the Poplar Board of Works calls attention to a condition of things which undoubtedly urgently calls for remedy. The House will recollect that in 1884 Lord Camperdown carried through the House of Lords a Bill which would have altogether taken away from the Companies the power of cutting off the water from tenements such as those alluded to in the Question. This Bill passed its second reading in this House, but, unfortunately, did not get through its remaining stages. In the opinion of the Government the power of cutting off the water from such tenements, entailing as it may do very serious consequences to the health, not only of the persons immediately affected, but also of the whole district, ought to be abolished. The hon. Member is aware that the Government have no control over the Water Companies in this matter at present; but I earnestly hope the Water Companies will take care that the powers which they possess by law are not exercised in such a way as would be detrimental to the community and extremely hard upon the tenants. I propose to send to the various Companies a copy of the Question of the hon. Member containing the extract from Mr. Corner's Report, and to ask them to give it their consideration.

POOR LAW—FLOGGING AT THE HANWELL PAUPER SCHOOLS.

MR. PICKERSGILL (Bethnal Green, S.W.) asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether he can now state to the House the result of his promised inquiries as to the alleged ill-treatment of the boy Dunn in the Hanwell Schools, and also as to the allega-

tion that a system of extensive flogging is in vogue in those schools?

THE PRESIDENT (Mr. RITCHIE) (Tower Hamlets, St. George's), in reply, said, that the Local Government Board had received a Report from the schools with reference to this matter, and he had considered it necessary to instruct an Inspector to go down and hold an inquiry into the matter, and also into the whole question of punishment in the schools.

POOR LAW (ENGLAND AND WALES)—REMOVAL OF PAUPERS.

MR. PICKERSGILL (Bethnal Green, S.W.) asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether he is aware that the Guardians of St. Pancras have spent in five years £700 in removing paupers to their respective parishes of chargeability; and, whether he will cause inquiries to be made, in order to lay upon the Table of the House two Returns as follows:—A Return of the Amount spent annually during the last five years by each Union in England and Wales in removing Paupers to their respective parishes of chargeability, including all Law Charges connected therewith; and, a Return of the Amount spent annually during the last five years by each Metropolitan Union in removing Paupers to other Unions within the area covered by the Metropolitan Common Poor Fund, including all Law Charges connected therewith?

THE PRESIDENT (Mr. RITCHIE) (Tower Hamlets, St. George's) said, he had no information with reference to this subject; but he had no objection to furnish Returns of the amount expended in removing paupers in all the Unions of England and Wales, if the hon. Gentleman would move for them.

POST OFFICE (IRELAND)—THE PARCEL POST—NON-PAYMENT OF SALARIES OF SUB-POSTMASTERS AND LETTER RECEIVERS.

MR. CLANCOY (Dublin Co., N.) asked the Postmaster General, If sub-postmasters and letter-receivers in Ireland have yet received their salaries for their services in connection with the Parcel Post for the months of May, June, July, and August; whether it is a fact that they were not paid the amount due to them for Money Order and Post Office Savings Bank business

for the quarter ending 30th June till the end of August; and, whether the postal authorities some time ago averaged the amount earned on the sale of stamps, and have since made the average a fixed salary; and, if so, whether they will consider the advisability of adopting that plan of payment in regard to the Parcels Post, the Money Order, and the Savings Bank Departments of the Post Office, or of adopting some other means by which officials in the Post Office would be paid their salaries more promptly than at present?

THE POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. **RAIKES**) (Cambridge University) said, that in May last, when the Parcel Rates were revised, certain changes in the method of payment to the persons referred to became necessary, involving revised calculations at 16,600 offices. The matter was being proceeded with as quickly as possible, and no unavoidable delay had occurred. He had not had time to examine the remaining portion of the hon. Member's Question.

INTERMEDIATE EDUCATION (IRELAND)—THE ASSISTANT COMMISSIONERS AND CLERKS.

MR. CLANCY (Dublin Co., N.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, What are the duties performed by the Assistant Commissioners of Intermediate Education in Ireland, and by the Chief Clerk and the other clerks respectively; and, whether the office of the Board of Intermediate Education in Ireland will come within the purview of the inquiry to be held by the Royal Commission into the Civil Service Departments; and, if so, whether the Government will postpone filling the vacancy in the office of Assistant Commissioner of Intermediate Education in Ireland till that Commission has reported?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Sir **MICHAEL ILICKS-BEACH**) (Bristol, W.) was understood to say that the Assistant Commissioners of Intermediate Education in Ireland were responsible for the general superintendence of the Office, and especially for the supervision of the papers set by the different Examiners, which was a work of considerable difficulty, requiring special qualifications. They had also to supervise the working arrangements of the examinations. The clerical staff of the Office

was very small. He was not quite certain whether this Office would come within the purview of the inquiry to be held into the Civil Service Department; but he would consider the matter, and postpone anything of the kind contemplated by the Question if the Office was included.

CROWN LAND REVENUES—RICHMOND AND WINDSOR PARKS—FEEDING THE GAME.

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether he is aware that by 10 Geo. 4, c. 50, s. 113, it is enacted that the annual income of all the possessions and land revenues of the Crown to which the Act relates shall be applied in the manner following:—First. In payment of costs, charges, and expenses attending the management of the said possessions and land revenues. Secondly. In payment and discharge of any annual sum or sums of money or any pensions already charged upon, or to be charged thereon respectively, and on the payment of any other principal sum, and the interest of any principal sum or sums which is already or may be hereafter charged upon the said possessions and land revenues. Thirdly. In payment and discharge of the costs, charges, and expenses of repairs, alterations, and improvements of Buckingham Palace; whether he will state under which of these heads the payment of £500 per annum for the food of game in Windsor Great Park and Windsor Forest (in addition to a charge for the payment of game) is included; and, whether this game (presumably pheasants) was fed at this annual cost when the above-mentioned Act was passed?

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. **JACKSON**) (Leeds, N.): In answer to the hon. Member, I have to say that the payment referred to is included under the first head mentioned. The latter part of the Question I am unable to answer on such short Notice; but it may interest the hon. Member to know that previous to 1850 the cost of feeding the game was £1,100 per annum.

POST OFFICE—POSTAGE TO THE COLONIES.

MR. HENNIKER HEATON (Canterbury) asked the Postmaster General, If

Mr. Clancy

the Government will appoint a Royal Commission to inquire into the feasibility of cheapening the rate of postage between England and the various Colonies of the British Empire? He also wished to call the attention of the right hon. Gentleman to a Notice of Motion he had placed on the Paper to move for a copy of the Correspondence relating to the refusal of the Cape of Good Hope and the Australian Colonies to join the Postal Union.

THE POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. RAIKES, Cambridge University), in reply, said, that the question of the solution of this difficulty had not escaped his attention, but beyond that he was not in a position to say anything further on the subject. With regard to the latter part of the Question, he could not give the hon. Gentleman any definite reply until he had had an opportunity of consulting the Secretary of State for the Colonies: but he quite felt that it might be useful to the public if, at all events, the important portions of that Correspondence could be brought to the public knowledge of the country. If he could take any steps to meet the hon. Gentleman in this matter he should be glad to do so; but, at the same time, he hoped he would not press the Motion he had placed on the Paper.

ARMY AUXILIARY FORCES' MILITIA QUARTERMASTERS.

MR. HENNIKER HEATON (Canterbury) asked the Secretary of State for War, What steps he intends to take in regard to the Militia Quartermasters who were compelled to retire before being entitled to their full pensions?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. W. H. SMITH, Strand, Westminster), in reply, said, that no alteration whatever had been made in the retirement of Militia quartermasters. They would certainly receive all that was promised to them. Looking to the heavy charge in the Estimates for the non-effective list, he could not hold out any hope that the weight of that charge on the Votes could be increased by an additional pension which had not been offered or promised to these officers in the first instance.

PUBLIC HEALTH (METROPOLIS — METROPOLITAN ASYLUMS BOARD).

MR. J. ROWLANDS (Finsbury, E.) asked the President of the Local Go-

vernment Board, Whether changes have been recently made in the composition of the Metropolitan Asylums Board; and, if so, whether he can state why such changes were made, and what is the present number of the Board, and how many are nominated members?

THE PRESIDENT (Mr. RITCHIE) (Tower Hamlets, St. George's): The Board have recently increased the number of elected members of the Metropolitan Asylums Board by nine. The change has been made in consequence of the great alterations which have occurred in the population and rateable value of the Unions and parishes in the Metropolis since the number of members was fixed in 1871, and the large additional duties which the Managers have now to undertake as compared with those which devolved on them at that time. The present number of elected Managers is 54, and of nominated Managers 15.

LABOURERS' IRELAND ACT — THE KILMALLOCK SCHEME — INQUIRY UNDER THE ACT.

MR. FINUCANE (Limerick, E.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the Local Government Board arbitrator held an inquiry at Kilmallock on the 3rd of last August, under the Labourers' Act; if so, has he yet sent his draft award, and, if not, for what reason; and, will he be directed to do so immediately, so that the erection of the cottages may be proceeded with immediately?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Sir MICHAEL HICKS BEACH, Bristol, W.) said, there certainly seemed to be considerable delay in this matter. He was not aware of the precise reason for it, although he had made inquiries on the subject. The draft award would be sent in on Monday.

POST OFFICE IRELAND — DELIVERIES AT GRAIGUE, CO. KILKENNY.

MR. CHANCE (Kilkenny, S.) asked the Postmaster General, Whether letters reaching Borris, county Kilkenny, by the morning mail at 10.3 a.m. are not delivered in Graigue (five miles distant) till 2.15 p.m.; whether letters intended for the Irish and English night mails must be posted at Graigue, county Kil-

kenny, before 9-20 a.m., for the purpose of reaching Borris (five miles distant) for the mail train leaving for Dublin at 3-30 p.m.; whether, owing to representations made by the inhabitants of Graigue, the late Government promised to establish a car service between Graigue and Borris, and enable the letters arriving by the morning mail to be answered the same day; and, why this promise has not been fulfilled?

THE POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. RAIKES) (Cambridge University) said, there had not been time since the Question was put upon the Paper to obtain the information necessary to enable him to answer it.

DEBTORS' (IRELAND) ACT—CLOSING OF OMAGH GAOL.

LORD ERNEST HAMILTON (Tyrone, N.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he can give any information as to the place where prisoners under the Debtors' Act, from county Tyrone, are to be confined, now that the Omagh Gaol is no longer available; and, whether it is legal for the sheriff to take prisoners into an adjoining county?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. HOLMES) (Dublin University) (who replied) said, the prisoners who were committed under the Debtors' Act in the county of Tyrone, were now sent, pursuant to the order of the Lord Lieutenant under the Act of Parliament, to the prison in Londonderry.

ROYAL PARKS AND PLEASURE GARDENS—THE REGENT'S PARK—HOURS OF OPENING.

MR. LAWSON (St. Pancras, W.) asked the First Commissioner of Works, At what hour the Regent's Park is opened and closed to the public at different seasons of the year, and why a difference is made in this respect between the Regent's Park and the other Royal Parks of the Metropolis; whether he is aware that the time of opening varies from day to day, and that a large number of the working class resident in the district are put to great inconvenience by the present conditions by the loss of time they are put to; and, whether he will take steps to afford them greater facilities, especially by causing the park

to be opened to the public earlier in the morning?

THE FIRST COMMISSIONER (Mr. PLUNKET) (Dublin University): At present the gates in Regent's Park are opened at 5 A.M. from March 1 to September 30; and at 6 A.M. from October to the end of February. I hope, however, to be able now to make arrangements by which these gates will be opened regularly at 5 o'clock in the morning all the year round. I should be very glad also to keep the gates open later in the evening; but that would involve a great increase of the charges for police and lighting in Regent's Park. I have had a rough estimate made by which it appears that it would cost upwards of £5,000 capital expenditure, and more than £1,800 a-year additional. I will look further into this question, but I cannot make any promise on the subject.

THE LONDON SCHOOL BOARD—THE FEDERATED RADICAL CLUBS—PAYMENT OF FEES.

MR. BAUMANN (Camberwell, Peckham) asked the Vice President of the Committee of Council, Whether his attention had been drawn to the Resolution passed by the Council of the Metropolitan Federation of Radical Clubs to issue an address to all persons sending children to Board Schools in the district of the London School Board, advising them to discontinue the payment of school fees on and after 4th October, and, further, to refuse to fill up or sign any papers in reference to school fees; and, whether, in the event of a strike against school fees, the Education Department will take any steps to enforce the Law?

THE VICE PRESIDENT (Sir HENRY HOLLAND) (Hampstead): My attention has been called to the resolution passed by the Council of the Metropolitan Federation of Radical Clubs, with reference to the new bye-laws of the London School Board, and should any person be so misguided as to follow the advice tendered, I am informed that the London School Board have ample powers to deal with the difficulty, without the intervention of the Department. As the hon. Member is aware, the School Board have power to remit fees in all cases where it may appear to them advisable to do so.

Mr. Chance

BURMAH—THE INUNDATIONS AT MANDALAY.

MR. W. F. LAWRENCE (Liverpool, Abercromby) asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether his attention has been drawn to the letter of *The Times* correspondent Sept. 21st regarding the Mandalay inundation; and, whether he will institute an inquiry regarding the alleged neglect on the part of the British authorities to strengthen the bund although duly warned of its danger?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE Sir JOHN GOSST (Chatham: I have no official information with regard to the Mandalay inundation later than that given to the House on August 25 and September 3. That information was furnished by telegram, and is of later date than the statement of the Correspondent of *The Times*. It exonerates the British officials as far as it goes from the charges made, and shows that the loss of life, which *The Times* Correspondent states was unlikely to be less than 1,000, did not, in fact, exceed 12. The Secretary of State for India, when the news of the disaster was received, at once ordered an inquiry, which, however, proved to have been already instituted by the Government of India on its own motion. The Secretary of State will take care that this inquiry is searching and complete, and full information on the subject shall be given to Parliament.

THE NORTH AMERICAN FISHERY TREATIES.

MR. GOURLEY (Sunderland) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether it is true that the American schooner *Fought*, which returned to New York on the 15th September, was, on arriving at Paspébiac, Canada, in a distressed condition, not permitted to obtain a supply of water or to have her damages repaired, but was ordered to sea; and, whether he can now inform the House what measures Her Majesty's Government contemplate adopting for the purpose of amending or abolishing the existing Fishery Treaties, and which, from time to time, cause friction between this Country, the United States, and the Dominion of Canada?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE Sir JAMES FERGUSON (Manchester, N.E.): Her Majesty's Government have not received any information

respecting the occurrence in question, and I cannot, therefore, say if the facts are correctly stated. As I have already informed the House, the Secretary of State is in communication with the United States Government, and is also communicating personally with the United States Minister in this country with a view and an earnest endeavour to remove the causes of difference which exist.

LICENCES IRELAND—REFUSAL OF HOTEL LICENCE AT DINGLE.

MR. E. HARRINGTON (Kerry, W.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If the renewal of the Hotel Licence of Mr. John Lee of Dingle, has been refused by the local bench of magistrates, because he would not sign an undertaking to furnish cars for eviction duty; and, whether the Queen's Bench in Ireland last year granted licences which had been refused by local justices under similar circumstances; and, if so, whether the Government will take steps to compel magistrates to respect the decisions of the Court of Queen's Bench?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. HOLMES (Dublin University) (who replied said, this Question only appeared on the Motion Paper this morning, and it was impossible for him to say whether or not the facts were as stated in the first part of the Question. As to the second portion of the Question, any decision of the Court of Queen's Bench which had been given on this subject must be referable to the particular case which came before it. As he mentioned yesterday, the refusal of cars to police might be a ground for refusing the renewal of licences; but whether it was so or not would depend on the circumstances of each case.

MR. E. HARRINGTON asked if the right hon. and learned Gentleman was aware that the Bench of Magistrates being composed of landlords and land agents, they would naturally refuse hotel licences to any publicans who would not assist in the work of eviction in this manner?

MR. HOLMES said, it was perfectly competent, under certain circumstances, for a Bench of Magistrates under the powers conferred upon them by law to decline to give a certificate of renewal

on the ground that the publican refused to furnish cars.

MR. E. HARRINGTON asked whether there was not a telegraph wire between Dublin Castle and Dingle, where this decision took place?

MR. HOLMES said, there was, but it was wholly impossible to get information in time. He had telegraphed at 11 o'clock, and up to the present had not received a reply.

POST OFFICE—SIXPENNY TELEGRAMS —FINANCIAL RESULTS.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE (Bradford, Central) asked the Postmaster General, Whether he will cause to be prepared in the Telegraph Department, for laying before the House, a Report showing the financial results of the reduction of the charge of telegrams to sixpence, giving the number monthly since the change in comparison with the previous year, the number of telegrams at various rates of charge, and the average number of words used for addresses, showing also the increased expenses and the receipts for registered addresses?

THE POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. RAIKES) (Cambridge University): In reply to the Question of the hon. Member, I regret that I am unable to give the whole of the particulars asked for. I have, however, caused a statement to be prepared which gives some very interesting particulars in regard to the increase of telegraphic business under the new tariff. This Return is too long to read to the House, but I will give the following figures:—For the last three months of 1885 and the first three months of 1886, as compared with the corresponding months of 1884 and 1885, I find that the number of telegrams under the new tariff reached 16,787,540, as against 11,314,423 under the old tariff, showing an increase of 5,473,117, while the revenue derived from these telegrams and from the additional amount received in respect of the registration of abbreviated addresses, as compared with that received in the corresponding six months, was less by £22,000. For the five completed months of the present financial year, as compared with the corresponding months of the last financial year, the number of messages is 17,369,161, as compared with 11,125,794, showing an increase of 6,243,367, or 56 per cent; and, although the loss of revenue in

April and May was £15,000, the revenue in the last three months has been greater by £12,000—the loss of revenue for the five months being, therefore, about £3,000. The present month will, I think, show a similar increase of business, and it is probable that the small loss of £3,000 will nearly disappear. I am unable, at the present time, to furnish the House with the further particulars asked for by the hon. Member; but the Department has already taken steps for obtaining the figures asked for, and, as soon as I am in a position to do so, I will furnish the hon. Member with the figures he desires. In the meantime I shall be ready, if the hon. Member will move for it, to furnish, as an unopposed Return, the particulars contained in the Paper some details of which I have read to the House.

PARLIAMENT—THE PROROGATION —RE-ASSEMBLING OF THE HOUSE.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE (Bradford, Central): I will ask a Question of the noble Lord the Chancellor of the Exchequer, which I hope he will be able to answer, though I have not given him Notice of it—namely, To what date does the Government intend to advise Her Majesty to prorogue Parliament; and whether the rumour is true that an early day will be named for the possible re-assembling of Parliament; and, if so, will that meeting be for the dispatch of Business? I put that Question specially with reference to the somewhat menacing statement made by the Chief Secretary for Ireland last night.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL) (Paddington, S.): I am unable to give an answer to the Question of the right hon. Gentleman. The date of the Prorogation of Parliament will be stated in the Commission appointing the Commissioners to prorogue Parliament.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.) asked, in the event of the Appropriation Bill being passed at that Sitting, to what day would the noble Lord move the adjournment of the House?

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: In the event of the Appropriation Bill being passed to-day—and I cannot contemplate any other contingency—it will probably be convenient for the House

to meet on Saturday for the Prorogation, as there is no Public Business of any importance on Thursday or Friday; and I propose, as I stated earlier in the Sitting, to move the adjournment of the House till that day.

PARLIAMENTARY PROCEDURE.

MR. R. G. WEBSTER (St. Pancras, E.): I beg to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer a Question of which I have given him private Notice—Whether the Government intend, at an early date next Session, to introduce any amendment in the present mode of Parliamentary Procedure with the purpose of expediting Public Business?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL) (Paddington, S.): Of course, my hon. Friend will understand that the intentions of a Government with regard to the arrangements of a future Session are not at all exempt from all those changes and chances which beset all human arrangements. But with that rather important qualification, I may say that it is the most decided intention of Her Majesty's Government to recommend to the House of Commons at the commencement of next Session to devote its continued attention to very considerable alterations and modifications of its present method of conducting Public Business.

POOR LAW (ENGLAND AND WALES)— LANDING OF DESTITUTE AND INSANITARY ALIENS—THE GREEK GIPSIES.

MR. GROTRIAN (Hull, E.) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether he is aware that another body of Greek gipsies are encamped in Hull; and whether, having regard to the fact that these people are in a destitute condition, are likely to become a serious burden to the inhabitants and ratepayers, and that their sanitary condition leaves much to be desired, he will take some steps to deal with this matter in the interests of the country generally?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): I have had no information respecting the arrival of the Greek gipsies at Hull; and I am afraid the law of this country affords very imperfect protection against the

landing of destitute and insanitary aliens.

ORDER OF THE DAY.

—o—

CONSOLIDATED FUND (APPROPRIATION) BILL.

(Mr. Courtney, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Jackson.)

THIRD READING.

Order for Third Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read the third time."

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS (IRELAND)—THE DERRY ELECTION— ACTION OF THE RESIDENT MAGISTRATE AND POLICE — OFFICIAL INQUIRY.—RESOLUTION.

MR. C. LEWIS (Londonderry), in rising to move—

"That, in the opinion of this House, it is expedient and necessary that an official inquiry should be held into the conduct of the resident magistrate and police in the city of Derry on the 6th of July last, when it is alleged that, under the orders of the resident magistrate, an unwarrantable attack was made by the police with staves, upon a number of respectable and orderly people who were assembled on the steps of the Imperial Hotel, Londonderry, on the occasion of the declaration of the poll at the city of Derry election on that day,"

said, that this Motion had been on the Paper on several occasions, and had stood over from time to time, not from any fault of his, or from any disinclination to bring it forward, but from his desire to give the Government every facility to get through Supply and pass the Appropriation Bill. He was happy to be able to state that the question involved in the Motion did not in the least degree provoke any conflict between the Party of which he was a Member and hon. Gentlemen opposite below the Gangway; it did not involve any sort of Party conflict, although it arose out of an election. No one could be more unwilling to limit in the least degree the authority or damage the *prestige* of the Royal Irish Constabulary than he, for he knew how important it was for the safety of the public that that authority and *prestige* should be maintained to the highest possible extent, and he knew perfectly well that nothing could be more disastrous to the maintenance of the public peace in Ireland than that

that authority should be subjected to any check or blow. He took the course he had done in consequence of meetings both of the citizens and magistrates of the City of Derry. The election for the City of Derry took place on the 5th of July, and the declaration of the poll on the 6th at noon. Prior to the election a large number of police were imported into the city. He did not complain of that, for he thought that, having regard to the circumstances of the case, it was a very proper step. Before the polling day the Mayor and the Resident Magistrate, without any consultation with the Bench of Magistrates generally, issued a Notice, which stated that they had received sworn information to the effect that a procession, with bands and torches was going through Derry on the 5th July, and that this would be likely to lead to a breach of the peace, and that Notice concluded by saying that the Mayor and the Resident Magistrate prohibited any such procession, and that if it took place it would be dispersed by force. Looking at that Notice from a legal point of view, he had no hesitation in saying that it was a mere *brutum fulmen*, that it was *ultra vires*, and that it had no authority or effect. But what he wished to draw particular attention to was that it was a Notice prohibiting a procession with bands. Now, the position of affairs at the declaration of the poll on the 6th July was this. Derry was absolutely quiet through the whole election; there had not been so much as a disturbance in the streets. There were no assaults, no conflicts of any sort or description tending to a breach of the peace. Indeed, he never knew an election more absolutely free from breaches of the peace or riots. The committee-room of his opponent was situated in the same street as his own, but lower down the street. The Court House was above his (Mr. Lewis's) committee-room. The street might thus be considered as divided roughly into three portions. There was a crowd round his opponent's committee-room, and round the Imperial Hotel, where he had his committee-room, there was a crowd of some 1,000 or 1,500 people, but there was no contact between the two crowds. The consequence was that there was an entire absence of any indication of ill-feeling or excitement. As he (Mr. Lewis) came from the Court House to

the Imperial Hotel he passed through the crowd, and in the middle of the crowd, in front of the hotel, there was a person with a wind instrument, on which he was playing some favourite air.

MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W., and Sligo, S.): What air?

MR. C. LEWIS said, he did not know; but the Proclamation of the Mayor, whatever its nature, was directed against a procession with bands, and not against the mere playing of music. Well, the playing went on, filling up the time until the Member appeared. As to what then took place he would rely in the first place, not on his own statement, but on the testimony of the Bishop of Derry, whom everyone would admit to be unimpeachable. In a letter which he wrote shortly afterwards to the papers, the right rev. Prelate said that he was, with a large party of his (Mr. Lewis's) friends, in a room of the Imperial Hotel, the windows of which opened on the balcony, from which the new Member was to address the people. He saw that there was a crowd in front of the hotel, extending some distance above and below. The crowd was a well-conducted assembly. The people cheered now and then, and occasionally groaned. After a short time, the Bishop went on, a band approached, with instruments and flags. This was, perhaps, an infraction of the Order of the magistrates. What occurred between the band and the Resident Magistrate he (the Bishop) could not tell, but after a few seconds he saw the police making for the crowd with swords, truncheons, and guns, striking out right and left. As far as he could see, no resistance was offered, and it was simply a saturnalia of violence. He saw a policeman of Herculean proportions aim a blow with his truncheon at the head of a respectable woman who was trying to escape. Fortunately, the blow missed her. He (the Bishop) then came out on the balcony and denounced the conduct of the police, in the hope that his voice might reach the Resident Magistrate. So far the Bishop. The rest of the story he (Mr. Lewis) must ask the House to take from him. The band turned down into the yard of the Deanery opposite the hotel, and he himself then saw a constable with a drawn sword thrust his sword through the rails of the yard,

and endeavour to prick those who were assembled there. So horrified were other members of the Constabulary at this that the man was actually dragged back by a police officer. In consequence of this extraordinary and outrageous proceeding, a number of well-conducted citizens standing on the steps of the Imperial Hotel cried out "Shame!" upon which the Resident Magistrate, who seemed to have lost his head, directed the police to charge them. These people, who were quietly waiting for the Member to return thanks for his election, were wedged in and could not escape, and he himself saw, to his horror, 20 or 30 constables with their batons drawn rush at the small crowd and knock many of them on the head. One unfortunate person standing on the steps had his head broken, and as a consequence his life was in danger for a considerable time. That was a plain and unvarnished statement of the whole case. These people were doing nothing but enjoying a fine summer day, and waiting to hear the successful candidate return thanks, when they were set upon in the outrageous manner which he had described by those who were paid to preserve the public peace. The outrage was witnessed by the Bishop and the Dean of Derry, and by five or six magistrates and other independent persons not resident in the city. In the whole course of his life he never saw such horror and excitement. [*Laughter.*] The hon. Member for Sligo laughed—

Mr. SEXTON: Yes; you made the horror and excitement.

Mr. C. LEWIS said, he had made his statement as a matter of honour and upon the authority of the Bishop of Derry. This was a matter which could not be laughed away in the manner in which hon. Members seemed to desire. The conduct of the police caused the greatest possible excitement in the city, and the magistrate met and passed a resolution asking for a public inquiry by the Government. The right hon. Gentleman the late Chief Secretary for Ireland Mr John Morley declined to institute an inquiry without giving his reasons. A largely-attended meeting of the citizens was next held, at which a resolution was unanimously passed calling upon the Government to institute an inquiry as to the conduct of the authorities in order to insure the punishment of the guilty

parties. A change of Government came, and the magistrates again met and asked for an inquiry. The present Chief Secretary replied that he himself would make inquiries into the matter, but that no public inquiry would be ordered. These occurrences took place on the 6th of July, and nobody had yet been called upon to account for the extraordinary and violent conduct of the police. The outrage was not committed by the City Constabulary, but by police brought in from a distance; therefore the offenders could not be identified. The right hon. Gentleman the late Chief Secretary said he would not consent to an inquiry, but he proclaimed the city under the Arms Act, without the smallest pretence in the world, or in respect of any abuse of arms or conflict between the citizens. The right hon. Gentleman carried out the policy which he foreshadowed when in Office as to the putting into operation of the Arms Act. He said it would be very useful in Ulster. That was the conduct of a right hon. Gentleman seeing fair play between the police and the citizens. Such were the proceedings of the right hon. Gentleman; for it turned out that his object in proclaiming Derry, where there had been no outrages, was, as he said, to keep the balance even between North and South. That was to say, because he had had to put the Arms Act in force in the South, therefore he proclaimed Derry in the North. ["Oh, oh!"] Why, it was not more than a week since he made that statement in Committee of Supply. The right hon. Gentleman on that occasion said—"I proclaimed Derry to make matters level." The right hon. Gentleman was a Member of the Party who would not support coercion under any circumstances. They brought in their Arms Bill, and the first thing they did was to put it into operation against an unoffending city. He challenged the right hon. Gentleman to say upon what material it was that, in the month of July last, when there had been no outrages and no disturbances in the City of Derry, he advised the Lord Lieutenant to proclaim the city under the Arms Act. He could not help thinking it was a set-off to him for having condemned the conduct of the right hon. Gentleman with reference to the Arms Act. The events which he had stated having happened, there was a distinct refusal by the right hon. Gentleman to hold an inquiry. No

doubt, the late Chief Secretary made inquiry from the Resident Magistrate, Mr. Harvey, who played an important part in the disturbances. But did he endeavour to obtain information from any independent person? The events having happened which he had stated to the House, he demanded to know the grounds upon which the Government refused a sworn inquiry. He ventured to say that when a meeting of magistrates called the attention of the Government of the day to the serious conflict that was going on, not between the Orange and Catholic parties, but between the authorized protectors of the citizens and the citizens themselves, it required a very strong case to justify the refusal of the Government to make an inquiry with a view to bringing the guilty parties to justice. He had no doubt the right hon. Gentleman received a very crushing reply from the Resident Magistrate, who now walked about Derry despised by the citizens. The House would see whether the right hon. Gentleman was able to quote any other witnesses in support of the maintenance of the dignified silence which the Government assumed under the circumstances. The right hon. Gentleman the present Chief Secretary was in a totally different position. He had to deal with the difficulty that an inquiry had already been refused. He (Mr. Lewis) maintained that when the House had the testimony of so highly respected a Prelate as the Bishop of Derry, such an occurrence should not be allowed to happen at noonday without some inquiry being held to ascertain who was responsible. The present Chief Secretary stated, in reply to the resolution of the second meeting of magistrates, that he would make an inquiry into the matter. Was it to be expected that, with all the serious responsibilities which rested upon him, and with all the difficult duties he had to perform, he could go down to Derry and conduct an inquiry on the spot? In the face of all the facts and circumstances, it was a scandalous thing that these most extraordinary occurrences should have gone on without any expression of reprobation on the part of the Government of the day, and that the citizens, after the serious attack that had been made upon them, should be deserted by the Government to whom they were entitled to look for support. Under these circumstances,

Mr. C. Lewis

he ventured to move the Resolution which stood in his name for the purpose of vindicating the rights and privileges of citizenship of the city which he had the honour to represent.

CAPTAIN M'CALMONT (Antrim, E.) seconded the Resolution.

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That," to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "in the opinion of this House, it is expedient and necessary that an official inquiry should be held into the conduct of the resident magistrate and police in the city of Derry on the 6th of July last, when it is alleged that, under the orders of the resident magistrate, an unwarrantable attack was made by the police, with staves, upon a number of respectable and orderly people who were assembled on the steps of the Imperial Hotel, Londonderry, on the occasion of the declaration of the poll at the city of Derry election on that day,"—(Mr. Charles Lewis,)—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

MR. JOHN MORLEY (Newcastle-on-Tyne) said, that not many sentences would be required from him in answering the speech which the hon. Gentleman had made in defence of his Amendment. The hon. Gentleman's statement of what happened rested upon the letter written by the Bishop of Derry, and upon the hon. Member's own account of what he saw from the steps of the Imperial Hotel. The hon. Member, however, was not at that moment in a frame of mind, he submitted, which made his testimony of any great or decisive value. The hon. Member was not always distinguished, even in that House, for urbanity, or for happy serenity of demeanour. Upon this occasion the House would judge, from a speech which he delivered, how likely he was to see things without excitement, and as they occurred—

MR. C. LEWIS: That was after the event.

MR. JOHN MORLEY said, he supposed the events all went on in a very short and rapid space of time, and probably the hon. Member was in one frame of mind from beginning to end of the transaction. The House would judge. The following report of a speech delivered by the hon. Gentleman on that occasion would illustrate the way in which this champion of the party of law and order thought fit to speak of the

agent of law and order. The report stated that—

"Mr. Lewis spoke under great excitement. He said—'Ladies and gentlemen of Derry—Mr. Harvey, you rascal'—this being the Resident Magistrate—'look at that mob down there (pointing to the Nationalist crowd), look at them, you rascal! Why don't you disperse them?' Ladies and gentlemen, I have to thank you, citizens of this city, who for the fifth time have returned me to Parliament, and I now pledge myself, in the face of that man (Mr. Harvey) I pledge myself that my first act in Parliament will be to expose and reprobate the conduct of that wicked man in the way that he deserves.' (*Long cheers and groans*). The hon. Member went on to say that the representatives of the Government had behaved in a scandalous, criminal, and cowardly manner. A dastardly attempt had been made to assault and butcher"—butcher!—"the citizens of Derry."

He only read that report as an illustration of the calm and judicial temper in which the hon. Gentleman had looked on at the transaction.

MR. C. LEWIS: It was after the event I made the speech.

MR. JOHN MORLEY: It was all pretty simultaneous, as a matter of fact. Well, the resolution of the magistrates was sent to the Government, and inquiry was made of the Resident Magistrate himself (Mr. Harvey), and the Government instituted a full investigation. They collected reports from all the officials who took part in the maintenance of order in Derry on that occasion. One or two points of difficulty arose, and they referred those to the Inspector General of Constabulary. They had the whole affair thoroughly investigated. What case was there for a sworn inquiry? Talk of "butchering" the citizens! Who was "butchered?"

MR. C. LEWIS: I will answer the question—the man who was four days in the infirmary.

MR. JOHN MORLEY: Yes; it was reported in the newspapers that the man was given over; it was said that tetanus had set in. When the officers went to the Infirmary, however, they found the gentleman in bed reading the newspaper. A more trumpery affair was never brought under the notice of the House of Commons. The hon. Member tried to harrow their feelings with descriptions of Constabulary officers and constables running their swords into inoffensive and peaceable citizens, and all he could prove in the way of butchery and massacre was that one man went

to the infirmary with a bruised head and was out again in a very few days. The conditions under which the action of the police took place were not quite so simple as the hon. Gentleman would lead the House to suppose. He made a point of the police being foreigners; but did all his friends in Belfast pay such respect to the Proclamation of their own Mayor, who was not a foreigner, as to warrant the attitude he now took up? The hon. Gentleman said that the Mayor's Proclamation had no legal force. On that point at the moment he was not able to answer the hon. Member; but no doubt the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland would say whether the Mayor's Proclamation was legally a compulsory document or not. It was the opinion, at all events, of the magistrates of the town that it was expedient and necessary for the maintenance of law and order that bands and processions should be avoided and suppressed. [Mr. C. Lewis: Processions of bands.] On this occasion a band made its way out of the Dean's Yard to the front of the Imperial Hotel, and there it began to play "God Save the Queen" and also Party airs. The hon. Member would not deny that that was a very dangerous thing in a town like Londonderry, where, as the poll showed, parties were so equally divided, and where, although order had been preserved, there had been great excitement. It was a very dangerous thing, and, in the opinion of the Mayor, disorder would be likely to follow if bands were allowed to go on playing Party tunes. After carefully considering all the reports, the Lord Chancellor and himself came to the conclusion that the Resident Magistrate and the Constabulary officers used no more force than was necessary, and they did not in fact use any very considerable amount of force. He had not the least wish to impugn the testimony of the Bishop of Derry, although the Bishop, speaking from the Imperial Hotel, used very strong language—he presumed strong language for a Bishop. Comparing the charge made in the Bishop of Derry's letter, and the evidence in support of the resolution of the magistrates, with their own full and elaborate reports, they came to the conclusion that this was a thoroughly trumpery affair, and that to institute any further inquiry would be to

give it an importance which was entirely uncalled for. The hon. Member said he would be the last person to wish to bring discredit upon authorities or upon the Irish Constabulary. But he submitted to the hon. Member and the House that for the Executive Government in Dublin to take the serious step of having a sworn inquiry into so trifling and insignificant a business would place the Resident Magistrates and the Constabulary officers in such a position that they would be little disposed to do their duty with energy and vigour. It would be a most fatal thing to institute sworn inquiries without a conviction that there was really strong ground for believing that a serious dereliction of duty had occurred. He and the Irish Executive had no such a belief. The hon. Member had introduced matters which had nothing to do with the Motion he had made. On a former occasion he had fully explained and justified the phrase he had used, which gave such utterly unreasonable offence to some gentlemen of Ulster, and on which the hon. Member had put so unreasonable an interpretation. The remark would bear no such interpretation as that he was determined unnecessarily to proclaim Belfast and Derry, because Cork had been proclaimed. He could not imagine why Derry should be specially insulted by being placed under the same restrictions as Belfast, Dublin, and Cork. In Derry itself the friends of the hon. Gentleman did not always take that line with respect to law and order which he should expect from them. Some remarks on the proclamation of Derry, which were made by *The Londonderry Sentinel*, would give the House an idea of the difficulties that Governments, whether Conservative or Liberal, had to deal with in the North of Ireland. The purport of the Lord Lieutenant's Proclamation, as the House knew, was to prohibit the possession of arms without a licence. The organ of law and order said of the Proclamation issued by Her Majesty's authority—

"Our advice to the people who happen to possess any of these weapons is to keep a firm grip on them, whether they have a licence or not. Let no one part with his rifle or revolver; there is no saying how soon they may be needed; and probably one of the first acts of the new Government will be to rescind the offensive Proclamation that Mr. Morley has so meanly sprung upon the Northern towns."

Mr. John Morley

Would the Attorney General for Ireland say whether the Government were going to rescind the Proclamation or not? He thought they would not do anything of the kind; but the extract showed there was, even in the party of law and order, a temper which justified the Executive in dealing with Derry as they would deal with Dublin or Cork. It showed too that upon such an occasion as an election, when excitement was aroused, and when the flame was fanned by such speeches as those of the hon. Member, Derry was not a place where the Executive Government could afford to discourage its own agents, or play fast and loose with its own authority.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. HOLMES) (Dublin University) said, he had to thank the hon. Member for the courtesy he had shown in having on different occasions postponed the Motion so as to avoid interfering with the convenience of the Government and of the House. He wished also to state that the Chief Secretary for Ireland would have replied to the hon. Member's speech, but he was prevented from being in his place by urgent public business. The Lord Chancellor and himself had assisted the Chief Secretary in the inquiry into this matter, and probably the hon. Member and the House would accept the explanation he had to offer. The House was no doubt aware that the present Government did not come into Office until about a month after these transactions occurred. Their attention was first directed to the matter by the second resolution that was passed by the magistrates of Derry, and in which they called attention to the resolution previously passed requesting the Government to grant a sworn inquiry. That resolution was carefully considered by the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary and his Colleagues, and the conclusion they arrived at was that a sworn inquiry would not conduce to the public interest. The Chief Secretary, however, expressed his readiness to acquaint himself most fully with the facts of the case. As regarded the advantage or disadvantage of having a public inquiry, there was one point which must be borne in mind—namely, that there could not be a public inquiry on sworn evidence without Parliamentary authority, for the Constabulary Acts only pro-

vided for such an inquiry into the acts of individual constables. The only inquiry there could be into a matter of this kind, assuming the circumstances to call for it, would be an inquiry on the spot, without the power of administering an oath, by one or two Special Commissioners; and it seemed to the Government, after comparing the statements made on one side and the other, that it would not advance the public interest to have an inquiry of this character. (On considering the statements of officers and officials and statements made by others, he thought this was a right and proper conclusion. Perhaps the House would bear with him while he stated the view the Government took of the matter. He could quite understand that transactions of this kind would excite ill-feeling in the locality. When there was a collision between the police and the people, no matter what the circumstances, there was naturally a strong public feeling excited. Therefore, a great deal of forbearance was required. Those whose duty it was to conduct an inquiry must, as far as possible, discriminate between the allegations on the one side and those on the other. The first thing the attention of the Government was directed to was the action of the Resident Magistrate. He presumed Mr. Lewis would admit that in considering the conduct of the Resident Magistrate they could not overlook his antecedents. He (Mr. Holmes) had the honour to know something of Mr. Harvey for a long time, and up to this transaction he had never heard any charge brought against him, although he had been called upon to perform his duty under the most trying circumstances. Not very long ago Mr. Harvey received in the discharge of his duty a very serious wound, which incapacitated him from work for several months. It was only very recently he had returned to his post. This Resident Magistrate had again and again to act under very trying circumstances, and so far as the Government had been able to ascertain had always performed his duty in a most satisfactory manner; and the Government were satisfied that on the occasion in question he had performed his duty in endeavouring to preserve the peace with discretion and promptitude. In a city like Derry it was obvious that at a time when considerable Party excite-

ment prevailed there would be danger in a contested election unless the greatest precautions were taken, and accordingly four or five days before the date fixed for the election a meeting of magistrates was held, and it was determined, with a view of preserving the peace, to issue a Proclamation prohibiting processions and band-playing in the streets of Derry on the day of the election. It was said that there was no legal authority for that Proclamation; but it must be admitted that it was unquestionably the duty of the magistrates to take such steps as they might consider necessary to prevent a breach of the peace; and as in their judgment processions would be likely to lead to collisions between rival parties, it would be in the power of the magistrates, and would, moreover, be their duty, to prohibit such processions. The Proclamation prohibiting processions was accordingly issued, and it seemed to him that the Resident Magistrate would have been neglecting his duty and incurring a very grave responsibility had he not endeavoured to enforce that Proclamation. If he had, under the circumstances, neglected to carry out the Proclamation, he (Mr. Holmes) did not see how it would be possible to justify his conduct. Well, it was announced that a band was going to play in the public thoroughfares, and Mr. Harvey came to the conclusion that the action of the band was a violation of the Proclamation, and he accordingly took measures to prevent the band marching and playing through the streets. An order was given to the police to prevent the band playing in the street; but the police were under the command of their own officers, and the magistrate was not responsible for the manner in which they carried out their duties. In like manner, when the excitement occurred in front of the hotel, Mr. Harvey gave an order to clear the streets; but the order was carried out also by the police under their own officers, and he did not think any charge of illegality or improper conduct could be made out against Mr. Harvey. Resident Magistrates in critical times were in a very trying position. They had to judge for themselves according to the circumstances of each case, and they had to make up their minds at a moment's notice, and therefore some allowance should be made for errors of judgment.

But in this case he (Mr. Holmes) did not see any ground whatever for censuring the conduct of Mr. Harvey, who appeared to have acted with great judgment and moderation throughout, and when he considered that the police were using unnecessary violence interfered to restrain them. The Bishop of Derry and the hon. Member who had brought this subject forward alleged that the constables were guilty of unwarrantable violence. Well, Mr. Harvey himself was of opinion that some of the men used their truncheons too freely; and if it were possible to identify them their conduct would certainly be made the subject of inquiry. It had, however, been found impossible to identify them. Besides, a good deal of allowance must be made for men acting under the very trying circumstances in which the police constables were placed when engaged in the endeavour to clear the streets of a hostile crowd; and he was free to confess that though he had himself seen policemen act with what he considered at the time was unnecessary violence, he had, on calmer reflection, come to the conclusion that there were not many men to be found who, under the circumstances, would have acted differently. It should be remembered, in considering a question of this sort, that very often what appeared to lookers-on as very violent, as even unnecessary and brutal violence, was, after all, by no means such a serious affair as it looked. It in reality bore a more serious aspect to lookers-on than to those engaged in it. At all events, such appeared to be the case in respect to the action of the police in Derry. No doubt there was a violent rush of the police, who charged the people, and onlookers might naturally think that terrible injuries were being inflicted upon the crowd. But in such cases as this the only way of ascertaining whether or not the amount of violence really used was too great was to judge by the results. They had to ascertain what injuries had been inflicted upon the people in the crowd. Well, judged in this way the conduct of the police at Derry could not have been so violent as some people alleged. The only serious result of the disturbance was the injury received by one man. This injury was much to be regretted; but fortunately it was only of a temporary character, and the individual

Mr. Holmes

who suffered it was able to leave the hospital in four days. Having regard to the fact that there was only one case of anything approaching to serious injury, he was inclined to believe that the violence alleged to have been used was not so great as it appeared to be. The Government had come to the conclusion that it would be inexpedient, inadvisable, and indeed unjust, to pass the least censure upon the Resident Magistrate, or upon the conduct of the police whilst engaged in carrying out the order they received. Under all the circumstances, therefore, he thought it much better now to let the matter drop. The election was over and the excitement was over, and there was no useful purpose to serve in keeping up the discussion.

MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W., and Sligo, S.) said, it must be admitted that the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland, if he had erred in this matter at all, had erred on the side of civility. He had never in his experience known an Attorney General who was so civil towards a man who had revolted against the law and did his best to provoke a riot. He (Mr. Sexton) could not help thinking that if anyone on that side of the House—any Nationalist—had delivered excited speeches, and endeavoured to provoke the people to riot, and then had the immeasurable audacity to rise in his place in that House and denounce the administration of the law, which, despite his efforts, had succeeded in maintaining the peace, the right hon. and learned Gentleman's words would have partaken more of the forcible than the feeble strain. Some reference had been made to the Protestant Bishop of Derry. He had no desire to detract from the merits that might belong to him; but if, instead of being the Protestant Bishop of Derry, he had been a Catholic priest, say, named Fahy, and if instead of using language calculated to incite to breaches of the peace he had endeavoured to help some poor people in Ireland to retain possession of their holdings there; instead of being eulogized in that House, he would have been called upon to find sureties for his good behaviour under a Statute passed 500 years ago for the better management of rogues and vagabonds. Well, he would leave the Bishop of Derry to obtain whatever satisfaction he could from the

contemplation of his own conduct in this matter. The hon. Member for Derry thought fit to rebuke the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for inattention, and the right hon. Gentleman met the rebuke by walking out of the House.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH) (Bristol, W.): I was summoned to a Cabinet Council.

MR. SEXTON said, he thought no Cabinet Council could have been so important as to have taken him away from the House when the hon. Member was impeaching the conduct of a magistrate. It was, however, creditable to the right hon. Gentleman, as a respectable man, not to wish to be mixed up with the conduct of the hon. Member for Derry on the 6th of July. The hon. Member himself had not, indeed, been in any great hurry to justify his character or conduct. This affair took place on the 6th of July. The House met for Business on the 19th of August, and there had been many opportunities for discussion which the hon. Member had not taken advantage of. He might have used his opportunity in the debate on the Address. He put down a Motion against the Motion that the Speaker leave the Chair; but he let the opportunity go by. He put a Motion against the Constabulary Votes; but he let the opportunity go by. He put a Motion against the reading of the Appropriation Bill; but he postponed that until the last day was reached; and then he put the Motion in such a form that it was impossible for him to divide the House upon it. He left hon. Members to judge for themselves whether the hon. Member for Derry might have held the sneaking hope that he might, in the long run, have been deprived of any opportunity of vindicating his character at all. Those Members of the House who knew anything of the city of Derry knew that the readiest means of getting up a riot was to employ a band to go into the streets and play certain Party tunes. "Croppies Lie Down," "We'll Kick the Pope Before Us," or some such conciliatory tune, could be warranted to get up a riot in five minutes. Well, the city of Derry had been noted for riots and breaches of the peace, and the hon. Member had been equally noted as being the principal figure in providing incitements to riot in that city. On the 6th

of July there was a contested Election, and the hon. Member's counsel declared that "the men of Derry would wade up to their necks in blood" rather than that a Parnellite should be returned. The Mayor of Derry was a friend of the hon. Member, and on the election day there appeared to have been going on a process which was known in America as "counting in" a candidate. The Mayor, in accordance with that process, "counted in" the hon. Member by a majority of 103. Well, wind having been got of what was going on, that count was called in question. A second count was then made, with the result of a tie. Of course, that was not satisfactory to the Mayor or the hon. Member, and a third count was instituted, when the hon. Member was "counted in" by a majority of three. The result of all this manœuvring was indescribable excitement in the city. It was generally felt that the Mayor had been playing fast and loose with the voting papers, and the excitement under the circumstances was natural. Under these circumstances the Proclamation prohibiting the appearance of bands of music in the streets was absolutely necessary if the peace was to be preserved. Anyone who knew Derry—who was not, like the hon. Member, a foreigner, but who was a native of Ireland—would know that the inevitable result of bringing a band into the street under such circumstances of excitement to play Party tunes must create a riot. But those peculiar people, the so-called loyal administrators of the law, who obeyed the law so long only as it ministered to their own Party and private passions, the magistrates of the city, Messrs. Pollock and Wilde, denounced the Proclamation, and organized a band to go into the streets and play music in defiance of it. The hon. Member said there was no impact between the rival crowds; but there was no impact because there were bodies of soldiers and police between them. Well, the band went into the street, and the Resident Magistrate went and told the band to disperse, when the two magistrates named came up to him and abused him in the presence of the excited crowd. Then came the scene upon the steps of the hotel, where the hon. Member for Derry was shouting and gesticulating violently, and these guardians of the law were shaking

their fists at the police, and crying out "Morley's murderers." Had it not been for a happy inspiration of his (Mr. Sexton's) friend Mr. James O'Doherty, who at this juncture called to the Nationalists to follow him to the League Rooms, the result would probably have been very serious. When this excitement was high, the hon. Member for Derry went to a window and delivered the speech which had to-day been recited by the right hon. Member for Newcastle-on-Tyne. He (Mr. Sexton) had before challenged him across the floor of the House for having called the stipendiary magistrate a scoundrel and a rascal. He denied it; but that was only a further proof of the audacity of the hon. Member. The report read by the right hon. Gentleman said that the hon. Member came to the window, and, shaking his finger, called out—"Harvey, you rascal, why do you not disperse the mob below?" He wondered how the hon. Member could come and impeach the administrator of the law, or that he could ask that an official inquiry should be held. Well, an official inquiry would presently be held; but it would be as to whether the hon. Member was really the Member for Derry at all. The only inquiry which, in his opinion, would meet the requirements of the case, would be one in which a Judge or a magistrate should be on the Bench and the hon. Member for Derry in the dock. He found the general impression amongst impartial persons to be that if on that day the hon. Member had got knocked on the head by a bâton, or pricked through the rails to a moderate extent, he would have got what he richly deserved.

Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes 237; No 1: Majority 236.—(Div. List, No. 46.)

Main Question, "That the Bill be now read the third time," again proposed.

MERCANTILE MARINE — SALVAGE LAWS — SALVAGE OF DERELICT VESSELS — SAILORS AND FISHERMEN ON THE EAST COAST.

OBSERVATIONS.

Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; House counted, and 40 Members being found present,

MAJOR RASCH (Essex, S.E.) said, that representing as he did a constitu-

Mr. Sexton

ency of South Essex, largely composed of sailors and fishermen, who were adversely affected by the laws relating to salvage, he begged to call attention to Vote 27. These men exercised their calling in the estuary of the Thames and the flats of the North Sea. On those flats there were great numbers of derelicts; but the men were not allowed to claim an amount of salvage which would pay them for their labour. The result was that wrecks were not salvaged at all, that they impeded the mouth of the Thames, and that the loss to the owners was severe. He would ask whether it would not be possible to modify the laws relating to the subject so that sailors who effected a salvage might have 50 instead of 30 per cent?

EDUCATION (SCOTLAND)—THE GLASGOW SCHOOL BOARD SYSTEM.

OBSERVATIONS.

MR. MASON (Lanark, Mid) called attention to the work of the School Board of Glasgow, with the view of meeting some statements which had been made by the hon. Member for St. Rollox (Mr. Caldwell) in Committee the other night, and which had caused a considerable amount of irritation in Glasgow. His hon. Friend told the Committee—

MR. SPEAKER: I must remind the hon. Gentleman that he is not entitled, when the Speaker is in the Chair, to refer to a speech made in Committee of this Session.

MR. MASON said, he at once bowed to the Speaker's ruling. He had wished simply to state a few facts in connection with the School Board system in Glasgow. It had been alleged that the School Board were not giving effect to the Compulsory Clauses of the Act of 1872. But the records of that Board showed that they had had meetings with parents whose children were not at school, and that the number of children represented by these parents and dealt with by the Board was between 30,000 and 40,000, while at present the Board were meeting 100 such parents every week. When the Act was passed the population within the area of the Glasgow School Board was calculated to be 513,000. Striking the average between the Registrar General's figures and those of the Sanitary Authorities, it was supposed that the population last year would not exceed

533,000. Now, the number of scholars in attendance in 1873, the year after the Act was passed, was, in round numbers, 43,000. The increase of population since allowed for a proportionate increase of not more than 2,500. Last year the number of children in attendance was 68,000; and if there was any error in getting up these statistics now, he would point out that the error would also be in the statistics for the former period, because the statistics were got up by the same Board and by the same machinery; and, therefore, the action of the Compulsory Clause had resulted in an increase of more than 22,000 scholars—a result which he thought was very satisfactory, and which went to prove that the Act was being properly worked. He believed, moreover, that the Roman Catholic and other outside schools were securing a proportionate increase of attendance. With regard to another point to which reference had been made, it was notorious that the ratepayers of the City of Glasgow were those who were engaged in business there. They might live outside, but they paid the rates inside, and were quite entitled to send their children to the Board schools in the city. It was quite a mistake to suppose that the Board had aimed at suppressing private schools, or were catering specially for the education of the middle and upper classes. In respect to the endowments of the City of Glasgow, which it was said had been taken away from the poorer classes, it must be borne in mind that they were managed under separate Boards entirely, and that the Glasgow School Board was in no way responsible for the altered condition of things if there was any grievance in connection therewith. He thought these facts showed that the Glasgow School Board was doing admirable work; and he saw no cause for complaint in connection with its management. It was a popularly-elected Board, and thoroughly under the control of the ratepayers; and, therefore, he could not understand why there should be any ground for complaint. He would be very glad if the Secretary for Scotland could see his way to support a movement for improving secondary education; but, generally speaking, he wished it to be understood that they had an admirable system of education in Scotland, and he did not think they should disturb it at present.

The existing system ought to be allowed to work itself out some time longer before they meddled with it; and he believed the results would show, as they had done in the past, a large improvement in education. In Glasgow, in the last 35 years, the system of education had been greatly developed. Thousands of children for whom formerly there was no room had now abundant facilities for attending school, and the Compulsory Clause was bringing in a great number of children who otherwise would get no education. The School Board of Glasgow was doing its work well, gentlemen of the highest position giving up their time for the purpose; and he would be sorry if an impression got abroad that it was thought the Scotch system was not what it ought to be. He hoped, as he had said before, that the Scotch Secretary would let the system work itself out.

Mr. CALDWELL (Glasgow, St. Rollox) said, he was not going to enter into the general question of the School Board system; but he was glad the hon. Member for Mid Lanark had an opportunity of obtaining official information and endeavouring to rebut any statement that had been made on the previous occasion. They could not, he understood, go back on all that had passed in Committee; but he supposed he might refer to what he himself had said, or, at all events, repeat what he then said. Since the matter was discussed, his statements had been before the Glasgow public and the Glasgow School Board; and as the hon. Member for Mid Lanark evidently held a brief for the School Board, he might be allowed to reply to what that hon. Gentleman had said. It so happened that the points which he (Mr. Caldwell) regarded as material had not been answered at all. What were the real facts? They were these. That they had in Glasgow 91,000 children between 5 and 13; and that there were only 51,000 in full average attendance, while 40,000 were daily absent. That statement had not been contradicted, and in face of it, it could not be said that the Glasgow School Board was efficiently carrying out the Compulsory Clauses of the Act. More than that, he had pointed out that, whereas in all Scotland they had 66·7 of the children between 5 and 13 in daily average attendance, in Glas-

gow the percentage was only 56. Glasgow, therefore, was 10 per cent below the whole of Scotland; and what he complained of was that Members of the Scotch Education Department came down and made statements that everything in Glasgow was highly satisfactory. The hon. Member for Mid Lanark had not contradicted the public statements made in that House, which, he said, were creating a great deal of indignation. Another complaint he had to make was that, while the Glasgow School Board was undoubtedly doing a great deal of good work, what they were doing was principally for the benefit of the middle and upper classes. In Glasgow there were only 1,255 children attending private schools who paid over 9d. per week. The hon. Member for Mid Lanark said the Board schools were so well managed that they were able to undertake this work. But that was not the explanation. The explanation was that they had an unlimited local grant and a large Imperial grant, and with these and the school fees they were able to drive out all private competition. It was not the education they gave, but the lavish amount of money at their command which enabled them to do this. When he made the remark that the middle and upper classes were receiving the benefit of the Board schools, the reply of the hon. Member for Mid Lanark was, "No." When they found, however, that the average attendance was only 56 per cent, they might be certain that the middle and upper class children would be there almost to a boy, and that the deficiency would be found among the poorer classes, which represented a much larger percentage than that of all those attending school. He would only say this—that if, as the hon. Member for Mid Lanark said, the Glasgow School Board were doing a great work among the children for whom the Act was intended, the fact still remained that the children were not in the schools. There were a great number of other points to which he would like to refer; but he confined himself to the one which had been referred to, and he repeated that none of his statements had been contradicted.

MR. E. R. RUSSELL (Glasgow, Bridgeton) said, he wished on behalf of the city—one division of which he represented—to thank his hon. Friend the

Member for Mid Lanark (Mr. Mason) for the protest he had made against the complaints which had been directed against the School Board. He thought the House would recognize in the speech that was delivered by the hon. Member for the St. Rollox Division of Glasgow (Mr. Caldwell) symptoms of a mind which was a little too much strained on one point, and which was hardly practically directed to any question of material importance. It would be found, if the documents of the Glasgow School Board were investigated, that the question which the hon. Member had brought before the House was never absent from the consideration of the Glasgow School Board, and that they did not need to be instructed either in what they should do in the matter, or in the view they should take of the shortcomings of their administration. They knew perfectly well they had to deal with most peculiar circumstances—the circumstances of a population in which it was in the highest degree difficult, either by compulsion or other means, to obtain the regular attendance of considerable proportions of the juvenile community; and they were, on the whole, satisfied that they were doing their best. He wished to bear testimony to the views of his constituency that the Board had succeeded as far as circumstances permitted, and that they had not been successfully accused of any deficiencies in the machinery they applied, or in their endeavours to apply it. He trusted the Secretary for Scotland would continue to take this view of the matter, and he was not likely to fall into the error which the hon. Member for the St. Rollox Division appeared to be guilty of—namely, of overlooking the very peculiar circumstances of the case, and of applying a test and criterion to the efficiency of the Glasgow School Board which was not just.

THE SECRETARY FOR SCOTLAND (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.) said, that this was the last phase of a battle that had long been waged between the hon. Member for the St. Rollox Division of Glasgow and the School Board of that city. It was not his business to pronounce on the statistics that had been brought before the House. He did not know that he had the materials for dealing satisfactorily with the question. If the School Board

Mr. Caldwell

had failed in their duty as much as the hon. Member appeared to think they had, he should doubt whether the Department over which he presided had any power of complaint in the matter. It would be sufficient for him to say—what the hon. Member for St. Rollox did not deny—that the School Board consisted of a most energetic, public-spirited, and able body of gentlemen; that they devoted a vast amount of their time and trouble to the solution of this great educational question; and that they had to deal with circumstances of extreme difficulty—difficulties greater than those that obtained in country districts—with which a comparison had been instituted. Having said so much he thought he might leave that matter to be discussed by the Glasgow School Board when the facts and figures of the hon. Member for St. Rollox were presented to them, as he understood they would be, in an authenticated and complete form. There was an accusation against the School Board, however, on which he must be allowed to say a word or two. The hon. Member for St. Rollox had told them that the School Board were devoting the rates to the education of the richer classes in the community. On the proper solution of that most difficult question he was not going to say anything; but he would remind the hon. Member that the Glasgow School Board was a popularly elected body, and that the working classes of Glasgow had it in their power to alter its constitution entirely. Therefore, if they thought that the public funds were being diverted from the use of the poor to the use of the rich, it rested with the poor majority to put that state of things right. The hon. Member for Mid Lanark (Mr. Mason) referred to the question of secondary education; and he (Mr. A. J. Balfour) might remind him of the fact that the Government had quite recently taken an important step in this direction by arranging for the Government inspection of secondary schools. That, he thought, was a great step in advance. The subject was one that must attract the attention of the Scotch Minister for Education; and he could assure the House it was one of those subjects to which he was devoting himself as far as possible.

ARMY—CHARGES AGAINST THE ORD- NANCE DEPARTMENT.

OBSERVATIONS.

SIR HENRY TYLER (Great Yarmouth), who had the following Notice on the Paper:—

“To move, That it is expedient to appoint a Royal Commission, with full power to take evidence, to afford protection to witnesses, and to report on all matters that may be referred to them in connection with the charges which have been so constantly and so persistently brought forward against certain branches of the War Department.”

said, the powers which he now asked for had been conferred with great advantage upon previous Commissions, as, for example, various Election Petitions, and the Sheffield Commission, which was appointed to inquire into the infamous practices known as “ratten-ing,” which disgraced that town some years ago. There were cases, he contended, in which the powers conveyed by his Motion were absolutely necessary; and surely the case to inquire into the charges against the War Department was one in point. It was always desirable to possess such powers when an inquiry was being made into alleged official or other corruption. He was very far from suggesting that the charges of this nature which had been brought against the War Department were true; but he could imagine cases, such as those of contractors and others whose dealings were impugned, in which full and satisfactory inquiry could not be made unless those powers were conferred. It could not be expected that any contractor would come forward and give evidence without being first assured, under proper conditions, of protection. Therefore, for the sake of having a full inquiry, it was absolutely necessary that the Commission appointed to investigate the charges made against the War Department should be endowed with powers of this description. Again, everyone who had been engaged in such inquiries knew the enormous difficulty sometimes experienced in obtaining the truth without taking evidence on oath. It was not necessary at all times to administer the oath; but the fact that it could be administered when the necessity arose would greatly strengthen the hands of the Commission. He, therefore, contended that the Commission should be endowed with the power of

taking evidence on oath if they deemed it necessary. He apprehended that the Secretary of State for War, in appointing the Commission, had absolute faith in the discretion and judgment of its Members. If that were so, why should the right hon. Gentleman object to conferring the powers asked for in the Resolution? An eminent Judge had been appointed to serve as Chairman of the Commission, and he (Sir Henry Tyler) thought that the refusal to give these powers would be thought to imply some distrust in that high functionary, and in the Commission itself. Surely the right hon. Gentleman was not afraid of the Commission possessing this discretionary power. If the powers to protect witnesses and to examine witnesses on oath were not given, would it not be possible to place it in the power of those who brought the charges to say, afterwards, that they had not had fair play on the Commission? Would they not say that they were unable to bring forward their charges, that and they had no opportunity of proving their case? Therefore, he held that it was desirable that if they had a case it should be inquired into fully and thoroughly. Though, of course, he did not know of his own knowledge what position those who made allegations were in with regard to proof, at all events he considered they should be afforded an opportunity of proving their case; and if they were unable to prove it, then let them be hanged upon the highest moral gibbet that could be provided for them. The charges made were twofold. First, it was alleged that the Government had provided inefficient warlike supplies and stores; and if this were the case, as there was too much reason to fear, it was only right that the attention of the Department should be called to the fact, so that the Administration might be improved. He was afraid that in the near future they might have wars of a serious nature. There were clouds arising in the East of a most threatening character. How could we expect our soldiers and sailors to fight to the best advantage without having trusty weapons, proper food, and suitable provision? How could we expect great results from our Navy if the guns with which it was armed were more dangerous to those standing at their side or behind them than they were to those in front of them? How could our soldiers

make the best use of their weapons if the projectiles with which they were loaded "jammed" in action? How could our Cavalry be well mounted unless they were supplied with saddles or other equipment of good materials and approved pattern? He had no doubt most hon. Members had read the report of the scandalous neglect which had occurred during the Egyptian Campaign, when it was proved before a Parliamentary Committee that the hay supplied was rotten and useless, and was full of bricks, stones, old iron, and wisps of straw; the flour supplied would not make good bread; and out of £13,900 paid for flour there was a loss amounting to £5,476. Those were matters into which there should be a full and impartial inquiry; but that inquiry could not be satisfactory unless the Royal Commission which he asked for were endowed with the powers set forth in his Motion, and which he now asked his right hon. Friend the Secretary of State for War to grant. He (Sir Henry Tyler) did not think that there could be a more unsatisfactory Report than that which emanated from so eminent a set of men as those who reported into the causes which led to the bursting of the *Collingwood* gun. A more unsatisfactory Report he had never read. Indeed, it was what might be called a *reductio ad absurdum* Report. If that Report were to be relied upon and depended upon, it would lead to the apprehension that there was not a gun now in the Navy which was suitable for the service. However, he thought he had shown cause enough why the complaints and charges which had been made should be thoroughly investigated and fully threshed out. He, for one, until the serious charges of corruption that had been made had been proved, would not believe them. He was much struck with the statement made the other night by the late Secretary of State for War (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) to the effect that when he was in Office he had been pestered by the officers of the War Department to allow such an inquiry to be undertaken, and he could quite understand that any Department against which such serious charges had been made ought to be willing and anxious to submit to a full and satisfactory investigation in order to clear itself; and if this were fairly done it would have the effect,

Sir Henry Tyler

on disproof of the charges, of throwing obloquy upon those who had ventured to make statements which were proved untrue. Unless the Commission to be appointed were granted the full powers he asked for, he felt convinced that its limited powers and authority must deprive it of the great weight which it ought to have. He thought that the Minister for War should, for this reason, grant a full and searching inquiry; and if this were conceded the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War would not be pestered to the extent he now was for complete and thorough investigation. It was necessary, in the interest of the country and of the Service and of the Department involved, that the inquiry should take place without delay, and that the Commission should not have to wait for another Session to ask for further powers. Let there be no desire whatever to conceal the truth; and in order to prevent all suspicion of this the Minister for War should make certain that the inquiry about to be held should be a full, fair, and impartial inquiry, so that it might be admitted afterwards with universal consent that justice had been done.

Mr. WALDY (Lincolnshire, Brigg) said, he desired to add a few words to what had been said in support of a thorough inquiry by the Royal Commission on Military Administration. The real state of the matter did not appear to be thoroughly appreciated by those who had authority to deal with it. The Government were not at all meeting the case which had been brought before the public and the House by calling upon the gallant officer whose name had been mentioned to take upon himself the burden of making a public attack upon certain persons who he believed ought to be assailed. It was a task of the highest chivalry to attack what was believed to be an almost organized band of corruptors, and a man might very well be excused from undertaking such a task. He had never seen Colonel Hope till the other day, when he desired to find out the real charges that had been made. That distinguished officer had made public charges of corruption, conspiracy, and favouritism, and he had put them in the form of a statutory declaration. It was alleged to be the consequence of this corruption that we had cartridges jammed, bayonets that bent,

and swords that broke and would not cut. It was vital to the public interests that we should get at the bottom of the matter. It was said the charges were not sufficiently definite; but nothing could be more definite than the charges of corruption, favouritism, and conspiracy. They were face to face with this. Charges of a grave character were made; and they were told by Colonel Hope that if a Commission were appointed, with power to grant certificates of indemnity, he would undertake to prove the facts from the mouths of unwilling witnesses. The answer which the Government gave to that was that they would give a Commission, but not a Commission with the necessary powers. That was a kind of thing that could not be allowed to go on. There would be plenty of time during the coming Vacation, short though it might be, to carry on the inquiry by a Commission having proper powers. Charges had been flung broadcast by Colonel Hope, which, if they could not be justified, ought to cause him to be held up, not merely to ridicule, but almost to public infamy. But to ask a private individual to fight single-handed with these charges against high-placed officials who were not made known to the country or the Government was to ask something which in these days even the most chivalrous might be excused from undertaking. If the Government did not give the Commission the necessary powers to investigate these charges they would be charged with burking the inquiry, though he was sure there was no such intention on their part. They would be charged with stifling an inquiry which was of the most vital importance to the country. What he appealed to the Government to do was to adopt the same machinery that had been adopted in the case of Sheffield, and that was still in force at the hearing of Election Petitions, in order to get at the bottom of these terrible charges—charges so vital to the country.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir RICHARD WEBSTER, (Isle of Wight) asked the House to allow him, in a few words, to put before them a true statement of facts in this matter, and to point out how extraordinary and utterly unprecedented was the demand now made upon the Government in reference to the Royal Commission. The demand made

was that powers should be given to this Royal Commission, in addition to the power of summoning witnesses, to indemnify the witnesses against their own misconduct which they might disclose. That power was only given in the rarest cases. It was only under the most exceptional circumstances and in the strongest possible case that any such powers ought to be given; and he would point out to the hon. and learned Member who had just spoken that he had failed absolutely to show the slightest ground for inducing the Government to give such powers to the Commission in this case. With regard to the precedent of the Sheffield Commission, the case was one where during 20 years outrages had been going on against working men, and both masters and workmen combined together to ask Parliament for these special powers, and they were only granted after strong protest in both Houses. They were granted not to protect misconduct in the past, but to prevent outrages in the future. In the case, also, of Election Petitions the powers were given for the purpose of insuring purity of election in the future in the particular towns concerned. He could say, without fear of contradiction, that there was no case in which such an indemnity had been asked for or granted, except where there had been sound and substantial grounds laid before Parliament of existing and known evils which could only be met and dealt with by the machinery of a Commission having such powers. He only wished that the hon. and learned Member had taken a little more pains to find out from Colonel Hope what the real gist of the case made by these three gentlemen was. Instead of there being before the Government any allegation showing that this wholesale corruption and conspiracy existed, or anything to justify them in putting men who had been 25 years in the Service upon their trial, three men, and three only—Mr. Armit, Colonel Hope, and Mr. Lynall Thomas—had, in Memorials which he might, without disclosing anything, say were singularly alike, alleged in general terms that this corruption and this conspiracy existed. Acting on the advice of the Solicitor General and himself, the Secretary of State for War had stated to these gentlemen that if they would in confidence give name, date, and circumstance, he would

undertake to investigate the matter himself. The Government required no one to push them on in this matter. What was the answer received? These gentlemen, who had been so willing at no risk to themselves to bandy about these kind of charges, had declined to do so, because the information was only communicated to them on condition that they would not disclose it except to a Royal Commission possessing the power to indemnify the witnesses. Would the House, for a moment, be justified in paying attention to charges so made against well-trying servants who had served under successive Secretaries of State for War? He thought that any Government would be justified in saying that they declined to take this extraordinary step—a step which was only justified under circumstances of the greatest necessity—without having before them that *prima facie* case, that evidence which would justify any lawyer in framing a charge. There was nothing in any one of these allegations which could have enabled any charge to be framed, either civil or criminal, against the persons supposed to be implicated. Colonel Hope had the remedy in his own hands. That gentleman was able to put the people of this country in possession of what he had made known to the Secretary of State for War. He had, however, a shrewd suspicion that Colonel Hope, who had, through the hon. and learned Gentleman, stated that he was not prepared to carry on this fight single-handed, was desirous to get these statements made through a Government official, so that a plea of privilege could be set up, and that he dared not place his charges before his countrymen, though he had been willing enough to send them through secret channels, where they would not be made public. It was perfectly well known that some of the transactions referred to happened as far back as 25 years ago—transactions which, as was also known, had been inquired into at the time, and had been found to furnish no facts upon which the Government could proceed. Three gentlemen had made these charges. First, there was Mr. Armit. The House knew that at this moment there was an action for libel pending in which the firm of Sir William Armstrong were plaintiffs and Mr. Armit the defendant, and in which the sub-

Sir Richard Webster

on disproof of the charges, of throwing obloquy upon those who had ventured to make statements which were proved untrue. Unless the Commission to be appointed were granted the full powers he asked for, he felt convinced that its limited powers and authority must deprive it of the great weight which it ought to have. He thought that the Minister for War should, for this reason, grant a full and searching inquiry; and if this were conceded the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War would not be pestered to the extent he now was for complete and thorough investigation. It was necessary, in the interest of the country and of the Service and of the Department involved, that the inquiry should take place without delay, and that the Commission should not have to wait for another Session to ask for further powers. Let there be no desire whatever to conceal the truth; and in order to prevent all suspicion of this the Minister for War should make certain that the inquiry about to be held should be a full, fair, and impartial inquiry, so that it might be admitted afterwards with universal consent that justice had been done.

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the right hon. and learned Gentleman had on a former occasion treated him with scant courtesy when he asked what steps he had taken to ascertain the facts. The right hon. and learned Gentleman said he had taken none, but had acted on the information of Mr. Lewis. The right hon. and learned Gentleman had also stated that he had no jurisdiction, and that it was a simple case for the magistrates to adjudicate upon of their own free will. But the fact was there never was a person committed to gaol in Ireland under the Act of Edward III., except by the direct action of the authorities in Dublin without consulting the Resident Magistrates on the question of bail at all. That was a matter of notoriety. The magistrates were never left to their own discretion in such matters, and he was astonished at the Attorney General for Ireland attempting to mislead the House. The right hon. and learned Gentleman admitted that Father Fahy had been sent to gaol owing to the pressure of Mr. Blake, the Sessional Crown Prosecutor for Galway, who was also Mr. Lewis's private law agent. He was the man who proceeded against the very tenants whom Father Fahy was trying to get terms for. And what security had the people there that this was not a conspiracy—as he believed it was a conspiracy—entered into between Mr. Lewis and his own private law agent, who was, at the same time, agent for the Attorney General as Sessional Crown Prosecutor? A more scandalous travesty of justice could not be imagined. Father Fahy denied that he had said a single word about dynamite. He had received the following telegram from the rev. gentleman yesterday in reply to a question as to whether any evidence was brought against him:—

"No evidence whatever was brought. I absolutely deny using the language imputed. It is a baseless fabrication. Blake tried to have me sent to gaol, and Blake is Lewis's private law agent."

He had also a telegram from Father Fahy's solicitor saying the same thing, and he had confirmation of that fact from several other sources. The facts were very simple. The rule was taken by direction of the Castle at the solicitation of Mr. Lewis, whose law agent overruled the discretion of the magistrates, and no attempt was made by the right hon. and learned Gentleman to

inquire into the truth of the charge. What he wanted to know was whether this unfortunate man was to be left in gaol for six months without trial on a charge which he asserted to be false—a trumped-up conspiracy between the landlord and his private law agent, and was no investigation to be held and no justice done?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. HOLMES) (Dublin University) said, he hoped that hon. Members would acquit him of discourtesy if he declined to re-enter at length into this case. The House was aware that it had been discussed three times already, and at very considerable length on the Estimates, and on that occasion he had made four speeches on this very subject. The statement which he made then was the only statement which he could make now. That statement was the foundation of this prosecution, and he assured the House that he had acted in the case as it had been the custom for every Public Prosecutor to act in similar circumstances. Every prosecution was based upon a complaint made by the person who considered himself aggrieved. Having ascertained that there was a *prima facie* case against Father Fahy, he instructed the Sessional Crown Solicitor, the only officer he could employ, to proceed in the ordinary manner.

MR. DILLON said, the Crown Solicitor pressed for a rule of bail in opposition to the express wish of the presiding magistrate.

MR. HOLMES replied, that the case was not one of bail in the ordinary sense of the word, and it was perfectly well known that when a case was not returned for trial the Crown Solicitor could only act in one way. In this case Father Fahy was not returned for trial. [An hon. MEMBER: Why?] Why, it might be that he was perfectly justified in not giving bail; but the Crown did not oppose an application for bail. On the contrary, the Crown invited Father Fahy to give bail, and he refused to do so. The case had been heard in the ordinary way, and, a decision having been given, the Attorney General had no more power to interfere than was possessed by any other Member of that House.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE (Bradford, Central) said, he quite agreed that this was a question now rather for the Go-

Mr. Dillon

stantial matter of the charges was to be the subject of discussion. With regard to Mr. Lynall Thomas, it was well known to the House that he was a gentleman who had a grievance against the Government for a great many years, which he had made the subject of a petition of right before Chief Baron Kelly and a special jury, and the Courts of Law had decided against him. In the case of Colonel Hope, also, it was common knowledge that he was one of those gentlemen who considered that he had been hardly treated by the Department because it had not adopted his gun. He ventured to think that when this matter came to be inquired into there would not be much difficulty in the Royal Commission getting at the real truth. It had been stated that the proposed inquiry would be absolutely abortive unless the indemnity asked for was given. Why the hon. Members had made that assertion, and on what grounds, he was at a loss to conceive, because they both said that they had no knowledge of the charges. But if a tithe of what Colonel Hope put into general language—such as “wholesale conspiracy,” “organized band of corruptors,” and “conspiracy between the highest officials”—existed, the Royal Commission would have no difficulty whatever in finding the facts out. The Government had, moreover, provided against any possibility of a miscarriage of justice. By the terms of the Commission an express direction had been given that if the Commissioners found that they could not get at the truth and desired to have further powers they were to apply to the Government to give them. One of the ablest Judges on the Bench had charge of the matter; and if a case should arise in which a witness refused to give evidence which might incriminate him, there might be the colour of a foundation for granting the special powers asked for. Full powers could be given without an Act of Parliament, although, of course, a Royal Commission could not commit for contempt. He ventured to say that those responsible in the matter, and particularly the Secretary of State for War, had gone to the fullest extent, under the circumstances, having regard to the vague charges which had been made. The Government had not issued the Commission to Colonel Hope. It had issued the Commis-

sion because the Government recognized the existence of a state of things which called for inquiry; it was certain that some guns burst and that some stores were not satisfactory. It had, therefore, been determined early in the Session that there should be the fullest investigation. He only wished that the hon. and gallant and the hon. and learned Members who had spoken had the same knowledge of the facts of the case as had the Government. He only hoped that the House and the country might have an opportunity of judging of the nature of the charges made, and of the language in which those charges were couched. He must say, what the Secretary of State for War had said more than once, that it would be very strange if Colonel Hope, having made it a condition that the document should be returned on the 10th of September, were to put it in his pocket and let nothing more be heard about it. If Colonel Hope made these charges he must bear the penalty. It was only fair that anyone who made such charges should bear the penalty. The outside that the Government could do was to give an opportunity to persons to bring forward their complaints before the Royal Commission; but they could not go out of their way to libel servants, against whom they knew nothing, for the purpose of protecting those who stabbed in the dark. It would be an abuse of their power, and, in fact, unprecedented, to grant the Commission power to indemnify witnesses. He was sure the hon. Gentlemen who had brought this subject forward had no other object in view than that it might be fully and fairly understood by the public; but he must repeat that no further steps could be taken as long as men declined to give names and circumstances connected with the charge.

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—IMPRI- SONMENT OF FATHER FAHY.

OBSERVATIONS.

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.) said, he felt it his duty again to call the attention of the House to the case of Father Fahy, who was lying in prison without trial by the direct action of the Attorney General for Ireland. He believed that Father Fahy was as innocent of the charges preferred against him as any man in that House. He must say that

the right hon. and learned Gentleman had on a former occasion treated him with scant courtesy when he asked what steps he had taken to ascertain the facts. The right hon. and learned Gentleman said he had taken none, but had acted on the information of Mr. Lewis. The right hon. and learned Gentleman had also stated that he had no jurisdiction, and that it was a simple case for the magistrates to adjudicate upon of their own free will. But the fact was there never was a person committed to gaol in Ireland under the Act of Edward III., except by the direct action of the authorities in Dublin without consulting the Resident Magistrates on the question of bail at all. That was a matter of notoriety. The magistrates were never left to their own discretion in such matters, and he was astonished at the Attorney General for Ireland attempting to mislead the House. The right hon. and learned Gentleman admitted that Father Fahy had been sent to gaol owing to the pressure of Mr. Blake, the Sessional Crown Prosecutor for Galway, who was also Mr. Lewis's private law agent. He was the man who proceeded against the very tenants whom Father Fahy was trying to get terms for. And what security had the people there that this was not a conspiracy—as he believed it was a conspiracy—entered into between Mr. Lewis and his own private law agent, who was, at the same time, agent for the Attorney General as Sessional Crown Prosecutor? A more scandalous travesty of justice could not be imagined. Father Fahy denied that he had said a single word about dynamite. He had received the following telegram from the rev. gentleman yesterday in reply to a question as to whether any evidence was brought against him:—

"No evidence whatever was brought. I absolutely deny using the language imputed. It is a baseless fabrication. Blake tried to have me sent to gaol, and Blake is Lewis's private law agent."

He had also a telegram from Father Fahy's solicitor saying the same thing, and he had confirmation of that fact from several other sources. The facts were very simple. The rule was taken by direction of the Castle at the solicitation of Mr. Lewis, whose law agent overruled the discretion of the magistrates, and no attempt was made by the right hon. and learned Gentleman to

inquire into the truth of the charge. What he wanted to know was whether this unfortunate man was to be left in gaol for six months without trial on a charge which he asserted to be false—a trumped-up conspiracy between the landlord and his private law agent, and was no investigation to be held and no justice done?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (MR. HOLMES) (Dublin University) said, he hoped that hon. Members would acquit him of discourtesy if he declined to re-enter at length into this case. The House was aware that it had been discussed three times already, and at very considerable length on the Estimates, and on that occasion he had made four speeches on this very subject. The statement which he made then was the only statement which he could make now. That statement was the foundation of this prosecution, and he assured the House that he had acted in the case as it had been the custom for every Public Prosecutor to act in similar circumstances. Every prosecution was based upon a complaint made by the person who considered himself aggrieved. Having ascertained that there was a *prima facie* case against Father Fahy, he instructed the Sessional Crown Solicitor, the only officer he could employ, to proceed in the ordinary manner.

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MR. SHAW LEFEVRE (Bradford, Central) said, he quite agreed that this was a question now rather for the Go-

Mr. Dillon

vernment than for the Public Prosecutor. The case really was one which the Chief Secretary for Ireland must deal with, because it involved the Prerogative of the Crown. This was a matter in which there was a very strong feeling, not only among Members below the Gangway, but also among many Members sitting above the Gangway. He had looked into the case, and he had come strongly to the conviction that gross injustice had been done. No English lawyer, no English magistrate, no English gentleman could look into this case without coming to the same conclusion. If a case of this kind were to occur in England, and if an English clergyman in such circumstances was sent to prison upon the evidence of a gentleman as to what took place in private between them, and if this clergyman was dealt with as Father Fahy had been dealt with, he ventured to say that there would be the strongest indignation felt throughout the country, and that the Government would be compelled to interfere in the matter. The facts of the case were very simple. The case all turned upon what took place at a private meeting between Father Fahy and Mr. Lewis. There was no corroborative evidence of what took place and what either of them said on the occasion. Father Fahy absolutely denied that he used any language of the kind imputed to him. In Court, Mr. Lewis was allowed to give evidence; but Father Fahy was not able to give evidence on oath, and Mr. Lewis's evidence was not corroborated in any single particular. It was said that the Crown Solicitor exercised undue pressure to induce the magistrate to order Father Fahy to give bail for his good behaviour. It was also said that this solicitor acted as agent for Mr. Lewis, and was, therefore, interested personally in the matter. He had no desire to make an imputation of that kind in a case in which he had no knowledge whatever of the parties, and it would be most improper for him to make any observations upon the charge; but it was most unfortunate that there should be that relation between Mr. Lewis and the Crown Solicitor, because it gave rise to imputations which might have no foundation. Father Fahy could be let out of prison by giving bail; but he naturally said that if he took that course it would be to admit the justice of the

charge made against him, and, therefore, he declined to take that course. He was very much struck by what Father Fahy said to the representative of a Dublin newspaper, who interviewed him—"He said if he gave bail he would be tacitly admitting the truth of the charge against him; he would be admitting that his defence was a falsehood; he would be damaging his character as a minister of religion; and he would be sacrificing the truth in order to escape from prison." That was the language of an honourable gentleman, and he ventured to think that any honourable gentleman would take precisely the same position, and would decline to give bail. If he did otherwise he would be admitting that he committed a very serious offence. [*Cries of "No, no!"*] Some hon. Gentlemen said "No." He ventured to ask hon. Gentlemen present whether they would not take the same course? He could not but think that the Government, in view of this whole case, would be acting wisely in releasing Father Fahy. Unless they did so he would be in prison six months, for he could not now admit he was wrong. He was quite sure that the noble Lord the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who, when he sat below the Gangway, interested himself in cases of this kind, would, if he had been sitting there now, have brought this question before the House, and expressed an opinion as strong as that which he had expressed. He would only add, in conclusion, that it was his conviction that an injustice had been done, and that the Government would do well, in deference to the opinion of the Irish Members, to release Father Fahy.

MR. C. LEWIS (Londonderry) said, he hoped that the Government would not signalize the last day of the Session by perpetrating such an act of weakness as that to which they were invited. [*Cries of "Order!"*]

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Gentleman has spoken already on the Main Question.

MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W., and Sligo, S.) said, the Irish Members were thankful to the right hon. Gentleman above the Gangway (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) for the public spirit which had led him to bring the weight of his authority and his powerful advocacy to bear upon the present case in the interest of justice. The right hon. and

gone, that justice had not been done in this case. There was one point which had not been sufficiently insisted upon, and it was that the very nature of the sentence pronounced showed that the Bench of Magistrates did not entirely believe the testimony that was given. They were told that Father Fahy had practically threatened Mr. Lewis that his house would be blown up with dynamite, and that the rev. gentleman had added that he should feel it his duty to denounce Mr. Lewis from the altar. If the Bench of Magistrates believed fully this testimony, did they do their duty in merely calling upon Father Fahy to find bail? If true, did not Father Fahy's words amount practically to a threat to murder; and if a man made a threat to murder, was it sufficient to call upon him to find bail? Besides, was Father Fahy's evidence of no account? This was one of the cases which showed how much we stood in need of an alteration of the law in respect to criminal cases. When men entered into an altercation and got into a passion things were often alleged to have been said that really were not, and certainly Mr. Lewis's account ought not to have been accepted without any corroboration. Father Fahy indignantly rejected the charge brought against him; so it came to this—that the testimony of one man who was opposed to him was to be taken, while the word of the priest was to be rejected, and he was to be treated as a liar. It was said that no injustice had been done, because Father Fahy could obtain his liberty by giving bail. But if Father Fahy had given bail he would practically have admitted his guilt. Although he (Mr. Picton) did not profess to have very much sympathy with priests of any kind, he was heartily glad Father Fahy had had the manliness to refuse to take any such course. He hoped the Government would yet reconsider the case, and he could not help having some expectation that they would. It was said by the noble Lord the Leader of the House that no Memorial had yet been received in favour of Father Fahy. He (Mr. Picton) hoped it was not impossible that some Memorial might be presented. If Irish Members objected to any such course being taken in Ireland there could be no such objection to a Memorial from England, for it was the

honour of England that He only regretted that means seemed to be offered for conciliation; but, at any rate, there was a spirit in the Government that would lead them to take any opportunity arose to let Father Fahy go free without a stain upon his name.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Sir MICHAEL LAMONT, Bart., Bristol, W.) said, that the Questions that were put to the Government by the hon. Member for West Belfast, and the observations made to the other hon. Members concerning the Belfast Royal Hospital, a deputation of the Belfast Royal Hospital, the Lord Chancellor and the Lord Chamberlain. They placed before him the hospital's finances and the patients treated; but, they did not give information of the precise points which the House knew was requiring the Government. He recognised that the hon. Member already said, the value of the services rendered by the Belfast Royal Hospital, the outdoor and indoor patients, and the fact that he had suffered during the year, he could not, as at present, commend his noble Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer to do so, as it seemed to him (Sir Michael) that the hon. Member (Sir Michael) a very dangerous man, making a grant to the Government for the services it had rendered, did not believe that any such kind had ever been proposed.

MR. SEXTON: There was a case before. SIR MICHAEL LAMONT: There had been plenty of cases in English and Irish towns. Injured had been treated. The numbers of patients in the case were 148 indoor and 148 outdoor, numbers which formed a percentage indeed of the patients treated in the hospital during the year. But, before, the Government had decided that any of the Forces should be treated by the hospital, out being paid for by the Government. He was not sure, but some arrangement existed for payment had been already made when he was informed of the case by the members of the Constabulary.

many military, received treatment in the hospital, he would undertake to look into the matter; and, if there was sufficient ground to recommend his noble Friend to make a grant, he would not hesitate to do so. But he thought that when there had been serious riots of this kind in a town like Belfast, and civilians taking part in the riots, or who had been in the streets when they ought to have been at home, were wounded and taken to the hospital, it was not fair to ask the general taxpayers of this country to make a grant in aid of the local hospital in which the injuries sustained were treated. That was all he had to say about Belfast. In reference to the question of Father Fahy, the discussion which had been going on during that day seemed to him to be somewhat of a repetition of previous debates, and did not call for much in reply; but in regard to some of the matters which had been brought before the House, especially by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. Shaw Lefevre), he should like to say a few words. The right hon. Gentleman had stated in that debate that no English gentleman would for a moment sanction the treatment of any person in England in such a manner as Father Fahy had been treated. He would, however, like to call the attention of the House to the fact that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Newcastle-on-Tyne (Mr. John Morley), who had been in the House on the previous day during the discussion, and who certainly must know a great deal more about the matter than the right hon. Member for Bradford, had taken no part whatever in the debate.

MR. M. J. KENNY (Tyrone, Mid): Why should he? This did not occur during his term of Office.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH said, he did not desire to suggest that the right hon. Gentleman was in any way responsible for what occurred; but from his knowledge of Ireland, and his fairness in dealing with matters that came before him, they might certainly have expected that right hon. Gentleman to have interposed in those debates if he had thought the case to be one of such gross injustice as hon. Members opposite would have the House believe it. It did not seem to him that the right hon. Member for Bradford un-

derstood the point to which he had directed the attention of the House, or the position of the Chief Secretary in the matter. The Chief Secretary had nothing to do with the exercise of the Prerogative of Mercy; the Home Secretary exercised that Prerogative in England, and the Lord Lieutenant exercised it in Ireland on the advice of the Lord Chancellor, or anybody else, including the Chief Secretary, whom he chose to consult.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: I need scarcely say that I knew that; but what I said was that the Chief Secretary might have advised the Lord Lieutenant in the matter.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH said, that he had no right to advise the Lord Lieutenant unless he asked for his advice. He was sure that no one who was acquainted with the division of duty between the Lord Lieutenant and the Chief Secretary would contradict what he had stated. Such cases as that brought forward by hon. Members were not capable of being re-tried in the House of Commons. Hon. Members from Ireland assumed that Father Fahy's story was true—[*Home Rule cheers*—]—and that Mr. Lewis's story was not true; but the magistrates who tried the case were of a different opinion—[“No!”]—or else they would not have required Father Fahy to find bail. Hon. Members had referred to some report that the Resident Magistrate had expressed the opinion that it was a matter of no consequence, and one that might be made up between the two parties concerned. He had seen no such report, and he did not know where the statement was made.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR (Liverpool, Scotland): It is in all the papers.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH said, that a great many things appeared in the papers which were absolutely unfounded. Questions of this kind could not possibly be tried in the House of Commons; and he would venture to say that they ought not, under the Constitution, to be so tried. In the first place, they should be tried by the magistrates, or the Courts whom the law empowered to deal with them; and, secondly, if there was any fault to find on the part of a prisoner with the conviction or the sentence or finding of the Court, a Memorial should be addressed to the Home

Secretary or the Lord Lieutenant, as the case might be, asking him to exercise the Prerogative of Mercy. He was not aware that any such Memorial had been addressed to the Lord Lieutenant in Father Fahy's case. If that course were adopted the Lord Lieutenant was bound by his position to take the Memorial into consideration. He did not intend to express any more opinion than he had already done in regard to this case—that anyone bound over to keep the peace, if he intended to keep the peace, should not hesitate to give bail; and he did not see why Father Fahy should decline to do what he should not object to do under similar circumstances. He protested against cases of this kind being made the subject of frequent debates in the House of Commons unless the Government had taken some action with regard to them, when, of course, it would be open to any hon. Members who desired to do so to challenge that action by the vote of the House.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND (Fermanagh, N.) observed, that every hon. Member on the Benches around him must be indignant at the tone adopted by the Chief Secretary in speaking of Father Fahy as a convicted prisoner. [Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: I was only speaking generally.] He was glad to hear that the right hon. Gentleman did not apply that term to Father Fahy. Hon. Members from Ireland, in bringing forward the case of Father Fahy, did not wish it to be re-tried in that House, because he had not been tried at all in Ireland. What they desired was the expression of the feeling of English Members in regard to the case of Father Fahy. He thought he could say they had received the expression of sympathy of a large number of the English and Scotch Representatives in that House, and what they had said would go far to strengthen their case and the belief of the people in the innocence of Father Fahy. It would also encourage Father Fahy to persevere in the course of action he had taken. The right hon. Gentleman had said that all Father Fahy required to do was to give sureties that he would be upon his good behaviour. He was absolutely astonished that a man in the position of the Chief Secretary for Ireland could have made such a statement. Did he forget that Father Fahy

was accused of threatening to murder a man and to destroy his property, and that to act as the Chief Secretary required would be to admit the truth of the charges?—at least, that would be the interpretation the people would put upon it. He asked what the Chief Secretary would do if he were in Father Fahy's position? Would he give sureties for his good behaviour, and lay himself open to the suspicion that he had been guilty of the charges of threatening to murder and to destroy property? He did not think that the right hon. Gentleman would do anything of the kind; but if the Chief Secretary would adopt that course, he (Mr. Redmond), at all events, did not think that it would be a course that would be adopted by any considerable number of gentlemen and men of honour. It was absolutely atrocious to ask Father Fahy, in order to get the prison gate opened, that he should give bail to be of good behaviour, which would be practically to admit the assertion of Mr. Lewis. Father Fahy was innocent, and he would do nothing that could shake the faith of the people in the belief of his innocence. He warned the Government that to keep Father Fahy a prisoner for six months would raise ill-feeling and tumult in the country. The people would believe that as Father Fahy was imprisoned on one man's statement, that statement was accepted because it was made by a landlord. If the right hon. Gentleman desired to do everything in his power to render it necessary to come to Parliament at an early date and ask for coercive legislation, he could not act in any way more calculated to disturb the public peace than by inviting the people to outstep the law, which they were in danger of doing as long as there was kept in prison a respected minister of the Gospel, who had declared his innocence before God of the charge brought against him, and who was now only in prison upon the word of a single man, and that man notoriously a partizan in the case. He contended that an outrage of this kind would not be tolerated, nor would it be possible, in England or Scotland; and he warned the House of the seriousness of giving approval to a system by which a man's liberty could be filched away on the testimony of a single accuser. If they approved Father Fahy's case it would certainly go forth

Sir Michael Hicks-Beach

to the people of Great Britain as well as to the people of Ireland that any one man could take away another man's liberty simply by swearing an accusation against him. He did not believe that Englishmen or Scotchmen would submit to such a state of affairs. In conclusion, he said if the imprisonment of Father Fahy were continued there would be great indignation, which would lead to disturbance; and in the end the Government, while losing much, would gain nothing by their action.

COLONEL NOLAN (Galway, N.) said, he would invite the Government to take a rational view of the situation. The circumstances were in Father Fahy's favour, as there was no evidence against him except that of an admittedly excited man. They were, in his view, acting a foolish part in making a martyr of this priest, by imposing upon him a punishment which was too heavy, and the most sensible thing they could do was to let him out of prison forthwith.

DR. KENNY (Cork, S.) said, the first grievance of Father Fahy which the Nationalist Party had to complain of in this case was that a responsible officer of the Government should have considered that he was called upon to intervene in the prosecution, as the dispute was one arising between two individuals, and not a breach of the law in the criminal sense. The second grievance was that the proceedings were taken under the provisions of the Statute of King Edward III. which was directed against rogues and vagabonds. Under that Statute, if the Justices believed any part of the evidence, or thought there was any case whatever against the accused, if they did not dismiss the case, they had no option whatever but to put the party charged under a rule of bail, which, if he declined to comply with, they should send him to prison for six months. The meaning of that was that the Government deprived Father Fahy of the opportunity of getting his case before a jury, knowing well that if his case went before a jury of fair-minded men, where the evidence would be given in open Court, there would be no chance in the world of Father Fahy being convicted. No jury would give a verdict against a man upon such evidence as had been given in the case of Father Fahy. He did not believe that many Englishmen would do as the right hon.

Baronet the Chief Secretary had said he would—that he would have no objection to give bail in similar circumstances, which would be to practically acknowledge that he was guilty. He had not read English history aright if it were not that it taught that Englishmen would not sacrifice their honour for their liberty; and there was nothing in their history of which they had more reason to be proud than the fact that, over and over again, men had been found amongst them who preferred the sacrifice of liberty, and even of life, at the altar of duty and principle. He could not, therefore, accept the right hon. Baronet's declaration as representing the real feelings of Englishmen on the question. He believed that if a similar case to that of Father Fahy had occurred in England the Attorney General for England would not have ventured to lend himself to such action as had been taken against Father Fahy; and he hesitated to believe that any English gentleman would have ventured, under similar circumstances, to invoke the aid of the Attorney General, as Mr. Lewis had done in this case. He combated the statement that Parliament was not the place in which to re-try the case; and he contended that Parliament's highest function was to consider all grievances, and cases of injustice which might have been done elsewhere. The right hon. Baronet the Chief Secretary had thrown out a hint for a Memorial for the release of Father Fahy; but he (Dr. Kenny) could assure him, and he assured the House, that the hint was in vain, as no Member of the Irish Party, no respectable Irish Nationalist, would be a party to anything so mean or derogatory as a Memorial of the kind; neither they nor Father Fahy would memorialize—it was not mercy they were demanding, but justice. The case was an infamous, a deliberate attempt to produce a state of things in Ireland that would warrant the Government in the next Session of Parliament demanding coercive legislation. There was no action they could have taken more calculated to inflame the passions of the people in a great portion of a country where the dangers of discord and disorder were great enough already. He wished to add, in conclusion, that he regretted that the right hon. Baronet the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieu-

tenant had made a shuffling excuse for not giving a grant of money to the Royal Hospital at Belfast. That institution depended mainly for support on voluntary contributions; and, owing to the heavy strain on its resources arising out of the enormous number of persons treated in its wards for injuries received during the recent riots, there was now a deficit in its funds, which they had been able to avoid in former years. The hospital, being a voluntary one, might have refused to receive the injured police and soldiers; but what would have been said had it done so? He never knew of any hospital in Ireland shutting its doors to those sick or wounded whilst there was room for them, but the Royal Hospital in Belfast might have done so; and he thought it excessively mean on the part of the Government to avail themselves of its resources for their wounded police and soldiers, and then to refuse, on some technical plea, to come to the aid of the hospital, to make up the deficit caused in its funds through the help it had given to the wounded. Had the Government acted firmly in dealing with Orange rowdies in Belfast, no need would have arisen for the strain on the resources of the Royal Hospital. He and his Friends were convinced there was sinister influence at work preventing the noble Lord the Chancellor of the Exchequer granting the aid sought for, and which he felt that his more generous instincts would lead him to do if he were left to himself. The Irish Party were convinced that the malign influence of certain Gentlemen connected with the Orange Society, and who represented other Divisions of Belfast, was at work to prevent the noble Lord yielding to the very reasonable request of his hon. Friend the Member for West Belfast (Mr. Sexton) in this matter, lest any credit should accrue to his hon. Friend for the action he had taken relative to the subject. In conclusion, he trusted the right hon. Baronet the Chief Secretary for Ireland would look into the matter, and see his way to granting the aid sought for.

MR. MOLLOY (King's Co., Birr) said, a sort of official announcement had been made that day that, if the Irish Members signed a Memorial praying for Father Fahy's release, the document would receive a good consideration from

the Government. Such a Memorial would, however, be an appeal *ad misericordiam*; and consequently, he believed, no Irish Member would append his signature to such a Memorial. The whole basis of their argument in the case was that an injustice had been done. The magistrates saw that the parties were in such a heated condition that it was a case in which the law should not have been brought in. He would have condemned the rev. gentleman if it had been proved that he actually did use the threats alleged. The Attorney General for Ireland had said that all that had been done was in due course of law. But unjust decisions were sometimes given in due course of law; and in all the cases in which he was called upon to interfere it was to avert injustice being done by decisions arrived at in the ordinary course of law. He (Mr. Molloy) had not heard one generous word from any Member of the Government with regard to Ireland; and their enmity was carried on with dogged silence. If in this case they refused to do justice unless the Irish Party acknowledged that Father Fahy was in the wrong, he, for one, would prefer that Father Fahy should remain in gaol. He made no appeal to the Government; he simply stated the case; he showed the injustice; and on the Government must remain the consequences which might follow.

MR. SHIRLEY (Yorkshire, W.R., Doncaster) said, he had voted the other night in favour of the Motion made from the Irish Benches with regard to the imprisonment of Father Fahy; but he must say that on the present occasion he could not follow a similar course. He would briefly explain to the House his reason for that statement. He admitted that, in the absence of a Court of Criminal Appeal, Parliament ought to be regarded as a Court of Appeal; and when any important case arose in which a large number of Members of that House were interested, and in which they believed injustice had been done, they were right in bringing it forward, and having it thoroughly discussed by the House. He did not mean to say that anyone would be justified in bringing up an ordinary case that had been tried at the Assizes or at Quarter Sessions. But when five-sixths of the Members from Ireland took

up a case like this, believing that there had been a failure of justice, they were warranted in their action. At the same time, when the case had been brought up and discussed, as this case had been, he did not think it ought to be re-opened a second time. For that reason he felt unable to repeat the vote he had given the other night when this matter was first brought forward. At the same time, he desired to say that he agreed with a good deal which had been said by hon. Members below the Gangway about the merits of the case. He did think Father Fahy ought not to have been prosecuted in the way described. It seemed to him the prosecution was initiated more for political motives, and the proceedings throughout were unsatisfactory. There was one point on which he was not quite clear, and on which the House had had no information, and that was as to whether Father Fahy went into the witness-box or not. By the Summary Jurisdiction Act of 1879, the defendant was permitted to go into the witness-box and give his version of the transaction on oath. He did not know if the defendant had the same right to do that in Ireland as he had in England. Then the English Act provided a very short and simple method by which a person who had been imprisoned in default of finding sureties might obtain his release. All he had to do was to go again before the magistrates and ask for it. Was the law the same in Ireland as in England? If it was not it was to be regretted. If it was, that was what Father Fahy ought to do. In any case he would make an appeal to the Government of the same nature as had already been made to them by the hon. Member for East Galway (Mr. Sheehy)—namely, that if they would not regard the question as a question of justice, they should, at all events, regard it as a question of policy and tactics, and consider what was the wisest course to take under the circumstances. He would put it to the Government whether they would not be making a mistake by keeping this priest in gaol and allowing him to become a martyr? He did not ask them to make any concession which they could not make with dignity and with due and proper regard for the supremacy of the law in Ireland. Perhaps they would not feel justified in releasing the priest immediately, as it might look

as if they had yielded to clamour; but after that discussion was over and Parliament was prorogued he would suggest that they should take the case into their consideration and open the prison door.

MR. J. F. X. O'BRIEN (Mayo, S.): I think the attitude of the Government throughout these debates has been one of insolent disdain. The Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland says he was not asked by the Lord Lieutenant for his advice. Why, Sir, the right hon. Gentleman is, in this House, the principal Officer of State for Irish affairs, and it is his duty to attend to our demands for redress of grievances. The whole action of the Government lately has been showing the cloven hoof of that wicked policy shadowed forth by the Chancellor of the Exchequer at the beginning of this Session. This episode respecting Father Fahy looks like the first result of the encouragement he gave when he advised landlords to enforce their legal rights strictly—and that the Government would not shrink from recovering the land from the tenants for them. What does this new policy of extermination mean? The present Government objects to that dual ownership of land established by the Land Acts of 1870 and 1881. Apparently, the policy of the Chancellor of the Exchequer is—by the wholesale extermination to which he encourages Irish landlords—to extinguish the tenants' interest in the land, and at a blow to re-establish the single ownership of the landlords. A new clearance of Ireland—to be followed by a new Plantation! This Cromwellian policy will, however, I think, fail in the hands of the new Cromwell—the Chancellor of the Exchequer. As for the Memorial to the Lord Lieutenant on behalf of Father Fahy, recommended to us by the Chief Secretary for Ireland, Sir, we decline to degrade ourselves and Father Fahy by being parties to anything of the kind. A most scandalous travesty of law has taken place in this case of Father Fahy. And it is lamentable to observe how far English Tory Members have allowed themselves to be carried by prejudice and Party spirit in this matter. The conduct of Government towards the Royal Hospital of Belfast has been shabby in the extreme; and surely it is unbecoming of the wealthiest Government in the world to take such a mean

advantage of the humanity of the managers of that hospital—to sponge, in fact, on the poor resources of a charitable institution supported by voluntary contributions.

COLONEL HUGHES (Woolwich) said that, as an English Member who had tried to follow the case, he could not help thinking that Father Fahy wished to figure as a martyr. The magistrates, if they had believed the charge against him, might have imprisoned him, or, if they had not believed it, they might have dismissed him; but they had taken the middle course, often followed where there was a conflict of testimony, and had asked him to give security. The act of giving security was a merely formal affair; and if Father Fahy had taken out a cross-summons he might have had Mr. Lewis also bound over to keep the peace. Even if the magistrates were wrong, this was not the Court to which an appeal from their decision should be brought. It seemed to him to be a waste of time to discuss this very trifling case. He agreed with hon. Members from Ireland that this thing could not happen in England, because no man would be so foolish here as to prefer six months' imprisonment to finding bail. He suggested that the common-sense course would be for Father Fahy to find bail and return to those peacemaking avocations in which, according to hon. Members opposite, he took such great delight.

MR. T. D. SULLIVAN (Dublin, College Green) said, he was surprised that the application for a grant to the Royal Hospital, Belfast, had not been better received.

MR. SPEAKER, interposing, said, that a discussion upon that subject was entirely irregular. He permitted the question to be put; it had been answered, and the subject ought not to be pursued further.

MR. T. D. SULLIVAN said, that in reference to the case of Father Fahy, it seemed to him that the Government jumped at the chance of imprisoning a Catholic clergyman. He marvelled that there was any doubt that the Government had acted injudiciously or unwisely, and concluded that it was the duty of the Government speedily to remedy their gross error. It was a revelation to them to be told that the Chief Secretary could not act till the Lord

Lieutenant asked his advice. The Lord Lieutenant was a mere figure-head, and was not likely to ask the advice of the Chief Secretary on any question save that of the points of a horse. Father Fahy would not make any appeal for mercy; he did not want mercy, but only justice. It was to be feared that this case was an indication of the intention of the Government to pursue an infamous policy, by which they would seek to demoralize the Irish people and to set them in opposition to the machinery and the system of government. The Irish Members could say no more in Parliament now; but they would say a good deal out of Parliament.

MR. T. C. HARRINGTON (Dublin, Harbours) said, they were shut out from bringing this case before the Queen's Bench through the intervention of the Crown Prosecutor. He asked the Government to consider what practical good could result from the Government maintaining their position in regard to Father Fahy? He asked English Members to consider whether, in similar circumstances, finding the law perverted for political purposes, they would give bail to avoid imprisonment? He believed they would not. The continued imprisonment of Father Fahy would do more to foster agitation and discontent in Ireland than the delivery of dozens of speeches by Nationalist Leaders. A Memorial in such a case as that of Father Fahy's would be a greater degradation than giving bail to keep the peace. Father Fahy's was only a typical case. Cases of the same kind were occurring every day where persons were kept in gaol without being admitted to bail or brought to trial. It was this kind of thing which brought the English law into disrepute in Ireland. He defied the Government to persevere in their present course; but the stupid thing was that, though they would not say one gracious word in that House, the moment the Session was closed and they learnt from the authorities in Ireland how dangerous it would be to keep Father Fahy in prison they would let him out.

MR. HARRIS (Galway, E.) said, that this was a case of rank injustice; but out of evil would come good. It would have the effect of rousing the priests in that part of the country in which he lived to the wrongs of their country.

He had had frequently to complain hitherto that they were too backward in taking action against the landlords. His desire was that the Government should take such a course as would drive every priest and Bishop in Ireland into the ranks of the popular Organization. He was one of those who put their names to the "No Rent" Manifesto; and if the Bishops and priests had stood by that Manifesto manfully, instead of giving it a lukewarm support, they would by this time have got rid of landlordism in Ireland. But after the treatment which Father Fahy had received any priest worthy of the name would insist that all his parishioners should join the National League. Turning to another subject, he wished to inquire whether the Irish Commission would be at liberty to inquire with respect to one of the railways?

MR. SPEAKER said, that this matter was in no way relevant to the Appropriation Bill, which contained no provision for the railway.

MR. HARRIS said, he was very anxious to keep in Order, and he believed the Speaker was equally anxious that he should be in Order. He went on to refer to the deficiency of postal arrangements in Ballinasloe and other country towns in Ireland and other subjects, when—

MR. SPEAKER said, he must request the hon. Member to make his remarks more pertinent to the subject of the Bill.

MR. HARRIS remarked, that as he was out of Order he would say no more; but he hoped the Government would look to all these things, and would not put the Irish Members to the trouble of bringing them before the House again. Great complaints had been made about the waste of time of the House; but when they came back there was not a single matter connected with the grievances of their country which they would not go over.

MR. ADDISON (Ashton-under-Lyne): I rise to Order, and wish to ask you, Sir, whether this has any relation whatsoever to the Bill before the House?

MR. SPEAKER: It has nothing whatever to do with the Appropriation Bill.

DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid) said, he could not refrain from commenting on the extraordinary behaviour of Her

Majesty's Government towards Father Fahy, a clergyman belonging to the Roman Catholic Church. During the course of this discussion nothing had struck him more forcibly—nothing brought home to his mind more clearly the fact—that Her Majesty's Government were possessed with their duty of upholding the landlord system, which had had such a baneful effect upon Ireland—than some remarks which fell from the noble Lord the son of the present Premier (Viscount Cranborne), whilst an hon. Friend of his (Dr. Tanner's) was speaking. He was sorry the noble Lord was not now in his place. After making the remark the noble Lord got up and left the House.

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! If the hon. Gentleman had any complaint to make he should have made it at the time. He is not now speaking in any way relevant to the Appropriation Bill, and I must ask him to be more relevant.

DR. TANNER: Certainly, Sir; I was merely—

MR. SPEAKER: Order! The hon. Gentleman must confine his remarks to the Question now before the House—the Appropriation Bill.

DR. TANNER, continuing, said, Father Fahy was a Roman Catholic priest, and, like many of the Roman Catholic priests in the country to which he (Dr. Tanner) had the honour to belong, he had always done his best on behalf of the poor and oppressed and down-trodden tenants. Because he took the side of the tenants, Father Fahy met with the fate which, as a rule, attended all educated people who espoused the popular cause. However the imprisonment of Father Fahy might be regarded by the Protestant population of the South of Ireland—he did not wish to transgress the Rules of the House, but he wished the House to understand the position in which it was placed by this imprisonment—by all the Protestants in Cork, in Dublin, in Belfast, in Limerick, in Galway, and in all the centres of population, the imprisonment of Father Fahy was regarded as a step taken in accordance with the attitude assumed by Her Majesty's Government—namely, that of war on the Irish people. It was regarded as a step taken on behalf of landlordism, on behalf of people who had always gone against the tenants in order to maintain rack-

renting. As a Protestant coming from the South of Ireland, as a Protestant Nationalist Member, he had no hesitation in saying that the landlords of the South of Ireland would regard this step as an intimation to Her Majesty's Government to proceed with a crusade of evictions.

MR. SPEAKER: The question of the landlords in the South of Ireland proceeding to evict has nothing whatever to do with the imprisonment of Father Fahy.

DR. TANNER: I do not wish to argue the case. I was only trying to show that Father Fahy endeavoured to prevent evictions. I shall not pursue the subject any further now. I presume, however, as a medical man, I may be allowed to say a few words with regard to the grant to the Belfast Royal Hospital.

MR. SPEAKER: I have already ruled that that subject is out of Order. I must ask the hon. Gentleman to discontinue his speech for continued irrelevance and disregard of what I have already ruled.

The hon. MEMBER accordingly sat down; but a few moments after rose and, placing his hat upon his head, left the House amid cries of "Order!"

The following is the Entry in the Votes:—

MR. SPEAKER, having called the attention of the House to the continued irrelevance on the part of Dr. Tanner, Member for Mid Cork, directed the honourable Member to discontinue his speech.

MR. A. BLANE (Armagh, S.) said, he wished to call attention to the case of the Crossmaglen prisoners, who were brought from Castlebar and tried and convicted in Belfast by a jury composed of men opposed to them religiously and politically. He commented strongly on the fact that Mr. Justice Lawson was sent down to try these prisoners, being at the time a Member of the Executive. These prisoners having served five years of their sentence, and having presented a Memorial as to the hardship of their trial and sentence, should be liberated. He contended that the change of venue in that case had tended to conviction, and hoped the Government would carefully consider the grievance.

Dr. Tanner

SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE—AFFAIRS OF BULGARIA—ACTION OF THE GOVERNMENT.—OBSERVATIONS.

MR. OREMER (Shoreditch, Haggerston) said, he rose to call attention to the critical condition of affairs in the East. He wished to ask the Government, whether, in the face of the difficulties which existed, and the complications which seemed likely to arise in Europe, they would give the country a pledge that no war should be entered upon without the previous consent of Parliament? He might explain that he now renewed this Question because of the very unsatisfactory character of the reply given by the Chancellor of the Exchequer on Tuesday. In that reply the noble Lord rightly presumed that the putting of the Question implied want of confidence in Her Majesty's Government. It was because the House of Commons was about to separate for some months, and the Government would be left unchecked and uncontrolled, that the Question was again addressed to the noble Lord. The assurance that, in case of any serious difficulty presenting itself, the Government would be sure to act in a Constitutional manner was to him vague and unsatisfactory. He was afraid that too much freedom was permitted to the Government by the Constitution of the country with regard to foreign and Colonial matters. In the case of the annexation, or attempt at the annexation, of Burmah the conduct of the Government might have been Constitutional, but it was very reprehensible; and because he feared that the same course might be pursued with reference to some other portion of the globe during the Recess, he urged the Government, in case of serious difficulty arising in Europe or elsewhere during the Recess, to advise Her Majesty to summon Parliament. To that appeal, made on Tuesday, the noble Lord vouchsafed no reply. The outlook in Europe was of a most serious character. There was in Bulgaria a difficulty which might any day involve the whole of Europe in a fearful struggle. The present attitude of the Press fully justified the course pursued by the friends of peace 30 years ago, and proved the assertion that the verdict of history was always with the friends of peace. There had been rumours of Russia pushing on to Constantinople,

and being allowed to do so by the English Government in return for Russia winking at our remaining permanently in Egypt. In view of those rumours it would be well if a decided and official denial was given to them. These rumours caused feelings of irritation in France, and endangered the peace between the two countries. He hoped that an assurance would be given that if any serious difficulties arose in the Recess Parliament would be convened, in order that the Representatives of the people should have an opportunity of expressing an opinion as to the merits of the dispute before rather than after the country had been committed to a struggle. Hitherto Governments had been in the habit of deciding upon a warlike policy, and then coming to Parliament to pay the bill. That had been the case with regard to Burmah. If the country had been consulted before the annexation was made, a very different conclusion would have been arrived at.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL) (Paddington, S.), who rose at the same time as Sir Wilfrid Lawson, said: I have a particular motive for intervening thus early before the hon. Baronet addresses the House. I make no complaint of the hon. Member for bringing up this question at this hour of the evening (7.50 P.M.), though the proceedings of to-day have been rather protracted. The hon. Member is perfectly within his right, and if he will allow me, in all sincerity, to say so, I honestly respect the opinions which he holds on this subject; but I do not share those opinions myself. They have never been opinions that have commended themselves to a majority of the House of Commons, nor do I think they are opinions largely shared by the people of this country. The hon. Gentleman has raised practically two questions. He has dealt with the Constitutional relations which are supposed to exist between the Executive Government and the Parliament of this country, and he has also dealt summarily, and, if I may say so, roughly, with questions of foreign policy. The discussion of the Constitutional point which he has raised must be a very academical one. The hon. Gentleman holds that the Government of the country, in dealing with Foreign Powers, should not commit itself, or take any step even

of a diplomatic character, without having previously consulted Parliament.

MR. CREMER: I rise to Order. According to the terms of the Question which I asked yesterday, I did not go quite so far as the noble Lord represents. What I asked was that a guarantee should be given that the Government during the Recess would abstain from involving the country in further obligations or responsibilities for warlike operations.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: The hon. Gentleman uses his own language, and I venture to use mine. His may be the best; but practically it means the same thing. I say that the hon. Member holds that the Government of this country ought to take no step, even of a diplomatic character, which might commit the country to any particular course of action, without having previously consulted Parliament. Has the hon. Member reflected on the consequences of that theory? No one has more frequently or more eloquently destroyed that proposition than the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. Gladstone). The logical effect of the proposition would be to place Parliament in the position of the Executive Government. But could Parliament—consisting as it does of two Houses, one with 670 Members and the other with 500 Members—undertake the duties of the responsible Executive Government? That has never been the Constitutional practice in this country, nor anything approaching it. The House of Commons has in late years largely increased its power. I do not in the least find fault with such increase of power; but it has never ventured, nor has any considerable section of the House desired, to place Parliament in the position of the Executive Government of this country. The Executive Government has undoubtedly great latitude of action. If it possesses the confidence of Parliament, it is for the convenience, and indeed necessary for the safety and very existence, of the Empire that that latitude should exist. The Executive Government, it must be borne in mind, only acts so long as it possesses that confidence. The Government is continually giving to Parliament full and complete information with regard to the course of action they take, and from time to time it is open to Parlia-

ment to change the Government of the country, and so to change their policy. I do not know how you can possibly alter for the better that arrangement. I have never heard any argument put forward by any hon. Gentleman holding the opinions of the hon. Member opposite which would lead one to think that it would be possible to make any decided improvement upon the present Constitutional relations between the Executive Government and the House of Commons. The hon. Gentleman alluded to the question of the Burmese War and of the annexation of Burmah. It is quite true that that was a step decided upon outside the walls of Parliament; but it was a matter which, at any rate in the opinion of the Government of the day, required prompt and immediate action, which the summoning of Parliament would have altogether prevented. That was an act which was laid before Parliament almost immediately after it had been committed, and was approved of by the great bulk of the Members of the then House of Commons, the great majority of whom were Gentlemen of the same way of thinking as the hon. Member. Moreover, that action, the Burmese War, on which the hon. Gentleman to a great extent founds his interposition to-night, was altogether approved of, and ratified and followed up by, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian when he came into power. That destroys all the force of the illustration which the hon. Member has given. So much for the Constitutional part of the question. I do not think I could with any advantage to the House go into it further. It is a matter which hon. Members must work out for themselves in their own minds, and undoubtedly it is one that they may discuss to any extent. They may compare the practice of other European nations and the practice of the United States with our own; but I extremely doubt whether, after a careful comparison of the Constitutional practice of this country with that of other countries, they will be perfectly decided in their own opinion that the practice of other countries is preferable to our own. The hon. Member has alluded also to a question of foreign politics, and it is in reference to that matter that I wish to address the House. The particular question of foreign politics which exercises the mind

of the hon. Member, and which rightly exercises his mind, is the state of affairs in the Balkan territory. He is of opinion that that state of affairs may lead to very serious difficulty and dangers, and dangers in which this country might become involved. Well, Sir, I would point out, in the first place, that he is discussing a question of foreign politics, on which it has not been as yet within the power of the Government to give official information to Parliament. The hon. Member has founded most of his opinions upon what he has seen in the newspapers; and no more unsafe guide — I say it with all respect — for an hon. Member who wishes to address the House on foreign politics can be found than the statements and opinions given in the public Press, and using those opinions and statements in the House of Commons unsupported by official testimony. This state of affairs in the Balkan territory is undoubtedly serious, and it might at any moment undoubtedly become critical. The hon. Member has expressed himself with very great freedom about the action of Russia, and the probable action of Russia and of the other Powers; but he must be aware that it is absolutely impossible for any Member of the Government to follow him in his opinions or his speculations—the very crisis, the very difficulty and danger, which the hon. Member is so anxious to guard against might be, to a certain extent, precipitated if the Government were to be so incautious as to follow the hon. Member into his speculations. Moreover, I would point out to the hon. Member and those who sit near him that they cannot divest themselves of a considerable responsibility with regard to the state of things in the East of Europe, which is serious and may become critical, if they allow themselves, in the absence of official information, to be committed to opinions of such width and freedom as those stated by the hon. Member. Foreign countries watch closely the debates in this House. Foreign Ministers are not accurately acquainted with the relative positions of hon. Members and Ministers of the Crown; and undoubtedly it would be perfectly natural and probable that foreign Ministers should attach to the utterances of the hon. Member as a Member of the House of Commons, or to the utterances of those who sit near

him with regard to the action of foreign countries, almost as much weight as they would attach to the utterances of Ministers of the Crown. That is why I must ask hon. Gentlemen to excuse the Government from dealing at all with this question of the state of affairs in the Balkan territory. Moreover, I would appeal to those who sit near him to follow the example of the Government, and to abstain from discussing those questions at all. The hon. Gentleman the Member for Haggerston (Mr. Cremer) asks for a guarantee that the Government will not commit this country to any serious and strong action with regard to any questions which may arise out of this state of things in the Balkan territories without summoning Parliament and taking Parliament into their confidence. Obviously, no Government would think of deciding upon strong and definite action which might involve a portion of the Empire, with regard to questions of this kind, without immediately summoning Parliament and placing the whole case before them, and asking for the confidence and the support of Parliament in the action they intended to take. That is a state of things which has frequently arisen, and that arose in the case of the Egyptian War. To go back to an earlier period, it arose in the case of the Afghan War. It arose, also, with regard to the state of things which existed—a very critical state of things—on the North-West Frontier of Afghanistan in the year 1885. On all these occasions the Government came to Parliament, stated the case which they had to present, the action which they proposed to take, and asked for the confidence and support of Parliament in their action.

MR. CREMER: After the fighting had been begun?

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: No; certainly not with regard to the state of affairs on the North-West Frontier of Afghanistan, and certainly not with regard to the Egyptian War. It is true that the bombardment of Alexandria did precede the application to Parliament. That is true; but the actual military operations in Egypt were not even begun until Parliament had been consulted. Even the preparations for those operations were not begun until Parliament had granted a Vote of Credit.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON (Cumberland, Cockermouth): But the bombardment took place.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: That certainly took place; but the preparations for the military operations—which certainly came very near war—were not begun until Parliament had been consulted. So it was with regard to the North-West Frontier of Afghanistan. The Government of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. Gladstone), before proceeding to any strong or definite action, came to the House and asked for a large credit. I am quite prepared to pledge this Government that we will act within the lines of precedent. I do not see how any British Government could for a moment hesitate to give such a pledge; but beyond that pledge it would be absolutely impossible for me to go. I do not think the hon. Member can really desire more than that pledge. The hon. Gentleman is a friend of peace; he belongs, I understand, to a Society which hopes to bring about a state of universal peace and to obtain a settlement of all international disputes by arbitration. I think that is an admirable Association, against the objects and aims of which I shall never say one word. I only hope that the principles which that Association professes may become more powerful and popular as time goes on. But I would point out that it is not always the avowed friends of peace who obtain peace, or produce peace, by their acts. Never was there a greater friend of peace, in the opinion of all classes—never was there a more devoted friend and insurer of peace—than Lord Aberdeen. But if there was one thing on which history is unanimous, it is that the action of the Government of Lord Aberdeen and the well-known peaceful proclivities of Lord Aberdeen were as much as anything else the cause of the Crimean War. I allude to this to show the hon. Gentleman that the action of the friends of peace must be controlled by the ordinary rules of prudence and common sense by which such inferior mortals as Ministers are obliged to guide their conduct. But, generally speaking, with regard to this question in Bulgaria, the hon. Gentleman may be perfectly confident that the Government are fully alive to the critical—I will not say critical—to the serious

state of things which may become critical which there prevails. The hon. Gentleman may recollect that the policy Lord Salisbury's Government pursued last October with regard to the equally critical state of things in that part of the world received the approval of all Parties in this House. It was not censured even by those who agree with the hon. Gentleman. It was approved in the most marked and public manner by the right hon. Member for Mid Lothian. Am I making too large a demand on the hon. Member? I am not appealing to him now as a partizan; I am appealing to him as an independent Member of the House of Commons. Am I making too large a demand upon him if I say that the action which the Government—the Conservative Government—took last October, and which met with universal approval, constitutes some claim upon the House generally to repose a considerable amount of confidence in the treatment which the present Government are likely to give to this state of affairs in Bulgaria? The aim of the Government in all these great foreign and European questions is to maintain in its efficient form the concert of Europe for the purpose of preserving the peace of Europe. We have no other object outside that. None. We know that if we are successful in attaining that object we shall have preserved in its most effectual form all those great British interests about which the hon. Member is so anxious. I ask the hon. Gentleman and those who agree with him to realize that I am not making any appeal to them on this subject lightly, unreflectingly, or for the purpose of avoiding any inconvenient discussion. It is because I am convinced that any discussion—if any should arise—without the House being in possession of information might lead to most serious misinterpretations abroad, and might facilitate, accelerate, or precipitate those very evils which the hon. Member is really so anxious to avoid.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON (Cumberland, Cockermouth) said, he thanked the noble Lord for the courteous, temperate, and able way in which he had answered the Questions of his hon. Friend the Member for Haggerston; but his answer had not quite satisfied them, and they would like to discuss the subject a little further. Everybody was aware that emergencies might arise

in which it was the duty of the Executive to act at once; but it was equally well known that wars nowadays were gone into deliberately, and after some sort of consultation. The noble Lord told them that they might take it for granted that the Government would act in a Constitutional way, and for the interests of the country. Of course, everybody acted in a Constitutional way, because no one knew what Constitutionalism really was. Why should they trust the present Government upon questions of foreign policy? It was not appointed to settle the Eastern Question. It was appointed to settle the Member for Mid Lothian, and it had settled him. It was the duty of the Opposition, acting on the maxim once laid down by the noble Lord himself, to oppose the Ministry on all suitable occasions. Although they knew the opinion of the Government on the Irish Question, they did not know its opinion on the Eastern Question; and they wanted to have it clearly stated that no new engagements, no confederacies, no complications should be entered into until the policy was plainly laid before the Representatives of the people. He denied that this involved any interference with the action of the Executive. All they wanted was one broad declaration of policy from the noble Lord. The Eastern Question was just this—Were they to spend money and men in keeping the Turks at Constantinople and preventing the Russians going there? At the present moment everybody knew that the approach of Russia towards Constantinople was within a more measurable distance than it had ever been within the lifetime of the present generation. That state of affairs, so far from causing a scare, was being taken by the people very quietly. The newspapers were taking it calmly and rationally, and when newspaper editors got rational we might expect almost anything. All he asked was that the noble Lord should declare that he was in favour of a policy of non-intervention. The noble Lord was in a great position now. He had no trouble on his hands at present, except a little war in Burmah and one in Belfast. He led the House with ability and approbation. The Liberal Unionists had gone into seclusion. He had behind him 319 Gentlemen who would follow him on every

Lord Randolph Churchill

question wherever he went. In short, he was like the Dictator in the Spanish Republic, who was told on his deathbed that he was to forgive his enemies. "I have none," was the reply, "I have shot them all." The noble Lord had sent all his enemies to the House of Peers. Now was his chance. Now was his opportunity for proving that he was a great statesman. The noble Lord in his heart, he believed, agreed with every word he was saying, for he had a suspicion that the noble Lord was the biggest Radical in the House, and some day his 319 followers behind him would find that out. Let him get up, or let somebody else get up for him—anyone would do it, if he told them to do it—and say that he, on behalf of this country, did not care two straws whether the Turks or the Russians were at Constantinople, he would have gone a great way to settle the Eastern Question, as far as this country was concerned, and to promote the peace of Europe and the world. He would become the head pacificator of Europe; he would send the Radicals away in a happy and grateful frame of mind; and he would make himself an everlasting name as the Minister who, for once in a way, had spoken common sense on a question of foreign policy.

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton), differing from the noble Lord, thought that the suggestion of his hon. Friend the Member for Haggerston was essentially a practical suggestion. In other countries the Legislatures had a voice in the liabilities and obligations which were incurred by their Governments, and that had been found in practice to work most advantageously. In the United States every Treaty was submitted to the Senate and confirmed before being adopted by the country. The United States thus could live at peace and amity with other countries, and they were not ever meddling in disputes which did not concern them. In France, again, the Executive could not undertake any war without the consent of the Legislature; and he asserted that, had a similar power been vested in the British Legislature before the bombardment of Alexandria, the assent of the British Parliament to the bombardment would not have been given at that moment to the Executive, and the lives and treasure subsequently spent in Egypt might have been saved.

When the noble Lord appealed to them not to discuss the Eastern Question on the ground that it might shake the confidence of Foreign Governments in Her Majesty's Government, who ought to be considered as acting for the nation collectively, he would point out to him that his Government had not the confidence of that House or of the country. [*Ministerial laughter.*] Surely hon. Gentlemen opposite were aware that the Liberal Unionists took every opportunity of saying that, with the exception of matters regarding Ireland, they had no confidence in the Government. Now, they must consider what was the policy of the Conservative Government when last in power and in a majority. At that time Lord Salisbury was strongly in favour of the maintenance of the Turkish Empire, and most anxious that we should go to war then in order to defend the Turkish Empire against Russian aggression. They wanted foreign countries to understand that there was a Party in this country—it might be a minority—who did not agree with the traditional policy of this country—the maintenance of the Turkish Empire in the Mediterranean. As regarded Bulgaria, again, it would be infinitely better that we should not interfere the least in the matter. We ought to let the Bulgarians chose their own Governor, and let the Russians, Turks, and Austrians fight it out as they liked. We might look on with sorrow and regret that persons should be so foolish as to fight; but certainly, if we were wise, we should not join in it, and envenom it by so doing. Why were we in Egypt? Because, as the Chancellor of the Exchequer had said, he felt it necessary to continue the policy of the right hon. Member for Mid Lothian. [The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: Never.] Well, it was to carry out the obligations of the preceding Government. And so it always was—succeeding Governments were bound by the engagements of their Predecessors; but each protested against the action of the other. We were not in Egypt for the benefit of the Egyptians, or that of Turkey, or that of Europe, who all wished us away; and we were not there for our own, for our remaining there cost us £300,000 or £400,000 a-year. We were there simply because we had a vague idea that a policy of grab was a good policy. We were not

like the dog in the manger, because the animal was in his own manger; but we were like a dog in somebody else's manger. Let the Chancellor of the Exchequer read over the excellent speeches he had made on the subject when not in Office, and give effect to them now that he was in power. There was an idea that the Red Sea route was necessary to us for the defence of India; but military and naval men were agreed that if we went to war with a Naval Power we should close the Red Sea route at Aden and send everything round by the Cape. Therefore, there was not the slightest necessity for us to hold Egypt or the Suez Canal, or for our meddling unnecessarily with what went on in Turkey. If Russia went to Constantinople we might regret it; but it would be most unwise to go to war to prevent it. There had been other illusions as to India. In point of fact, we were the aggressors and not the Russians. Russia naturally wanted to get to the sea; we were perpetually interfering to prevent her doing so; and Russia retorted by pushing on towards our Indian Frontier, but without any intention of invading India. If Russia were at Constantinople India would be safer than it was now, because Russia would be satisfied, and the two countries would live in peace and amity. There was no reason why we should not always be the best friends with Russia, except that we were always interfering with her natural rights and the necessity of her position. The Colonies would not stand by us if we got into trouble through meddling with paltry questions of European boundaries and disputes. If we kept up a strong Navy, and maintained communication with our Colonies, no country would attack us if we did not interfere in affairs that did not concern us. Within the last 100 years we had not been involved in war because we were attacked; but we had drifted into war because we had meddled in matters that did not concern us. The country was now anti-Jingo. The former Government of Lord Salisbury was turned out because it was too Jingo; and the Liberals did not win at the last Election because, notwithstanding Radical protests, we remained in Egypt. If the present Government wished to remain in power they would do well to remember what had occurred to both Lord

Salisbury and the right hon. Member for Mid Lothian, and they would openly declare that we washed our hands of all European troubles, that we had nothing to do with them, and that we would not interfere with them, but that we would have a strong Navy, we would maintain our communication with our Colonies, and that we would only go to war with any country that directly attacked us.

Main Question put, and *agreed to*.

Bill read the third time, and *passed*.

ADJOURNMENT.

Resolved, That this House will, at the rising of the House this day, adjourn till Saturday.—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.*)

House adjourned at a quarter after Nine o'clock till Saturday.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Thursday, 23rd September, 1886.

PUBLIC BILL — *Second Reading* — *Committee negatived* — *Third Reading* — *Consolidated Fund (Appropriation),* and passed.*

ARMY — EFFICIENCY OF THE NEW RIFLE — INSTRUCTIONS TO THE COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY — THE RESERVE FORCES.

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

THE EARL OF WEMYSS, in rising to ask the Under Secretary of State for War, What instructions have been given to the Committee appointed to inquire as to the efficiency of the new rifle; and, what are the intentions of the Government regarding the Reserve Forces? said, that latterly the condition of their military armaments was a question which occupied considerable public attention, and it was not creditable to the Government of this country that some British guns were in their present unsatisfactory and inefficient condition. He pointed to the unsatisfactory condition of the armaments of the country, declaring that our big guns burst, our bayonets bent, and our

swords broke—a condition of things which should not exist in a country which prided itself upon its manufacturing ability. He had been a Member of a Committee on Small Arms some years ago, and when the length of the rifle was reduced it was thought necessary to add to the length of the bayonet, with the result that they were much weaker. He could not but hope that the Government, in view of the proposal to adopt a new rifle, would consider the question of the bayonets also. It was not, however, to these points that he desired to call attention on the present occasion. What he wished to do was to ask for information concerning the new rifle, and the intentions of the Government as regarded the organization of the Reserve Forces. No one was more anxious than himself to see an improved weapon; but the question was whether the improvements in this new rifle would make it worth while to change the arm? He believed that these new rifles had only been so far adopted in the Service that a certain number of them were issued for trial, and that the Reports had come in and would be submitted to the consideration of a Committee. He should like to know who were to be the Members of that Committee; what its instructions were, and whether its inquiry was confined simply to consideration of these Reports, or whether they had the power to consider whether it was desirable or not to have this rifle or some other rifle? His own belief was that the present Martini-Henry rifle was, for all practical military purposes, as good a weapon as could be desired. It had been already tested in the field, and had done good service. He had a letter from the Colonel of the Seaforth Highlanders, than whose testimony in favour of the Martini-Henry nothing could be stronger. That letter showed that even in sandy, dusty districts of the Soudan in no one instance had a rifle become unserviceable by any defect of the rifle. With reference to the second part of his Question, as to what were the intentions of the Government as regarded the organization of the Reserve Forces, he had three years ago called attention to the fact that the Militia was in a rotten state, it being 30,000 below its proper Establishment, and it also contained 30,000 men who properly belonged to the Army Reserve; and both

in its numbers and its organization this branch of the Force required improvement. He asserted that the Militia Reserve, which was the backbone of the Army, ought to be increased. With regard to the Yeomanry, he believed that it might be made a most valuable force if it were turned into a kind of Rifle Cavalry. The Volunteers were the only part of the Reserves which were thoroughly satisfactory in point of numbers; but they were so deficient in point of equipment, in transport, in commissariat, and in field artillery that they were practically useless. In his opinion, it was absolutely necessary that the whole Volunteer Establishment should be properly equipped. What was required in our military administration was that the truth should be spoken more freely. He maintained that both Parties were to blame for the present unsatisfactory condition of the Reserves. He should be surprised to see any ex-Secretary of State for War get up in his place and state that he had been thoroughly satisfied with the way in which his Department had been treated by the Cabinet and by the Chancellor of the Exchequer when he was in Office. At present great injustice was being done to the British taxpayer; but he believed that if the Secretary of State for War, or the First Lord of the Admiralty, would come forward and tell the constituencies that the state of things was unsatisfactory, and would threaten to resign unless an increase of expenditure were granted, the British taxpayer would gladly assent to a loan of £10,000,000. Such distrust had arisen with regard to these matters, that a Committee had been formed, called the Imperial Defence Committee, of which Lord Napier was a Member, and which had been joined by Representatives of all our great Colonies. Its object was to endeavour to find out in all directions what our deficiencies were; to open the eyes of the nation by Questions and Motions in both Houses of Parliament; and, if necessary, to hold public meetings, which at any rate would call the attention of the "man in the street" to the real state of our military and naval defences. He must apologize for troubling their Lordships with these observations at this time, and in conclusion begged to ask the Under Secretary of State for War the Question of which he had given Notice.

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Lord HARRIS) said, there was no need for the noble Earl to apologize for engaging their Lordships' attention on a subject of such vital importance to the nation as its defence. He, however, had scarcely been prepared for the somewhat wide range which the noble Earl's speech had taken on that occasion. Had the noble Earl during the last six weeks when the House was sitting daily enlivened and interested their discussions by speeches as brilliant as that he had delivered that evening their proceedings would have been a little more interesting. In the course of his speech the noble Earl had ranged from England to Dulcigno; but, for his own part, he should content himself by answering the Questions which the noble Earl had put to him. The noble Earl had asked what instructions had been issued to the Committee on the Enfield-Martini rifle? Those instructions were—

"To consider the Reports which had been made on the 1,000 Enfield-Martini rifles issued to the troops for trial, and to submit recommendations as to any modifications in the rifle and bayonet which they might consider desirable, looking to the experience gained in the trials and to the suggestions of officers who have reported on the arms."

He did not happen to remember all the names of the Committee; but upon it were Colonel Philip Smith, Sir Henry Halford, Mr. Guy Dawnay, and Colonel Tongue, who were all men of great practical experience. The noble Earl had suggested that Mr. Ross should be added to the Committee on account of his thorough practical knowledge of the use of the rifle; but he would point out that Colonel Smith, Mr. Guy Dawnay, and others with large practical knowledge of the use of the rifle were on the Committee, and, without detracting at all from the experience of Mr. Ross, he thought it would hardly be advisable to add to the membership of the Committee, which was sufficiently large already. The noble Earl had gone into the question of guns, bayonets, and swords, and the Government hoped to obtain all the information necessary from the Commission. He could assure the noble Earl that upon this question the Government would take all recommendations into consideration. He was not surprised that the noble Earl was rather anxious as to whether the new rifle would drive

the Martini-Henry from the field, because the noble Earl was instrumental in introducing the latter weapon.

THE EARL OF WEMYSS: No; I was only on the second Committee, after the Martini-Henry had been adopted.

LORD HARRIS: But the noble Earl was strongly in favour of the Martini-Henry.

THE EARL OF WEMYSS: Yes.

LORD HARRIS: And, speaking in regard to it in 1871, the noble Earl said the wish of everyone was to provide the British Army with the best rifle possible. Now, he (Lord Harris) would use that very language, and it was with that object that the Committee was now sitting. There was nothing binding the Government to adopt the new weapon. They only wished to know if it was better than the Martini-Henry; and obviously it was the duty of the War Department to keep abreast of the advance and improvement in all such weapons. It would be of the greatest advantage, for instance, that a rifle should be as light as possible, which would admit of the soldier carrying the largest possible supply of ammunition.

THE EARL OF WEMYSS: But the new rifle is heavier.

LORD HARRIS was not saying whether the new rifle was heavier or not. He was only saying what the noble Earl said in 1871, when of two patterns of the Martini-Henry the shorter rifle was adopted because it was lighter. Those were questions which it was necessary to take up; and the noble Earl need not be afraid that the new rifle would be adopted without due caution and care being taken to secure that it was an improvement. Some suggestions which the noble Earl had made on the subject would receive due consideration. Then, as regarded the organization of the Reserve Forces, that must depend upon the mobilization of the Army Corps, and there was a scheme now under consideration in reference to the matter. The points referred to by the noble Earl in reference to transport had not escaped the notice of the Government. He thought that the observations of the noble Earl were directed very much towards registration of transport in localities. That was a matter which had certainly not escaped the attention of the Government; and he hoped sincerely that before very long

they would have at their disposal all the means of obtaining information upon the point. The noble Earl had made charges against the Militia which he must repudiate *in toto*. The noble Earl said it was in a perfectly rotten condition.

THE EARL OF WEMYSS: As regards numbers.

LORD HARRIS said, he must deny that the Militia was in a rotten condition even as regarded numbers. The figures showed that the Militia, in the last two or three years, had been rapidly improving. With regard to recruiting, in 1881-2 the number was 23,432, in 1882-3 the number was 32,049, in 1883-4 it was 36,047, and in 1884-5 it had increased to 40,917, nearly 5,000 more than in the year before. The numbers coming up to the preliminary and other drills had also decidedly improved. Then, as to recruit absentees, in 1881-2 the 10s. bounty was partially abolished, and in the next two years wholly abolished. The percentage of absentees for the five years previous to the abolition of the 10s. bounty was in 1876-7 24 per cent, in 1877-8 21 per cent, in 1878-9 16 per cent, in 1879-80 14 per cent, and in 1880-1 12 per cent. In the year 1881-2 it was 3.9 per cent, in 1882-3 it was 4.7 per cent, in 1883-4 it was 1.4 per cent, and in 1884-5 it was 1.6 per cent. Since the abolition of the 10s. bounty, therefore, the percentage of absentees had dropped to 1.6 per cent. That, he thought, was a state of things which the noble Earl must admit was satisfactory. Then, as regarded the quality of the men, out of 172 Reports from inspecting officers 159 ranged from fair and very fair to very good and most satisfactory. With respect to the waste from the Militia, it was more than met now by the numbers that joined. In 1885 the net increase over the waste was 3,816, and in 1884 4,940, making a total of 8,756; and if that increase continued in a few years the Establishment would be complete. At present it was 17,907 short, and he admitted that if they included those absent without leave it amounted to 28,334. The comparative annual increase and decrease in the Militia during the last five years showed that the annual average strength might be taken as 108,227, the annual average increase as 35,225, and the annual average decrease as 37,248, making an an-

nual average deficit of 2,023. The last five years showed a decrease in 1881 of 5,357, in 1882 of 6,899, and in 1883 of 6,614, and an increase in 1884 of 4,940, and in 1885 of 3,816. In the last two years it had improved so remarkably that he thought the noble Earl must admit that the condition of the Militia as regarded numbers was not in the rotten condition that he represented. From figures placed before him that day he thought he might fairly say that the satisfactory state of things which had been going on during the last two years was likely to be maintained this year. He acknowledged that the drain from the Militia into the Regulars was increasing; but, on the other hand, he found that there was a much larger number of men who had been discharged from the Army joining the Militia. He did not think that upon those figures, which the noble Earl could have got for himself by referring to the Report of the Inspector General of Recruiting, the noble Earl was justified in saying that the Militia as regarded numbers was in a thoroughly rotten condition. With respect to the Yeomanry, he entirely agreed with the statements of the noble Earl; and if the regiments were willing to become Rifle Cavalry it would be the very best thing they could do. He did not think that there could be a more useful body of men for the protection of the interior of England than such a body as the Yeomanry. The men were used to horses and to the rifle, and as a body they could move about with celerity from spot to spot. Personally, he hoped that this was a change which would take place. The condition of things agricultural, however, was so bad just now that the Yeomanry were suffering more than any other branch of the Service. As to the field artillery, he was informed on the very highest authority that it required constant and daily practice to be properly and efficiently worked, and the question was one which had not escaped the attention of the Government. With regard to transport and commissariat, he had referred to that matter; it depended entirely upon the mobilization of the Army Corps. As to the Volunteers, the noble Earl knew that the Government had under consideration at the present moment the question of an increase of the capita-

tion grant. The Government recognized quite as clearly as the noble Earl did the enormous advantage which it was to the country to have a Volunteer Army such as ours was. Beyond the fact of having a body of trained men there was the enormous advantage of improved physique and of military discipline to be calculated among a large body of men now passing through the Volunteers, and there was also the effect which all this must have upon a large body of the people. The Government were fully alive to these advantages, and they quite recognized the absolute necessity of the Government and the country giving as much support as possible to the Volunteers. But he thought it was the bounden duty of every Government to take care that in these matters which the country had to pay for there should be an adequate return for the money. He thought there was a suspicion of a covert sneer in the reference which the noble Earl made to the remarks of the Secretary of State for War in "another place" as to the interests of the taxpayers. It was not only the duty of a responsible Government to see that this adequate return was secured, but it stretched further, and it was the duty of every Legislator, whether elective or hereditary, to consider the interests of the ratepayers. He could assure the noble Earl that it was not only the wish, but also the present intention, of the Government to do as the Secretary of State for War said in "another place;" and, to use the noble Earl's own words, to put such a Volunteer Force as would be adequate to the wants of the nation in as satisfactory a condition as possible. He could not conceive a more satisfactory statement than this with regard to the Volunteers; and he hoped that in a short time, now that the Returns had come in, the Government would be able to say what it was that they proposed to do with reference to the increase in the capitation grant. He could not sit down without congratulating the noble Earl upon the fact that, having for some time back cared for the liberty and property of the individual, he was now turning his attention to a wider field, and had taken up the question of the defence of the Empire. He did not know whether the advice which the noble Earl was likely to get from the "man in the street" was of great advantage; but he was quite

sure it would swell the records of the Committee which was about to be formed. He hoped the statements which he had been able to make would not be considered unsatisfactory by the noble Earl.

THE EARL OF WEMYSS said he would withdraw the word "rotten," and say that the state of the Militia was thoroughly unsatisfactory. He maintained that this was the condition of that Force, even according to the noble Lord's own showing. As regards the granting of field artillery to the Volunteers, of course, the officers who advised the War Department, being Royal Artillerists, looked for perfection in such matters. But half-a-loaf was better than no bread, and he was sure that the Artillery Volunteers, if they had these guns, would attain a very respectable degree of efficiency in the use of them.

CONSOLIDATED FUND (APPROPRIATION) BILL.

Read 2^a (according to order); Committee negatived: Then Standing Order No. XXXV. considered (according to order), and dispensed with: Bill read 3^a, and passed.

House adjourned at a quarter past Five o'clock, to Saturday next, a quarter before Twelve o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Saturday, 25th September, 1886.

MINUTES.]—SELECT COMMITTEE—*Report*—Employers' Liability Act (1880) Amendment [No. 24].

PUBLIC BILLS—*Royal Assent*—Consolidated Fund (Appropriation) [50 Viet. c. 1]; Secret Service Repeal [50 Viet. c. 2]; Submarine Telegraph Act (1885) Amendment [50 Viet. c. 3]; Disturbances at Belfast Inquiry [50 Viet. c. 4]; Expiring Laws Continuance [50 Viet. c. 5].

PROVISIONAL ORDER BILLS—*Royal Assent*—Elementary Education Confirmation (Birmingham) [50 Viet. c. i.]; Elementary Education Confirmation (London) [50 Viet. c. ii.]; Local Government (Poor Law) (No. 7) [50 Viet. c. iii.]; Local Government (County Divisions) [50 Viet. c. iv.]; Local Government (Gas) [50 Viet. c. v.]; Local Government (No. 3) [50 Viet. c. vii.]; Local Government (No. 6) [50 Viet. c. viii.]; Pier and Harbour [50 Viet. c. ix.]; Tramways (No. 1) [50 Viet. c. x.]; Local Government (No. 8) [50 Viet. c. xi.]; Local Government

Lord Harris

(No. 9) [50 *Vict.* c. xii.]; Local Government (Ireland) (Public Health Act) (No. 2) [50 *Vict.* c. xiii.]; Local Government (No. 7) [50 *Vict.* c. xv.]; Local Government (Highways) [50 *Vict.* c. vi.]; Local Government (No. 5) [50 *Vict.* c. xiv.]; Local Government (No. 10) [50 *Vict.* c. xv.]; Local Government (No. 11) [50 *Vict.* c. xvii.]; Electric Lighting [50 *Vict.* c. xviii.]; Gas (No. 2) [50 *Vict.* c. xix.]; Public Health (Scotland) (Urray Water) [50 *Vict.* c. xx.]; Tramways (No. 2) [50 *Vict.* c. xxi.]; Tramways (No. 3) [50 *Vict.* c. xxii.].

PROROGATION OF THE PARLIAMENT—
HER MAJESTY'S SPEECH.

THE PARLIAMENT was this day prorogued by Commission.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR (Lord HALSBURY) acquainted the House that Her Majesty had been pleased to grant two several Commissions; one for declaring Her Royal Assent to several Bills agreed to by both Houses of Parliament, and the other for proroguing the Parliament:—And the LORDS COMMISSIONERS—namely, The LORD CHANCELLOR; The EARL of IDDESLEIGH (Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs); The LORD STANLEY of PRESTON (President of the Board of Trade); The EARL of KINTORE (Captain of the Yeomen of the Guard); and The LORD SHUTE (Viscount Barrington) (Captain of the Gentlemen at Arms)—being in their Robes, and seated on a Form between the Throne and the Woolsack; and the COMMONS being come, with their Speaker, and the Commission to that purpose being read, the ROYAL ASSENT was given to several Bills.

Then THE LORD CHANCELLOR, pursuant to Her Majesty's Command, delivered Her Majesty's Speech, as follows:—

"My Lords, and Gentlemen,

"I AM glad to be able to release you from your arduous duties.

"My relations with foreign Powers continue to be friendly.

"The mutiny of a portion of the Bulgarian army has led to the abdication of Prince Alexander. A Regency has been established, which is now administering the affairs of the Principality, and preparations are being made for the election of his successor,

in accordance with the provisions of the Treaty of Berlin.

"In answer to a communication addressed by the Porte to the Signatory Powers, parties to that Treaty, I have stated that, so far as this country is concerned, there will be no infraction of the conditions guaranteed by Treaties to Bulgaria. Assurances to the same effect have been given by other Powers.

"The demarcation of the Afghan frontier has advanced to within a few miles of the Oxus. In view of the approach of winter, my Commission has been withdrawn; but the information which they have obtained will be sufficient for the determination, by direct negotiation between the two Courts, of the portion of frontier which still remains unmarked.

"Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

"I thank you for the supplies which you have voted for the requirements of the public service.

"My Lords, and Gentlemen,

"I have directed the issue of a Commission to inquire into the circumstances which appear to have prevented the anticipated operation of recent Acts dealing with the tenure and purchase of land in Ireland.

"I have observed with much satisfaction the interest which in an increasing degree is evinced by the people of this country in the welfare of their Colonial and Indian fellow-subjects; and I am led to the conviction that there is on all sides a growing desire to draw closer in every practicable way the bonds which unite the various portions of the Empire. I have authorised communications to be entered into with the principal

Colonial Governments with a view to the fuller consideration of matters of common interest.

"I pray that the blessing of Almighty God may be with you."

Then a Commission for proroguing the Parliament was read.

After which,

THE LORD CHANCELLOR said—

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

By virtue of Her Majesty's Commission, under the Great Seal, to us and other Lords directed, and now read, we do, in Her Majesty's Name, and in obedience to Her Commands, prorogue this Parliament to Thursday the Eleventh day of November next, to be then here holden; and this Parliament is accordingly prorogued to Thursday the Eleventh day of November next.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Saturday, 25th September, 1886.

The House met at a quarter before Twelve of the clock.

QUESTIONS.

OFFICE OF WORKS (FURNITURE DEPARTMENT)—MEMORIAL OF ASSISTANTS.

Mr. LAWSON (St. Pancras, W.) asked the First Commissioner of Works, If his attention has been called to a Memorial presented by four assistants in the Furniture Department of the Office of Works dismissed in 1884; whether they have asked for an impartial inquiry to elicit all the facts of the case, not known at the time of the dismissal of MacGillivray and his three fellow clerks; and, whether, under these circumstances, he will reconsider the decision which was then arrived at to refuse all further inquiry?

THE FIRST COMMISSIONER (Mr. PLUNKET) (Dublin University): The case of the four assistants in the Furniture Department of the Office of Works dismissed in 1884 was, I am informed, very carefully gone into at the time, and has been further considered by each of my Predecessors in Office, and I cannot hold out any hope that I can depart from their decisions; but I shall read through the Papers myself with a view to seeing whether any new facts have been adduced.

ROYAL PARKS AND PLEASURE GARDENS—KEW GARDENS.

Mr. MACDONALD CAMERON (Wick, &c.) asked the First Commissioner of Works, Whether the seats promised to be put on the Thames frontage of Kew Gardens have been placed there; and, if not, when they will be; whether any further decision has been arrived at as to the opening of Queen's Gate for public use; and, if not, would he state the reason; whether it is proposed to remove the brick wall around the Gardens in Richmond Road; and, whether the authorities will permit smoking in the grounds of the Gardens?

THE FIRST COMMISSIONER (Mr. PLUNKET) (Dublin University): Sir, I will see that any promises which have been made as to placing seats on the Thames frontage of Kew Gardens shall be carried out without delay. As to the opening of Queen's Gate—or more properly the Temperate House Gate—that suggestion has frequently been made to the Office of Works, and especially urgently and repeatedly by the hon. Baronet the Member for the Kingston Division of Surrey (Sir Whittaker Ellis); but we have never been able to admit that a sufficient case has been made out. If ever the Lichfield Road is extended to the station, a new gate at the end of that road and immediately opposite the station will, we believe, meet the wants of the public. As to removing the brick wall round Kew Gardens, I am informed that that could not be done without injury to the Gardens, and without exposing many of the valuable shrubs in them to the destructive effects of easterly winds and dust. As to the suggestion to permit smoking in the grounds, that question is new to me; but I shall inquire into it.

INDIA—NAVANCORE—EXCLUSION OF
M. MONTDAR.

MR. HUNTER (Aberdeen, N.) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether there is any objection to lay upon the Table the Correspondence between Her Majesty's Government and the French Government relating to the exclusion of M. Montdar from Navancore, and the alleged injustice of which M. Montdar complains of having received from the Government of India?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (SIR JAMES FERGUSSON) (Manchester, N.E.), in reply, said, this was a matter which really related to the Indian Department; but he was informed by that Department that they could not agree to presenting the Papers, because the matter was one of a personal character, and not of public importance.

WESTERN AUSTRALIA (LAW AND
JUSTICE)—APPOINTMENT OF
THIRD JUDGE.

MR. DEASY (Mayo, W.) asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies, If it is the intention of the Government to adhere to the 75th Regulation of the Colonial Office in making the appointment of Third Judge in Western Australia?

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (MR. RITCHIE) (Tower Hamlets, St. George's) (who replied) said, that the Colonial Office was not aware of any proposal to the effect stated in the Question of the hon. Member.

GREAT BRITAIN AND SPAIN—TREATY
OF EXTRADITION.

MR. F. S. STEVENSON (Suffolk, Eye) (for Mr. SHIRLEY) (Yorkshire, W.R., Doncaster) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether any Extradition Treaty exists with Spain; and, if not, whether such a Treaty can be negotiated, so that criminals may not escape justice by going to a Foreign Country?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (SIR JAMES FERGUSSON) (Manchester, N.E.): Yes, Sir; there is an Extradition Treaty with Spain, concluded on June 14, 1878, and still in force.

ACCESSION OF HER MAJESTY THE
QUEEN—CELEBRATION OF
THE JUBILEE.

MR. LAWSON (St. Pancras, W.) (for Mr. SHIRLEY) (Yorkshire, W.R., Doncaster) asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether it is the intention of the Government that the jubilee year of Her Majesty's accession to the Throne should be appropriately celebrated in some National manner, so as to give pleasure and satisfaction to all loyal subjects; and, if so, can he state whether the Government have considered the manner in which such celebration would most fitly take place; and, whether their attention has been drawn to the recent suggestion of the Prince of Wales as to the Colonial Exhibition?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL) (Paddington, S.): Of course, it will be of great interest to the Government that the jubilee year of Her Majesty's Reign should be marked by appropriate celebrations; and, of course, the Government will consider the question, as far as it may lie within their province to do so. But all celebrations of this kind will probably possess greater value in proportion as they arise from the spontaneous action of the people.

PUBLIC WORKS (IRELAND)—CONSTITUTION OF THE PROPOSED
ROYAL COMMISSION.

MR. MURPHY (Dublin, St. Patrick's) asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether he could give the names of the gentlemen who would constitute the Royal Commission on Public Works in Ireland?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL) (Paddington, S.), in reply, said, it was not in the power of the Government at present to do so. The matter was one which required very careful consideration.

EVICTIONS (SCOTLAND)—EVICTION ON
THE CHISHOLM ESTATE, INVER-
NESS-SHIRE.

MR. WALLACE (Edinburgh, E.) said, he wished to ask the Secretary for Scotland a Question of which he had given him private Notice.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL) (Paddington, S.): My right hon. Friend is not here.

MR. WALLACE, continuing, said, the Question was, Whether the attention of the right hon. Gentleman had been drawn to a paragraph in *The St. James's Gazette* on the 22nd September, headed "Scotch Evictions," in which a correspondent stated that an eviction took place during the preceding week on the Chisholm estate, Inverness-shire, the farmer and his wife being turned out on the roadside? The hon. Member then read the whole of the paragraph.

MR. ADDISON (Ashton-under-Lyne), rising to Order, asked the Speaker whether it was in Order to read to the House a long article from a newspaper?

MR. SPEAKER said, it was not out of Order if the hon. Member was laying the foundation for an Answer; but it might be for the convenience of the House if the hon. Member would abridge the quotation.

MR. WALLACE: I cannot shorten it, because I have finished. The remainder of my Question is to this effect—

PROROGATION OF THE PARLIAMENT.

Message to attend The Lords Commissioners;—

The House went;—and a Royal Commission to that purpose having been read, the *Royal Assent* was given to several Bills.

And afterwards Her Majesty's Most Gracious Speech was delivered to both Houses of Parliament by the Lord High Chancellor (in pursuance of Her Majesty's Command).

Then a Commission for proroguing the Parliament was read.

After which,

THE LORD CHANCELLOR said—

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

By virtue of Her Majesty's Commission, under the Great Seal, to us and other Lords directed, and now read, we do, in Her Majesty's Name and in obedience to Her Commands, prorogue this Parliament to Thursday the 11th day of November next, to be then here holden; and this Parliament is accordingly prorogued to Thursday the 11th day of November next.

[TABLE OF STATUTES.]

TABLE OF ALL THE STATUTES

PASSED IN THE FIRST SESSION OF

THE TWENTY-FOURTH PARLIAMENT OF THE UNITED KINGDOM
OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

50 VICTORIA.—A.D. 1886.

PUBLIC GENERAL ACTS.

1. **A**N Act to apply a sum out of the Consolidated Fund to the service of the year ending on the thirty-first day of March one thousand eight hundred and eighty-seven, and to appropriate the Supplies granted in this Session of Parliament.
2. An Act to repeal the enactments authorising the issue out of the Consolidated Fund of money for Secret Service within the United Kingdom.
3. An Act to amend the Submarine Telegraph Act, 1885.
4. An Act for facilitating the proceedings of the Commissioners appointed to hold a Court of Inquiry respecting Riots and Disturbances at Belfast.
5. An Act to continue various expiring Laws.

The Acts contained in the following List, being PUBLIC ACTS of a Local Character, are placed amongst the LOCAL AND PERSONAL ACTS.

- i. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order made by the Education Department under the Elementary Education Act, 1870, to enable the School Board for Birmingham to put in force the Lands Clauses Consolidation Act, 1845, and the Acts amending the same.
- ii. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order made by the Education Department under the Elementary Education Act, 1870, to enable the School Board for London to put in force the Lands Clauses Consolidation Act, 1845, and the Acts amending the same.
- iii. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order of the Local Government Board under the provisions of the Divided Parishes and Poor Law Amendment Act, 1876, as amended and extended by the Poor Law Act, 1879, relating to the Parish of Broadwell, and to the Hamlet of Filkins.
- iv. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order of the Local Government Board under the provisions of the Redistribution of Seats Act, 1885, relating to the Parish of Misson.

- v. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board under the provisions of the Gas and Water Works Facilities Act, 1870, and the Public Health Act, 1875, relating to the Borough of Droitwich, and the Local Government Districts of Marsden and Penrith.
- vi. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order of the Local Government Board under the Highways and Locomotives (Amendment) Act, 1878, relating to the County of Montgomery.
- vii. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to the Improvement Act District of Cambridge, the Local Government Districts of Cheshunt and Cleckheaton, the Borough of Portsmouth, and the Rural Sanitary Districts of the Stockport and Wangford Unions (two).
- viii. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to the Borough of Burslem, the Local Government District of Denton and Haughton, the Borough of Dewsbury (two), the Local Government District of Heckmondwike, the Boroughs of Lancaster and Southport, and the Local Government Districts of Ulverston and Widnes.
- ix. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the General Pier and Harbour Act, 1861, relating to Ballyshannon, Buckpool, Coldingham, Cullen, Dovercourt, Dunbar, Loch Ranza, Lynmouth, Mevagissey, Newlyn, Penarth, Saint Ives, Shanklin, and Wexford.
- x. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Tramways Act, 1870, relating to Dudley, Stourbridge, and Kingswinford Tramways, Great Grimsby Street Tramways (Cleethorpes Extension), Halifax and Districts Tramways, Jarrow and Hebburn and District Tramways, and North Staffordshire Tramways.
- xi. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to the Boroughs of Bangor and Bradford (Yorkshire), and the Local Government District of Tyldesley-with-Shakerley.
- xii. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order of the Local Government Board relating to the Local Government District of Panteg.
- xiii. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board for Ireland relating to Galway and Londonderry.
- xiv. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to the Rural Sanitary District of the Barnet Union, the Boroughs of Kingston-upon-Hull and Newport (Mon.), and the City of York.
- xv. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to the Borough of Bradford (Yorks), the City of Chichester, the Local Government Districts of Cleator Moor and Hornsey, the Districts of Maryport, Southborough, and Tunbridge Wells, and the West Kent Main Sewerage District.
- xvi. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to the Boroughs of Gateshead and Kingston-upon-Hull, the Local Government District of North Bierley, and the Boroughs of Stockport and Wigan.
- xvii. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to the Local Government District of Dukinfield, the City of Manchester, and the Rochester and Chatham Joint Hospital District.
- xviii. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order made by the Board of Trade under the Electric Lighting Act, 1882, relating to Chelsea.
- xix. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Gas and Water Works Facilities Act, 1870, relating to Abingdon Gas, Hoddesdon Gas, Honley Gas, Horley District Gas, and Langley Mill and Heanor Gas.
- xx. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order under the Public Health (Scotland) Act, 1867, relating to Urray Water.
- xxi. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Tramways Act, 1870, relating to Bradford Corporation Tramways, Drypool and Marnfleet Steam Tramways, City of Oxford and District Tramways, and Stratford, Ilford, and Romford Tramways.
- xxii. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Tramways Act, 1870, relating to Birmingham and Western District Tramways, Birmingham Central Tramways (Extension), South Birmingham Tramways (Extension), and South Staffordshire and Birmingham District Steam Tramways.

LOCAL ACTS.

*The Titles to which the Letter P. is prefixed are Public Acts
of a Local Character.*

- P. i. **A**N Act to confirm a Provisional Order made by the Education Department under the Elementary Education Act, 1870, to enable the School Board for Birmingham to put in force the Lands Clauses Consolidation Act, 1845, and the Acts amending the same.
- P. ii. An Act to confirm a Provisional Order made by the Education Department under the Elementary Education Act, 1870, to enable the School Board for London to put in force the Lands Clauses Consolidation Act, 1845, and the Acts amending the same.
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- P. xv. An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to the Borough of Bradford (York), the City of Chichester, the Local Government Districts of Cleator Moor and Horsey, the Districts of Maryport, Southborough, and Tunbridge Wells, and the West Kent Main Sewerage District.

- P. xvi.** An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to the Boroughs of Gateshead and Kingston-upon-Hull, the Local Government District of North Bierley, and the Boroughs of Stockport and Wigan.
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- P. xx.** An Act to confirm a Provisional Order under the Public Health (Scotland) Act, 1867, relating to Urray Water.
- P. xxi.** An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Tramways Act, 1870, relating to Bradford Corporation Tramways, Drypool and Marfleet Steam Tramways, City of Oxford and District Tramways, and Stratford, Ilford and Romford Tramways.
- P. xxii.** An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Tramways Act, 1870, relating to Birmingham and Western District Tramways, Birmingham Central Tramways (Extension), South Birmingham Tramways (Extension), and South Staffordshire and Birmingham District Steam Tramways.
- xxiii.** An Act to extend the time for purchasing Lands and completing the Railways and works authorised by the Exeter Teign Valley and Chagford Railway Act 1883.
- xxiv.** An Act for authorising the release of the Balance of the Deposit Fund remaining deposited as security for the completion of certain of the Tramways authorised by the Plymouth Devonport and District Tramways Act 1882.
- xxv.** An Act to enable the Mayor Aldermen and Burgesses of the Borough of Salford to purchase waste lands in the Borough and for other purposes.
- xxvi.** An Act to extend the time for the purchase of Lands and completion of certain Works authorised by the Moore Street Market and North Dublin City Improvement Act 1882 and for other purposes.
- xxvii.** An Act to enable certain fundamental Rules of the Institution called "The Warehousemen and Clerks' Schools for orphan and necessitous Children" to be repealed altered or amended at a special Court of the Institution and for other purposes.
- xxviii.** An Act for further extending the time for the completion of the Works authorised by the Drainage and Improvement of Lands Supplemental Act (Ireland) 1878 as extended by the Commissioners of Public Works in Ireland.
- xxix.** An Act to amend the Ionian Bank Act 1882 and for other purposes.
- xxx.** An Act for incorporating the Woodstock Railway Company and for other purposes.
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- xxxiv.** An Act to incorporate a Company and to authorise the sale and transfer to them of the Harbour of Ardrossan and for other purposes.
- xxxv.** An Act for incorporating into a separate Company the holders of shares and stock in the railway undertaking of the Muswell Hill Estate Company Limited and for other purposes.
- xxxvi.** An Act to extend the time for constructing the Chatham and Brompton Tramways.
- xxxvii.** An Act for incorporating the Barry and Cadoxton Gas and Water Company and conferring powers on them for the construction of works the supply of Gas and Water and for other purposes.
- xxxviii.** An Act to extend the District and the limits of Water Supply of the Local Board for the District of Nelson in the County of Lancaster and to confer upon them further powers with respect to the acquisition and management of a Recreation Ground and the improvement and government of their District and the raising of money; and for other purposes.
- xxxix.** An Act to empower the North London Tramways Company to raise new Capital; and for other purposes.
- xl.** An Act to extend the powers of the Rotherham and Bawtry Railway Company for the acquisition of Lands for and the completion of their authorised Railways; and for other purposes.
- xli.** An Act to provide for the acquisition of Parliament Hill and other Lands and their addition to Hampstead Heath.
- xl.ii.** An Act to extend the Powers of Section 37 of the Metropolitan Railway Act 1885 for the Purchase and Extinction of the Divided Ordinary Stock of the Metropolitan Railway Company; and for other purposes.
- xl.iii.** An Act to authorise the Seacombe Hoylake and Deeside Railway Company to construct Extension Railways; and for other purposes.
- xliv.** An Act for conferring further powers on the Halifax High Level and North and South Junction Railway Company in relation to their undertaking and for other purposes.
- xlv.** An Act to authorise the Mersey Railway Company to extend their Railway in Birkenhead and for other purposes.
- xlvi.** An Act to confer further powers on the Midland and South-western Junction Railway Company and for other purposes.

- xlvii. An Act to authorise the construction of a Railway between Portsmouth and Hayling Island with a Bridge available for road traffic over the southern entrance to Langstone Harbour and other works and for other purposes.
- xlviii. An Act to enable the Sutton and Wil- loughby Railway Company to extend their Railway to Mablethorpe in the Parts of Lindsey in the County of Lincoln and to confer upon them further powers in relation to their Undertaking; and for other purposes.
- xlix. An Act to authorise the Manchester Shef- field and Lincolnshire Railway Company the Sheffield and Midland Railway Companies Committee and the Cheshire Lines Commit- tee respectively to construct new Railways and other works and to confer further powers upon that Company and those Committees in connexion with their respective Under- takings and for other purposes.
1. An Act to explain and amend the Bank of South Australia Act, 1884; and for other purposes.
- ii. An Act for the Abandonment of the Mid- land and Central Wales Junction Railway.
- lii. An Act to incorporate the Plymouth and Devonport (Extension) Tramways Company and to authorise that Company to acquire and complete certain Tramways constructed under the Plymouth Devonport and District Tramways Act 1882 and to construct certain other Tramways in the county of Devon and for other purposes.
- liii. An Act to revive the powers for the con- struction of a portion of the Railway autho- rised by the Rosebush and Fishguard Railway Act 1878 to authorise the North Pembroke- shire and Fishguard Railway Company to construct a deviation Railway and for other purposes.
- liv. An Act for conferring further powers on the Bridgewater Railway Company in rela- tion to their Undertaking and for other pur- poses.
- lv. An Act to confer further powers upon the Neath Harbour Commissioners, to alter the Constitution of the Commissioners, and for other purposes.

[SITTINGS OF THE HOUSE.

GENERAL INDEX TO SESSION 2, 1886.

EXPLANATION OF THE ABBREVIATIONS.

It being a principal object of this Index, that the proceedings on each Motion shall be completely recorded, some abbreviations of forms were necessary. Those who are accustomed to the proceedings of Parliament will readily fill up the voids. Those who are not so familiar, may find the following explanation useful, but will find the whole *formulæ* set out at length in the "Contents."

The names which immediately follow the title of a Bill are those of the Peers or hon. Members who have charge of the Bill.

The numbers which are added at stages of Bills are the official numbers of the prints and reprints ordered at each stage, and, with the Statute, will enable the reader to follow all the changes the Bill has undergone.

The entries—Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2^d;" Amendt. "this day six months;" Question put, "That 'now,' &c."—indicate the usual form of raising the issue—namely, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

"*The Ballot*, Amendt. on Committee of Supply" indicates that the Question was raised by means of an Amendment moved on the Motion (after the Order of the Day for the House to go into Committee of Supply had been read), "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair." In this case the issue is formally raised by the Motion "To leave out from the word 'That' to the end of the Question, in order to add" other words. the decision is taken on the Question, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

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- (Mr. Sexton, Mr. M'Cartan, Mr. Biggar, Sir Thomas Esmonde, Mr. Arthur O'Connor, Mr. Carew)

c. Ordered; read 1^o Aug 20

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- c. Ordered; read 1^o Aug 23 [Bill 26]
- 2R. [Dropped]

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(*Tipperary, S.*), *Mr. Hooper, Mr. Patrick*

O'Brien, Mr. Biggar, Dr. Tanner)

c. Considered in Committee; Resolution agreed to, and reported; Bill ordered; read 1^o *Aug 20* [Bill 13]

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c. Ordered; read 1^o * Aug 20 [Bill 15]

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Consolidated Fund (Appropriation) Bill (*Mr. Courtney, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Jackson*)

e. Motion for Leave (*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer*) Sept 18, 935; after short debate, Motion agreed to; Bill ordered; read 1^o *

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2^o" Sept 20, 1073; after debate, Question put; A. 176, N. 66; M. 110 (D. L. 44)

Order for Committee read; Moved, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair"

[*cont.*]

Consolidated Fund (Appropriation) Bill—cont.

309] Sept 21, 1128; after short debate, Question put, and agreed to; Committee; Report Moved, "That the Bill be now read 3^o"

Sept 22, 1270; after debate, Motion agreed to; Bill read 3^o

l. Read 1^o * (*Lord Stanley of Preston*) Sept 22 Read 2^o *; Committee negatived; read 3^o Sept 23

Royal Assent Sept 25 [50 Vict. c. 1]

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Country Fairs (Ireland), Question, Mr. Carew; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) Sept 7, [308] 1465

Imports from the Dominion of Canada, Question, Mr. Anderson; Answer, The Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (Lord John Manners) Sept 6, [308] 1323

Splenetic Blood Poisoning at Arnesby, Leicestershire, Question, Mr. Tapling; Answer, The Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (Lord John Manners) Sept 7, [308] 1467

Swine Fever—Inoculation, Question, Sir Richard Paget; Answer, The Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (Lord John Manners) Aug 30, [308] 777

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c. Ordered; read 1^o. Aug 23 [Bill 29]
2R. [Dropped]

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Disturbances at Belfast Inquiry Bill

(*Mr. Attorney General for Ireland, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland*)
 c. Motion for Leave (*Mr. Attorney General for Ireland*) Aug 24, 482; after short debate, Question put, and agreed to; Bill ordered; read 1^o [Bill 35]
 Questions, Mr. Sexton; Answers, The Attorney General for Ireland (Mr. Holmes), The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Lord Randolph Churchill) Aug 30, 797; Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Lord Randolph Churchill) Aug 31, 897
 2R. deferred, after short debate Sept 6, 1456
 Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2^o" Sept 7, 1607; after debate, Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. E. Harrington*); after further short debate, Motion withdrawn
 Original Question put, and agreed to; Bill read 2^c
 Order for Committee read; Moved, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair" (*Sir 309 Michael Hicks-Beach*) Sept 10, 157; after short debate, Question put, and agreed to; Committee
 Moved, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again" (*Sir Michael Hicks-Beach*); Question put, and agreed to; Committee—*n.r.*
 Committee; Report Sept 14, 492
 Considered *; read 3^o Sept 15
 l. Read 1^o * (*Earl Cadogan*) Sept 16 (No. 21)
 Read 2^a; Committee negatived; read 3^a Sept 20, 951
 Royal Assent Sept 25 [50 Vict. c. 4]

Divorce (Law of Evidence Amendment) Bill (*Mr. Henry Howorth, Mr. Genl. Davis, Mr. R. Mowbray*)

c. Ordered; read 1^o * Aug 23 [Bill 20]
 2R. [Dropped]

DIXON-HARTLAND, Mr. F. D., Middleser, Uzbridge

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DORINGTON, Sir J. E., Gloucester, Tewkesbury

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DUFF, Mr. R. W., *Banffshire*

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DUNCAN, Colonel F., *Finsbury, Holborn*

Army—Charges against the Ordnance Department, [308] 1322

War Department—Military Stores and Equipments—Constitution of the Commission, [309] 539;—Quartermasters, [308] 1728; [309] 601

Army Estimates—Medical Establishments and Services, [308] 1328

DYKE, Right Hon. Sir W. H. *Kent, Dartford*

Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, [308] 336, 723, 726

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT (ENGLAND AND WALES)

A Minister of Education—Report of Commons Committee, 1884, Question, Sir John Lubbock; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Lord Randolph Churchill) *Sept 9*, [308] 1753

Elementary Education Abroad—Mr. Matthew Arnold's Special Report, Questions, Mr. Picton, Mr. Baumann; Answers, The Vice President of the Council (Sir Henry Holland) *Sept 20*, [309] 979

Endowed Schools—Removal of Christ's Hospital, Question, Mr. Bonsor; Answer, The Vice President of the Council (Sir Henry Holland) *Aug 30*, [308] 785

Inspection of Welsh Schools—Inspectors' Reports, 1884-5, Question, Mr. Thomas Ellis; Answer, The Vice President of the Council (Sir Henry Holland) *Sept 6*, [308] 1317

Intermediate and Higher Education (Wales), Question, Mr. Thomas Ellis; Answer, The Vice President of the Council (Sir Henry Holland) *Sept 9*, [308] 1747

Pensions to Teachers, Questions, Mr. Conway; Answers, The Vice President of the Council (Sir Henry Holland) *Sept 10*, [309] 25

Schemes of the Charity Commissioners, Question, Mr. F. S. Powell; Answer, The Vice President of the Council (Sir Henry Holland) *Sept 9*, [308] 1741

School Accommodation in the Metropolitan Districts, Question, Sir Julian Goldsmid; Answer, The Vice President of the Council (Sir Henry Holland) *Aug 30*, [308] 776

School Accommodation—Board v. Denominational Schools, Question, Mr. Maclure; Answer, The Vice President of the Council (Sir Henry Holland) *Sept 11*, [309] 333

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT (England and Wales)—cont.

School Board Elections—Counting and Declaring the Votes, Question, Mr. Baumann; Answer, The Vice President of the Council (Sir Henry Holland) *Sept 6*, [308] 1319

The London School Board—Sale of Land, Question, Mr. Buxton; Answer, The Vice President of the Council (Sir Henry Holland) *Sept 13*, [309] 171

The Federated Radical Clubs—Payment of Fees, Question, Mr. Baumann; Answer, The Vice President of the Council (Sir Henry Holland) *Sept 22*, [309] 1264

Education (Grants to Schools)

Amendt. on Committee of Supply *Sept 9*, To leave out from "That," add "this House is of opinion that it is expedient that every school conducted in suitable premises, with an attendance of not less than thirty scholars, under a duly certified teacher or teachers, and complying with the other provisions of the Code, and favourably reported on by Her Majesty's Inspector as being efficiently taught, shall be entitled to a share in the annual Parliamentary Grant for Public Education" (*Mr. Conway*) *v.*, [308] 1757; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after short debate, Amendt. withdrawn

EGYPT

British Trade with the Soudan, Question, Mr. Jennings; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir James Fergusson) *Sept 2*, [308] 1035

Finance, &c.—The 5 per Cent Deduction from the Coupons—Repayment by England, Observations, Sir George Campbell; Reply, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Lord Randolph Churchill) *Sept 18*, [309] 929

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The Army of Occupation—Health of the Troops at Assouan, Question, Mr. R. G. Webster; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. W. H. Smith) *Sept 9*, [308] 1739; Question, Mr. Buxton; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. W. H. Smith) *Sept 21*, [309] 1100

Electric Lighting Provisional Order Bill

(*Mr. Charles Acland, Mr. Mundella*)

c. Read 1^o *Aug 26* [Bill 278]

Read 2^o *Aug 30*

Report *2^o*: Considered; read 3^o *Sept 3*

l. Read 1^o (*Earl of Onslow*) *Sept 6* (No. 13)

Read 2^o *Sept 9*

Committee *2^o*: Report; read 3^o *Sept 16*

Royal Assent *Sept 25* [50 Vict. c. xix]

Elementary Education Provisional Order Confirmation (Birmingham) Bill [H.L.]*(The Lord President)*

- l. Read 1st; read 2^a; Committee negatived; read 3^a Aug 30 (No. 96)
 c. Read 1st; read 2^a Aug 30 [Bill 272]
 Report * Sept 3
 Read 3^a * Sept 6
 l. Royal Assent Sept 25 [50 Vict. c. i]

Elementary Education Provisional Order Confirmation (London) Bill [H.L.]*(The Lord President)*

- l. Read 1st; read 2^a; Committee negatived; read 3^a Aug 30 (No. 97)
 c. Read 1st; read 2^a Aug 30 [Bill 273]
 Report * Sept 3
 Read 3^a * Sept 6
 l. Royal Assent Sept 25 [50 Vict. c. ii]

ELLIOT, Hon. H. F. H., *Ayrshire, N.*

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ELLIS, Mr. J. E., *Nottingham, Rushcliffe*

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ELLIS, Mr. T. E., *Merionethshire*

Education Department—Inspection of Welsh Schools—Inspectors' Reports, 1884-5, [308] 1317
 Intermediate and Higher Education (Wales), [308] 1747

Emigration—The Emigrants' Information Bureau

Question, Mr. Rankin; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. E. Stanhope) Aug 28, [308] 546

Employers' Liability Act—Amendment of Act

Question, Mr. F. S. Powell; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) Sept 10, [309] 22

Employers' Liability Bill

(Colonel Nolan, Mr. Burt, Mr. Arthur O'Connor)
 c. Ordered; read 1st * Aug 20 [Bill 2]
 Bill withdrawn * Sept 10

Employers' Liability Act (1880) Amendment Bill

(Mr. Burt, Mr. Broadhurst, Mr. Joicely, Mr. Haldane, Mr. Lockwood)

c. Ordered; read 1st * Aug 20 [Bill 17]
 2R. [Dropped]

ESMONDE, Sir T. H. G., *Dublin Co., S.*

Army (Auxiliary Forces)—Cavan Militia—Lieutenant W. H. Malcolmson, [308] 260

Army (Ordnance Department)—Colonel Hlope's Gun, [308] 1463

Army Estimates—Militia Pay and Allowances, [308] 1357, 1361

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India (North-West Provinces)—Nayat Ali Khan, [309] 168

Ireland—Questions

Dispensaries—Ely Dispensary, Co. Fermagh, [308] 883

Dublin Port—Dues on Fishing Boats, [308] 372, 1082

Kingstown "Bird's Nest"—Detention of Children, [308] 1724

Law and Justice—Arrest of Mr. Mortimer Doyle, [309] 966

Piers and Harbours—East Pier of Kingstown, [308] 882

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2R. deferred *Sept 13*, [309] 329

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l. Read 1^o * (*Lord President*) *Sept 16* (No. 22)

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- Attempted Disturbance at Gilford, Co. Armagh*, Question, Mr. Alexander Blane; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) *Aug 27*, [308] 655
- Firing at the Person, Derrygonnelly, Co. Fermagh*, Question, Mr. Jordan; Answer, The Attorney General for Ireland (Mr. Holmes) *Sept 7*, [308] 1461

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Riots at Belfast, The

- Questions, Mr. Johnston, Mr. Sexton; Answers, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) *Aug 26*, [308] 557
- The Commission of Inquiry—Additional Members*, Questions, Mr. Sexton, Mr. John Morley; Answers, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) *Aug 19*, [308] 90; *Aug 20*, 165; Questions, Mr. Sexton; Answers, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) *Aug 23*, 273
- Charges against the Constabulary*, Questions, Mr. Sexton, Mr. Healy; Answers, The Attorney General for Ireland (Mr. Holmes) *Aug 23*, [308] 272;—*Casualties*, Questions, Mr. T. D. Sullivan, Mr. Sexton; Answers, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) *Aug 31*, [308] 882
- Renewal of the Riots*, Question, Mr. Ewart; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Lord Randolph Churchill) *Sept 20*, [309] 982
- Attack on the Davis Street Police Barracks*, Questions, Mr. Ewart, Mr. Sexton; Answers, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) *Sept 21*, [309] 1119
- Expenses of the Royal Hospital*, Questions, Mr. Sexton, Mr. T. P. O'Connor; Answers, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) *Sept 9*, [308] 1727; Observations, Mr. Sexton; Reply, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Lord Randolph Churchill), 1772
- Compensation for Damage to the Royal Hospital*, Questions, Mr. Sexton; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Lord Randolph Churchill), The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) *Sept 13*, [309] 186
- Constable Malone*, Questions, Mr. Macartney, Mr. McCartan; Answers, The Attorney General for Ireland (Mr. Holmes) *Sept 6*, [308] 1308
- Cypher Telegrams*, Question, Lord Henry Bruce; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) *Sept 3*, [308] 1185
- Grand Jury of Antrim*, Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, The Attorney General for Ireland (Mr. Holmes) *Sept 21*, [309] 1114
- Loss of Employment by Catholic Workpeople*, Questions, Mr. Sexton, Mr. T. W. Russell; Answers, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) *Sept 9*, [308] 1725
- Trial of Prisoners*, Questions, Mr. Maurice Healy; Answers, The Attorney General for Ireland (Mr. Holmes) *Aug 26*, [308] 539
- Riot at Galway—Alleged Casualty*, Question, Mr. T. W. Russell; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) *Sept 17*, [309] 788
- Riots at Rathfriland, Co. Down*, Questions, Mr. H. Campbell; Answers, The Attorney General for Ireland (Mr. Holmes) *Sept 13*, [309] 172; *Sept 14*, 332
- Mrs. Morony, Milltown Malbow—Charges*, Question, Mr. Jo The Chief Secretary for I Hicks-Beach) *Sept 20*, [3

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EVICTIONS (IRELAND)

At Garrison, Co. Fermanagh, Questions, Mr. William Redmond; Answers, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) *Sept 2*, [308] 1069

At Gweedore, Co. Donegal, Questions, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answers, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) *Aug 23*, [308] 265; Question, Mr. O'Hea; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) *Sept 3*, 1182

In Kilkenny Co., Question, Mr. Chance; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) *Sept 3*, [308] 1178

In Wexford Co., Questions, Mr. William Redmond, Mr. T. C. Harrington; Answers, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) *Aug 28*, [308] 555

On Lord Clanricarde's Estate, Woodford, Co. Galway, Question, Mr. Harris; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) *Aug 27*, [308] 669; Question, Mr. Sheehy; Answer, The Attorney General for Ireland (Mr. Holmes) *Sept 6*, 1312; —*County Inspector O'Brien*, Question, Mr. Sheehy; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) *Aug 31*, [308] 884; —*Action of the Police at Woodford, Co. Galway*, Question, Mr. Sheehy; Answer, The Attorney General for Ireland (Mr. Holmes) *Sept 9*, [308] 1735

Employment of Gunboats for Conveyance of Legal Officials, Question, Mr. Gilhooly; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord George Hamilton) *Sept 6*, [308] 1325

Bantry Board of Guardians, The, Question, Mr. Gilhooly; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) *Sept 2*, [308] 1074

Kildysart Guardians, Co. Clare, Questions, Mr. Jordan, Mr. M. J. Kenny; Answers, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) *Sept 9*, [308] 1728

The Latest Statistics, Question, Mr. Parnell; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) *Sept 20*, [309] 984

Ireland—Crime and Outrage — The Riots at Belfast—Return of Casualties

Moved, "That there be laid before this House Return of persons killed and wounded in the recent riots at Belfast" (*The Earl De La Warr*) *Sept 2*, [308] 1058; after short debate, Motion withdrawn

Ireland—Fishery Board—Report of the Commissioners

Moved, "That no assistance given by the Government to the Irish fisheries will prove of permanent benefit unless the transport and a reduced fare of carriage for fish to the English markets is duly provided for" (*The Earl of Howth*) *Sept 20*, [309] 951; Motion withdrawn

Ireland—Leaseholders

Moved, "That, in the opinion of this House, all leaseholders in Ireland who at the natural expiration of their leases will come under the Land Act of 1881, or who may be subject to a fluctuation of rent during the term of their lease, should have access to the Land Commissioners for the adjustment of their rents" (*The Earl of Leitrim*) *Sept 9*, [308] 1713; after short debate, Motion withdrawn

Ireland—Parliamentary Elections—The Derry Election

Amend., on Committee of Supply *Sept 22*, To leave out from "That," add "in the opinion of this House, it is expedient and necessary that an official inquiry should be held into the conduct of the resident magistrate and police in the city of Derry on the 6th of July last, when it is alleged that, under the orders of the resident magistrate, an unwarrantable attack was made by the police, with staves, upon a number of respectable and orderly people who were assembled on the steps of the Imperial Hotel, Londonderry, on the occasion of the declaration of the poll at the city of Derry election on that day" (*Mr. Charles Lewis*) *v.*, [309] 1270; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.," after debate, Question put; A. 237, N. 1; M. 236 (D.L. 46)

ISAACS, Mr. L. H., Newington, Walsworth

Army Estimates—Volunteer Corps Pay and Allowances, [308] 1381

Criminal Law—Excessive Sentence—Case of George Parish, [308] 1066

Supply—Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, [309] 433

County Court Officers, &c. in Ireland, [309] 733

Local Government Board, &c. [309] 76

National Gallery, [309] 836

ISAACSON, Mr. F. W., Tower Hamlets, Stepney

Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, Report, [308] 1295

Post Office—Major and Minor Departments, [309] 594

The Medical Staff, [309] 943

Islands of the South Pacific—see South Pacific

JACKSON, Mr. W. L. (Secretary to the Treasury), Leeds, N.

Civil Service Writers, [308] 1468, 1479; [309] 591, 1112

Report of the Departmental Committee, [308] 257, 1725

Crown Land Revenues — Windsor Forest and Park—Food for Game, [309] 970, 1260

Excise Department—Inland Revenue Officers, [309] 166

Expiring Laws Continuance, 2R. [309] 329

Finance, &c.—Imperial Taxation on Real and Personal Property, [308] 778

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High Court of Justice—Returns of Cost and Receipts for the several Divisions, [309] 163
 India—Depreciation of Silver, [308] 663
 Inland Revenue—Income Tax upon Married Women, [308] 1461
 Inland Revenue Department — Outdoor Branch, [309] 593
 Ireland—Questions
 Board of Works—Loan for a National School, Miltown Malbay, [308] 1081;—Increase of Grant for Building School-houses, Clare Island, Co. Mayo, [309] 334
 Bowling Green Mills, Co. Galway—Report of Colonel Smith, R.E., [309] 846, 598
 Brehon Law — Re-constitution of the Commission, [309] 778
 Civil Service Writers, [309] 964
 Court of Bankruptcy—Mr. C. H. James, late Official Assignee, [308] 260
 Customs Service—Port of Belfast, [308] 1067
 Development of the Resources of Ireland, Proposed Commission on — Harbours on the West Coast, [309] 1107
 Income Tax—Overcharge—Edenagee, Co. Fermanagh, [308] 1754
 Inland Navigation and Drainage—River Barrow, [308] 264;—Lough Erne, [308] 784, 1477;—Lower Bann, [309] 778
 Land—The Board of Works — Loans to certain Tenants, [309] 980
 Law and Justice—Dublin Commission Court House, [308] 878
 Piers and Harbours—East Pier of Kingstown, [308] 882;—Unexpended Grants, [308] 1736;—Arklow Harbour Works, [309] 172
 Railways — Parsonstown and Portumna Bridge Railway, [309] 167, 168
 Rolls Office—Mr. T. F. McConry, [309] 970
 Ireland—Fishery Piers and Harbours—Questions
 Bundoran Pier, Co. Donegal, [309] 10, 336
 Culdaff Salmon Pier, [308] 786, 787
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 Navy—Pay of Seamen—Loss through Depreciation of Silver, [308] 1734
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 Speaker, Election of a, [308] 10
 Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, [308] 873
 Registration of Friendly Societies — The Registrar, [308] 1183
 Scotland — General Register House, Edinburgh—Engrossing Clerks, [309] 688
 Salmon Fisheries—Rights of Fishing in Perthshire, [309] 1112
 Secret Service (Repeal), Comm. *d.* 1, [308] 1304, 1306; 3R. 1307
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Claims of British Merchants on the Japanese Government, Question, Mr. Gent-Davis; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir James Fergusson) Sept 16, [309] 583
Concessions to German Traders, Question, Mr. Brooke Robinson; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir James Fergusson) Aug 27, [308] 659

JENNINGS, Mr. L. L., *Stockport*

Egypt—British Trade with the Soudan, [308] 1085
 India (Finance, &c.)—Import Duty on Cotton Goods, [308] 1470
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JOHNSTON, Mr. W., *Belfast, S.*

Ireland — Commissioners of Irish Lights — Attendance of Light Keepers at Divine Service, [308] 558
 Crime and Outrage—The Riots at Belfast, [308] 557
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JORDAN, Mr. J., *Clare, W.*

Army Estimates — Clothing Establishments, Services, and Supplies, [308] 1453, 1454
 Commissariat, Transport, and Ordnance Store Establishments, Wages, &c. [308] 1420
 Volunteer Corps Pay and Allowances, [308] 1385
 India—Governor of Madras, [309] 9
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 Crime and Outrage—Shooting at the Person, Derrygonnelly, Co. Fermanagh, [308] 1464;—Mrs. Morony, Miltown Malbay—Fictitious Charges, [309] 968
 Dispensaries—Ely Dispensary, [308] 1464; [309] 1091
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al Parks and Pleasure Gardens—Regent's
Park—Hours of Opening, [309] 1263
e and Commerce—Commercial Education,
[308] 1309

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ly—Criminal Prosecutions, &c. in Ire-
land, [309] 821, 822
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holders (Purchase of Fee Simple)

Bill (Mr. Lawson, Mr. Broadhurst, Mr.
Arthur Cohen, Mr. James Rowlands, Mr.
Thomas Ellis, Mr. Puleston)
Order; read 1^o Aug 23 [Bill 21]
[Dropped]

Mr. Right Hon. G. J. Shaw, *Brad-*
ford, Central

Land—Law and Justice—Imprisonment of
Father Fahy, [309] 1304, 1314
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Landowners of London—A Return, [309] 982
Parliament—Prorogation—Re-assembling of
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Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in An-
swer to, [308] 701, 703, 705

Post Office—Success of the Sixpenny Tele-
gram System, [309] 935, 937, 1267

Post Office—House of Commons Offices, [308] 1821,
1822

Prussia of Berlin—Article LXI.—Armenia,
[309] 843

Mr. S., *Shropshire, Oswestry*
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holders (Ireland), Res. [308] 1718, 1718

Mr. R., *Kennington, N.*

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way, [309] 825

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Life Insurance Companies—Return of
Accounts

Question, Dr. Clark; Answer, The Secretary
to the Board of Trade (Baron Henry De
Worms) Sept 3, [308] 1190

Lighthouse Illuminants—Experiments at
the South Foreland

Question, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answer, The
Secretary to the Board of Trade (Baron
Henry De Worms) Sept 13, [309] 183;—
The Correspondence, Question, Mr. T. W.
Russell; Answer, The Secretary to the
Board of Trade (Baron Henry De Worms)
Sept 20, [309] 963

Linen (Ireland) Bill

(Mr. Macartney, Colonel Sanderson, Colonel
Waring)

c. Considered in Committee; Resolution agreed
to, and reported; Bill ordered; read 1^o
Aug 23 [Bill 94]

2R. [Dropped]

Llewellyn, Mr. E. H., *Somerset, N.*

Army Estimates—Militia Pay and Allowances,
[308] 1347

Local Government Bill—Licences for Sale
of Intoxicating Liquors

Question, Sir Wilfrid Lawson; Answer, The
Chancellor of the Exchequer (Lord Ran-
dolph Churchill) Aug 20, [308] 161

LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD—President
(see RITCHIE, Right Hon. O. T.)

LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD—Secretary
to (see LONG, Mr. W. H.)

Local Government Provisional Orders
(County Divisions) Bill

(Mr. Balfour, Mr. Stanfield)

c. Read 1^o; read 2^o; read 3^o Aug 28 [Bill 225]

i. Read 1^o (R. Waldegrave) Aug 30 (No. 167)

Read 2^o Sept 2

Committee; Report Sept 6

Read 3^o Sept 7

Royal Assent Sept 25

[50 Vict. c. 17]

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional
Orders (Public Health Act) (No. 2)

(Mr. John Morley, Mr. Henry H.

W.)

c. Read 1^o Aug 20

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JORDAN, Mr. J.—*cont.*

- Income Tax—Overcharge—Edenagee, Co. Fermanagh, [308] 1764
- Industrial Schools—School at Kilrush, Co. Clare, [309] 904
- Inland Navigation and Drainage—Drainage of Lough Erne, [308] 784, 1477; [309] 8
- Law and Justice—Sessional Crown Solicitor, Co. Fermanagh, [309] 782
- South-West District—Clare—Sir Redvers Buller, [308] 1076
- Ireland—Post Office—Questions
- Mail Service to Kildysart, Co. Clare, [309] 971
- Postmaster at Kildysart, Co. Clare, [309] 3, 4, 781
- Sub-Postal District of Kilmurry M'Mahon, Co. Clare, [309] 1090
- Navy Estimates—Miscellaneous Services, [308] 1708, 1709
- Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, Report, [308] 1257, 1258
- Supply—Criminal Prosecutions, &c. in Ireland, [309] 669, 670, 680, 681, 682, 683
- Local Government Board in Ireland, &c. [309] 501, 504; Amendt. 505, 514
- Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Household of, [309] 269
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- Queen's and Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer in Exchequer, Scotland, &c. [309] 227

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Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, [308] 830

KELLY, Mr. B., *Donegal, S.*

- India—Madras—Board of Revenue—Madura District, [309] 1104
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- Ireland—Questions
- Commissioners of Irish Lights—Donegal Harbour, [309] 10
- Fishery Piers and Harbours—Bundoran Pier, Co. Donegal, [309] 9, 335
- Law and Justice—Administration, [308] 1786
- Parliamentary Elections—Polling Places in South Donegal, [309] 587
- Representation of the People Act, 1884—Unpaid Extra Remuneration, [308] 1078

KENNY, Dr. J. E., *Cork, S.*

- Ireland—Law and Justice—Imprisonment of Father Fahy, [309] 1317
- Post Office—Skibbereen and Baltimore Mail Car, [309] 1101

KENNY, Mr. M. J., *Tyrone, Mid*

- Army Estimates—Miscellaneous Effective Services, [308] 1588
- Out-Pensions, [308] 1600
- Retired Pay, &c. [308] 1606, 1607
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- Disturbances at Belfast Inquiry, 2R. [308] 1622

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- Brehon Law—Re-constitution of the Commission, [309] 778
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- South-West District—Action of Sir Redvers Buller, [309] 348
- Teachers Pension Act—Mrs. J. Kelly, Mountfield, Co. Tyrone, National School, [309] 1098
- Royal Commission on Public Departments—Out-door Officials of Customs and Excise, [309] 981
- Secret Service (Repeal), Comm. cl. 1, [308] 1303; cl. 2, 1304
- Supply—Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, [309] 377, 379, 383, 465, 482, 483, 484
- Constabulary, Ireland, [309] 794
- County Court Officers, &c. in Ireland, [309] 725; Amendt. 727, 728
- Criminal Prosecutions, &c. in Ireland, [309] 663, 663
- Learned Societies and Scientific Investigation, [309] 761
- Local Government Board in Ireland, &c. [309] 513
- Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Household of, [309] 268, 271, 283
- Patents, Designs, and Trade Marks Act, [309] 122
- Prisons, Ireland, [309] 734
- Report, [309] 155, 326, 923, 926
- Royal Irish Academy, [309] 891
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- Tenants Relief (Ireland), 2R. [309] 1185

KENYON, Hon. G. T., *Denbigh, &c.*

- France—Arrest of Mr. Farren, a British Subject, [308] 1751
- Law and Justice (England and Wales)—Circuit Arrangements—North Wales—Flint Assizes, [308] 1463
- Owners and Occupiers of Land (England and Wales)—Incidence of Tithes, [309] 981
- Post Office—Postmasterships—The Welsh Language, [308] 541
- Wales (North)—Collection of Tithes, [308] 551

KENYON-SLANEY, Lt.-Col. W., *Shropshire, Newport*

- Army Estimates—Works, Buildings, &c. at Home and Abroad, [308] 1580

KIMBER, Mr. H., *Wandsworth*

- Civil Service Clerks and Writers—Report of the Departmental Committee, [308] 1723
- Gold and Silver Hall-Marking, [308] 274
- Portsmouth and Hayling Railway, Considered, [308] 1062
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France—The Customs Law—Exactions at the Port of Rouen, [309] 2

KING-HARMAN, Colonel E. R., *Kent, Isle of Thanet*

Merchant Shipping—Electric Communication between Lightships and the Mainland, [309] 1088
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Supply—Local Government Board in Ireland, &c. [309] 533
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India (Finance, &c.)—Import Duty on Cotton Goods, [308] 1470
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Labourers (Ireland) Acts Amendment Bill

(*Mr. Richard Power, Sir Thomas Esmonde, Mr. Sheehy, Mr. Sexton*)

c. Ordered ; read 1^o * Aug 23 [Bill 31]
2R. [Dropped]

LACAITA, Mr. C. C., *Dundee*

Scotland — Municipal Elections — Corrupt Practices, [308] 1183

LAFONE, Mr. A., *Southwark, Bermondsey*

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Owners and Occupiers of Land (England and Wales)—Incidence of Tithes — Legislation, Question, Mr. Kenyon ; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Lord Randolph Churchill) Sept 20, [309] 981 ; Questions, Mr. Swetenham, Mr. J. G. Hubbard ; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Lord Randolph Churchill) Sept 21, 1125
Landowners of London, The—A Return, Question, Mr. Shaw Lefevre ; Answer, The President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Ritchie) Sept 20, [309] 982
Simplification of Titles and Transfers, Question, Mr. Egerton Hubbard ; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Lord Randolph Churchill) Sept 20, [309] 982
Transfer of Land—Legislation, Question, Mr. Shaw Lefevre ; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Lord Randolph Churchill) Sept 21, [309] 1120 ; Question, Observations, Mr. Shaw Lefevre ; Reply, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Lord Randolph Churchill), 1129

Land Law (Ireland) Act (1881) Amendment Bill

(*Colonel Sanderson, Mr. T. W. Russell*)

c. Ordered ; read 1^o * Aug 23 [Bill 22]
2R. [Dropped]

Land Law (Ireland) Act (1881) Amendment (No. 2) Bill

(*Mr. Alexander Blane, Mr. Parnell, Mr. Sexton, Sir Thomas Esmonde, Mr. Leahy*)

c. Ordered ; read 1^o * Aug 23 [Bill 30]
2R. [Dropped]

LAURIE, Colonel R. P., Bath

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High Court of Justice—Probate, Divorce, and Admiralty Divisions, Question, Lord Claud Hamilton; Answer, The Attorney General (Sir Richard Webster) *Sept 21*, [309] 1122
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A Court of Criminal Appeal—Legislation, Question, Mr. Shirley; Answer, The Attorney General (Sir Richard Webster) *Sept 20*, [309] 983

"*Bryce v. Rusden*," Question, Mr. Cobb; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. E. Stanhope) *Aug 30*, [308] 791

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c. Ordered; read 1^o * Aug 23 [Bill 21]
2R. [Dropped]

LEFEVRE, Right Hon. G. J. Shaw, *Bradford, Central*

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Lighthouse Illuminants—Experiments at the South Foreland

Question, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answer, The Secretary to the Board of Trade (Baron Henry De Worms) Sept 13, [309] 183;—*The Correspondence*, Question, Mr. T. W. Russell; Answer, The Secretary to the Board of Trade (Baron Henry De Worms) Sept 20, [309] 903

Linen (Ireland) Bill

(*Mr. Macartney, Colonel Saunderson, Colonel Waring*)

c. Considered in Committee; Resolution agreed to, and reported; Bill ordered; read 1^o * Aug 23 [Bill 24]
2R. [Dropped]

LLEWELLYN, Mr. E. H., *Somerset, N.*

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LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD—President
(*see* RITCHIE, Right Hon. C. T.)LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD—Secretary
to (*see* LONG, Mr. W. H.)Local Government Provisional Orders
(County Divisions) Bill(*Mr. Borlase, Mr. Stansfeld*)

c. Read 1^o *; read 2^o; read 3^o Aug 26 [Bill 225]
l. Read 1^o * (*E. Waldegrave*) Aug 30 (No. 167)
Read 2^o * Sept 2
Committee *; Report Sept 6
Read 3^o * Sept 7
Royal Assent Sept 25 [50 Vict. c. iv]

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional
Orders (Public Health Act) (No. 2)

Bill (*Mr. John Morley, Mr. Henry H. Fowler*)

c. Read 1^o *; read 2^o Aug 26 [Bill 261]
Report *; read 3^o Aug 30

[*cont.*]

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (Public Health Act) (No. 2) Bill—cont.

- l.* Read 1st * (*Earl of Onslow*) Aug 30 (No. 8)
 Read 2nd * Sept 6
 Committee *; Report Sept 7
 Read 3rd * Sept 9
 Royal Assent Sept 25 [50 Vict. c. xiii]

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 3) Bill

(*Mr. Borlase, Mr. Stansfeld*)

- c.* Read 1st *; read 2nd; read 3rd Aug 26 [Bill 223]
l. Read 1st * (*E. Waldegrave*) Aug 30 (No. 170)
 Committee *; Report Sept 6
 Read 3rd * Sept 7
 Royal Assent Sept 25 [50 Vict. c. vii]

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 5) Bill

(*Mr. Borlase, Mr. Stansfeld*)

- c.* Read 1st *; read 2nd; read 3rd Aug 26 [Bill 237]
l. Read 1st * (*E. Waldegrave*) Aug 30 (No. 172)
 Read 2nd * Sept 2
 Committee * Sept 6
 Report * Sept 7
 Read 3rd * Sept 9
 Royal Assent Sept 25 [50 Vict. c. xiv]

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 6) Bill

(*Mr. Borlase, Mr. Stansfeld*)

- c.* Read 1st *; read 2nd; read 3rd Aug 26 [Bill 238]
l. Read 1st * (*E. Waldegrave*) Aug 30 (No. 190)
 Read 2nd * Sept 2
 Committee *; Report Sept 6
 Read 3rd * Sept 7
 Royal Assent Sept 25 [50 Vict. c. viii]

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 7) Bill

(*Mr. Borlase, Mr. Stansfeld*)

- c.* Read 1st *; read 2nd Aug 26 [Bill 256]
 Report *; Considered; read 3rd Aug 30
l. Read 1st * (*Earl of Onslow*) Aug 30 (No. 3)
 Read 2nd * Sept 6
 Committee *; Report Sept 7
 Read 3rd * Sept 9
 Royal Assent Sept 25 [50 Vict. c. xv]

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 8) Bill

(*Mr. Borlase, Mr. Stansfeld*)

- c.* Read 1st *; read 2nd Aug 26 [Bill 262]
 Report *; Considered; read 3rd Aug 30
l. Read 1st * (*Earl of Onslow*) Aug 30 (No. 4)
 Read 2nd * Sept 6
 Committee *; Report Sept 7
 Read 3rd * Sept 9
 Royal Assent Sept 25 [50 Vict. c. xi]

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 9) Bill

(*Mr. Borlase, Mr. Stansfeld*)

- c.* Read 1st *; read 2nd Aug 26 [Bill 263]
 Report *; read 3rd Aug 30

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 9) Bill—cont.

- l.* Read 1st * (*Earl of Onslow*) Aug 30 (No. 5)
 Read 2nd * Sept 6
 Committee *; Report Sept 7
 Read 3rd * Sept 9
 Royal Assent Sept 25 [50 Vict. c. xii]

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 10) Bill

(*Mr. Borlase, Mr. Stansfeld*)

- c.* Read 1st *; read 2nd Aug 26 [Bill 269]
 Report *; Considered; read 3rd Aug 30
l. Read 1st * (*Earl of Onslow*) Aug 30 (No. 6)
 Read 2nd * Sept 6
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 Read 3rd * Sept 9
 Royal Assent Sept 25 [50 Vict. c. xv]

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 11) Bill

(*Mr. Borlase, Mr. Stansfeld*)

- c.* Read 1st *; read 2nd Aug 26 [Bill 277]
 Report *; read 3rd Aug 30
l. Read 1st * (*Earl of Onslow*) Aug 30 (No. 7)
 Read 2nd * Sept 6
 Committee *; Report Sept 7
 Read 3rd * Sept 9
 Royal Assent Sept 25 [50 Vict. c. xvii]

Local Government Provisional Orders (Highways) Bill

(*Mr. Borlase, Mr. Stansfeld*)

- c.* Read 1st *; read 2nd; read 3rd Aug 26 [Bill 235]
l. Read 1st * (*E. Waldegrave*) Aug 30 (No. 168)
 Read 2nd * Sept 2
 Committee * Sept 6
 Report * Sept 7
 Read 3rd * Sept 9
 Royal Assent Sept 25 [50 Vict. c. vi]

Local Government Provisional Orders (Gas) Bill

(*Mr. Borlase, Mr. Stansfeld*)

- c.* Read 1st *; read 2nd; read 3rd Aug 26 [Bill 272]
l. Read 1st * (*E. Waldegrave*) Aug 30 (No. 169)
 Read 2nd * Sept 2
 Committee *; Report Sept 6
 Read 3rd * Sept 7
 Royal Assent Sept 25 [50 Vict. c. v]

Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 7) Bill

(*Mr. Borlase, Mr. Stansfeld*)

- c.* Read 1st *; read 2nd; read 3rd Aug 26 [Bill 236]
l. Read 1st * (*E. Waldegrave*) Aug 30 (No. 169)
 Read 2nd * Sept 2
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 Read 3rd * Sept 7
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Organization of the Force—Report of the Committee, Question, Mr. C. E. Hamilton; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) *Sept 17*, [309] 785

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(Mr. Pickersgill, Mr. Howell, Mr. Buxton, Mr. James Stuart, Mr. Octavius Morgan, Mr. Montagu, Mr. James Rowlands)

c. Ordered; read 1^o *Sept 7* [Bill 44]
2R. [Dropped]

MILLTOWN, Earl of

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(Mr. Conybeare, Mr. Mason, Mr. Clancy)

c. Ordered; read 1^o *Aug 20* [Bill 18]
2R. [Dropped]

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United Kingdom—Scale of Royalties or Mine Rents, Question, Mr. P. Stanhope; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) *Sept 22*, [309] 1255

Mining Royalties Bill

(Mr. Conybeare, Mr. Mason, Mr. Borlase, Mr. Burt, Mr. Fencick, Mr. Clancy)

c. Ordered; read 1^o *Aug 20* [Bill 4]
2R. [Dropped]

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Municipal Franchise (Ireland) Bill

(*Mr. Leahy, Mr. Sexton, Mr. Timothy Harrington, Mr. Peter M'Donald, Sir Thomas Esmonde, Mr. Tuile*)

c. Ordered; read 1^o * Aug 23 [Bill 32]
2R. [Dropped]

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(*Mr. John O'Connor (Tipperary, S.), Mr. Conboy, Mr. Joseph Nolan, Mr. Sheehy*)

c. Ordered; read 1^o * Aug 20 [Bill 3]
2R. [Dropped]

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Supply—County Court Officers, &c. in Ireland, [309] 710, 711, 714, 722

Criminal Prosecutions, &c. in Ireland, [309] 300, 315, 319, 320, 324, 653, 654, 655

House of Commons Offices, [308] 1816, 1822, 1823

Local Government Board, &c. [309] 68, 84, 85

National Gallery, [309] 760

Patents, Designs, and Trade Marks Act, [309] 122

Prisons, Ireland, [309] 742

Public Education, [309] 746

Stationery, Printing, &c. [309] 135, 143, 147, 149

Tenants Relief (Ireland), 2R. [309] 1041

O'DOHERTY, Mr. J. E., *Donegal, N.*

Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, [308] 716

O'HANLON, Mr. T., *Cavan, E.*

Army Estimates—Volunteer Corps Pay and Allowances, [308] 1394

Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, [308] 870, 956

Post Office (Ireland)—Accommodation at Grangegeith, [309] 1116

Arrangements in Co. Meath, [308] 1732

Representation of the People Act, 1884—Extra Remuneration to Poor Law Officials, [309] 21

Supply—Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Household of, [309] 278, 284

Woods and Forests, Department of—Administration of the Department, [308] 1793

O'HEA, Mr. P., *Donegal, W.*

Ireland—Evictions—Gweedore, Co. Donegal, [308] 1182

Law and Justice—Shooting at the Person—Case of Denis Murphy, [308] 1177

Navy Estimates—Victualling Yards at Home and Abroad, [308] 1668

Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, [308] 234, 612, 860, 870

Post Office—Telegraph Clerks—Subsistence Allowances, [308] 1004

Supply—Criminal Prosecutions, &c., in Ireland, [309] 324

Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Household of, [309] 271, 274

Public Works in Ireland, [309] 657

Queen's and Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer in Exchequer, Scotland, &c. [309] 225

O'KELLY, Mr. J., *Roscommon, N.*

Army Estimates—Volunteer Corps Pay and Allowances, [308] 1392

Ireland (South-West District)—Sir Redvers Buller, [308] 666

ONSLow, Earl of (Lord in Waiting)

Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, [308] 22

Open Spaces and Recreation Grounds

(Dublin) Bill (*Mr. Murphy, Mr. T. D. Sullivan, Mr. Dwyer Gray, Mr. Timothy Harrington*)

c. Ordered; read 1^o * Aug 24 [Bill 36]
2R. [Dropped]

ORDNANCE — Surveyor General (*see* NORTHcOTE, Hon. H. S.)

Outlawries Bill

c. Read 1^o * Aug 19

PAGET, Sir R. H., *Somerset, Wells*

Contagious Diseases (Animals)—Swine Fever—Inoculation, [308] 777

Finance, &c.—Imperial Taxation on Real and Realized Personal Property, [308] 778

Taxation on Personal Property in France, &c. [308] 778

Parliament—Palace of Westminster—House of Commons Arrangements—A Select Committee, [308] 881

Parliament

LORDS—

MEETING OF THE PARLIAMENT Aug 5

The Session of Parliament opened by Commission

The Commons directed to proceed to the choice of some proper Person to be their Speaker

ROLL OF THE LORDS—Garter King of Arms attending, delivered at the Table (in the usual manner) a List of the Lords Temporal in the First Session of the Twenty-fourth Parliament of the United Kingdom Aug 5

PARLIAMENT—LORDS—cont.

The LORD CHANCELLOR acquainted the House that the Clerk of the Parliaments had prepared and laid it on the Table: The same was ordered to be printed (No. 10) Aug 31

Certificate of the Election of Sixteen Representative Peers for Scotland, delivered, and [308] read Aug 5, 3

*Election of Representative Peers for Scotland—*Minutes of Meeting, presented and ordered to lie on the Table Aug 19, 21

A Royal Commission, Speaker of the House of Commons, Presented and Approved Aug 6, 12

Her Majesty's Most Gracious Speech delivered by The LORD CHANCELLOR Aug 19, 20

The Queen's Speech having been reported by The LORD CHANCELLOR; An Address to HER MAJESTY thereon moved by The Earl of ONSLOW (the Motion being seconded by The LORD DE ROS) Aug 19, 23; after debate, Address agreed to, *namine dissente*, and ordered to be presented to Her Majesty by the Lords with White Staves

HER MAJESTY'S ANSWER TO THE ADDRESS reported Aug 30, 770

Chairman of Committees—The Duke of Buckingham and Chandos appointed, *namine dissente*, to take the Chair in all Committees of this House for this Session Aug 19

Committee for Privileges—appointed Aug 19

Sub-Committee for the Journals—appointed Aug 19

Appeal Committee—appointed Aug 19

Standing Orders Committee—nominated Sept 3

The Lords following, with the Chairman of Committees, were named of the Committee:—Ld. Privy Seal, M. Winchester, M. Bath, Ld. Chamberlain, E. Devon, E. Lindsay, E. Carnarvon, E. Milltown, E. Belmore, E. Powis, E. Verulam, E. Morley, E. Amherst, E. Camperdown, E. Ducie, E. Sydney, E. Wharnccliffe, V. Hawarden, V. Hutchinson, V. Hardinge, V. Eversley, V. Oxenbridge, L. de Ros, L. Clinton, L. Saye and Sele, L. Balfour of Burley, L. Boyle, L. Digby, L. Thurlow, L. Hopetoun, L. Foxford, L. Colchester, L. Silchester, L. Kintore, L. Sudeley, L. Belper, L. Hartismere, L. Wolverton, L. Sandhurst, and L. Colville of Culross

Committee of Selection—The Lords following: viz.—E. Morley, E. Lathom, L. Boyle, L. Colville of Culross, were appointed, with the Chairman of Committees, a Committee to select and propose to the House the names of the five Lords to form a Select Committee for the consideration of each opposed Private Bill

PARLIAMENT—LORDS—*cont.*

Private and Provisional Order Confirmation Bills

Ordered, That Standing Order No. 72 be dispensed with in the case of all Private and Provisional Order Confirmation Bills suspended in the last Session of Parliament Aug 31

Resolutions, The Chairman of Committees (The Duke of Buckingham and Chandos) Sept 20, [309] 948 ; Resolutions agreed to ; Ordered, That the said Resolutions be printed (No 23)

Business of the House, Question, Earl Granville : Answer, The Prime Minister (The Marquess of Salisbury) Aug 19, [308] 22

PROROGATION OF THE PARLIAMENT

Her Majesty's Most Gracious Speech delivered by The LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR Sept 25, [309] 1349

The Parliament prorogued by Commission to Thursday, November 11

COMMONS—

308] MEETING OF THE PARLIAMENT Aug 5, 4

A Book containing a List of the Names of the Members returned to serve in this Parliament delivered to Reginald Francis Douce Palgrave, Esquire, by Kenneth Augustus Muir Mackenzie, Esquire, Clerk of the Crown in Chancery in Great Britain Aug 5, 4

Message from The LORDS COMMISSIONERS

The House went up to the House of Peers ; and being returned—The House proceeded to the

Election of a Speaker

The Right Honourable Arthur Wellesley Peel unanimously called to the Chair Aug 5, 4

Mr. SPEAKER reported Her Majesty's Approval, and took and subscribed the Oath Aug 6, 15

Message to attend The LORDS COMMISSIONERS ; —The House went ; and being returned—

Mr. SPEAKER reported, That the Lords Commissioners under the Great Seal for opening and holding this Parliament had made a Communication to both Houses, which Mr. Speaker read to the House Aug 6, 16

Elections—Resolutions Aug 6, 16 ; Aug 19, 73

Chairman of Committees of Ways and Means, Notice, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. W. H. Smith) Sept 3, 1303

Privileges—Ordered, That a Committee of Privileges be appointed Aug 19

Public Petitions, Select Committee appointed and nominated Aug 24, as follows :—Sir Charles Forster (Chairman), Mr. Cavendish Bentinck, Colonel Bridgeman, Mr. James A. Campbell, Mr. Donald Crawford, Mr. Hugh Elliot, Mr. Morgan Howard, Mr. William Lowther, Viscount Lynton, Mr. McLagan, Mr. Mulholland, Mr. T. P. O'Connor, Mr. Richard Power, Mr. Henry Tollemache, and Mr. Wiggan

PARLIAMENT—COMMONS—*cont.*

Parliament—Standing Orders, Select Committee nominated Aug 26, as follows :—Sir John Mowbray (Chairman), Mr. Dwyer Gray, Mr. Halsey, Mr. William Lowther, Colonel Nolan, Mr. Craig-Sellar, Mr. Stansfeld, and Mr. Whitbread

Ordered, That the Select Committee do consist of Twelve Members Aug 27

Ordered, That Sir Edward Birkbeck, Mr. Buchanan, Mr. Cubitt, and Mr. Solater-Booth be added to the Committee

Ordered, That so much of Standing Order No. 91 as fixes five as the quorum of the Select Committee on Standing Orders be read, and suspended

Ordered, That, for the remainder of the Session, Three be the quorum of the Committee (Sir John Mowbray)

Selection—Committee nominated Aug 26, as follows :—Sir John Mowbray (Chairman), Dr. Cameron, Lord Edward Cavendish, Mr. Cubitt, Mr. Illingworth, Mr. Justin M'Carthy, Sir Archibald Orr Ewing, and Mr. Whitbread

Ordered, That the Committee do consist of Nine Members Aug 30

Ordered, That Lord Edward Cavendish be discharged

Ordered, That Sir H. H. Vivian and Sir Robert N. Fowler be added to the Committee (Sir John Mowbray)

Printing

Ordered, That a Select Committee be appointed to assist Mr. Speaker in all matters which relate to the Printing executed by Order of this House, and for the purpose of selecting and arranging for Printing, Returns and Papers presented in pursuance of Motions made by Members of this House Aug 23

Committee nominated as follows :—Mr. Henry H. Fowler, Mr. Jackson, Mr. Parnell, Sir Joseph Pease, Mr. Raikes, Mr. George Russell, Mr. Sexton, Mr. Stansfeld, Colonel Tottenham, and Mr. Whitbread

Kitchen and Refreshment Rooms (House of Commons)—Committee appointed and nominated Aug 26, as follows :—Mr. A. H. Acland, Mr. Agg-Gardner, Mr. Biggar, Mr. William Corbet, Baron Dimsdale, Mr. Fenwick, Mr. Flower, General Goldsworthy, Mr. Herbert, Viscount Lewisham, Mr. Long, Mr. Marjoribanks, Mr. Richard Power, Baron De Rothschild, Mr. Sheil, and Mr. Yerburgh

Address to Her Majesty on Her Most Gracious Speech—

The Queen's Speech having been reported by Mr. SPEAKER ; An humble Address thereon moved by Colonel KING-HARMAN (the Motion being seconded by Mr. J. M. MACLEAN) 308] Aug 19, 91 ; after long debate, Debate adjourned

Debate resumed [Second Night] Aug 20, 170 ; after long debate, Debate further adjourned

Debate resumed [Third Night] Aug 23, 277 ; after long debate, Debate further adjourned

PARLIAMENT—COMMONS—*cont.*

308] Debate resumed [Fourth Night] Aug 24, 382

Amendt., at end of last paragraph, add "And humbly to assure Her Majesty that we fear that, owing to the heavy fall in the price of agricultural produce, the greatest difficulty will be experienced in the coming winter by the Irish tenant farmers in the payment of their present rents, and many will be unable to pay these rents. That numerous evictions confiscating the rights vested in the tenants by the Land Act of 1881, causing widespread suffering and endangering the maintenance of social order will be the result. That we deprecate any attempt to transfer the loss likely to arise due to inability to pay the present rents, from the owners of land to the taxpayers of Great Britain and Ireland, by any extension of State-assisted purchase on the basis of rents fixed when prices were higher than they now are" (*Mr. Parnell*); Question proposed, "That those words be there added;" after long debate, Debate adjourned

. Debate resumed [Fifth Night] Aug 25, 486; after long debate, Debate further adjourned

. Debate resumed [Sixth Night] Aug 26, 602; after long debate, Debate further adjourned

. Debate resumed [Seventh Night] Aug 27, 670; after long debate, Question put; A. 181, N. 304; M. 123

. Division List, Ayes and Noes, 766

Original Question again proposed; Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. S. Smith*); Question put, and agreed to; Debate further adjourned

. Debate resumed [Eighth Night] Aug 30, 797

Amendt. to add, at end of Question "And this House humbly expresses its regret at the continuance of the War in Upper Burmah, and the great extension of Military operations occasioned thereby; and humbly represents to Her Majesty that the expenses of the said War should not be borne exclusively by India" (*Mr. S. Smith*); Question proposed, "That those words be there added"

Amendt. proposed to the said proposed Amendt. To leave out all after "Burmah, and" to end of proposed Amendt., add "at learning that the Government have resolved to persevere in their policy of annexation, especially as the native population have, by their active hostility and armed resistance to the invading forces, shown that they have no desire to live under British rule" (*Mr. Cremer*) v.; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after long debate, Question put; A. 201, N. 125; M. 76 (D.L. 4)

Question put, "That the words 'This House humbly expresses its regret at the continuance of the War in Upper Burmah, and the great extension of Military operations occasioned thereby; and humbly represents to Her Majesty that the expenses of the said War should not be borne exclusively by India' be added to the Main Question;" A. 125, N. 190; M. 74

. Division List, Ayes and Noes, 858

[*cont.*

PARLIAMENT—COMMONS—*cont.*

Main Question again proposed; Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Dr. Clark*); after short debate, Question put; A. 132, N. 197; M. 75 (D.L. 6)

308] Main Question again proposed, 870; Moved, "That this House do now adjourn" (*Mr. Pictou*); after short debate, Motion withdrawn

. Main Question again proposed, 873; Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. A. Sutherland*); Question put, and agreed to; Debate further adjourned

. Debate resumed [Ninth Night] Aug 31, 898

Amendt. at end of last paragraph, add "And this House humbly expresses its regret that the condition of affairs in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland is very unsatisfactory; that the administration of the Law does not possess the confidence of the people; that the Naval Forces are supposed to be required to overawe a portion of the population; and that the greatest and most pressing grievance of the crofters and cottars has not been remedied by the Crofters Act, which has failed to provide for the enlargement of the present inadequate holdings, and the formation of new holdings, where they are urgently required" (*Mr. Eastmond*); Question proposed, "That those words be there added;" after long debate, Question put; A. 121, N. 203; M. 82

. Division List, Ayes and Noes, 987

Main Question again proposed; Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. Sexton*); after short debate, Question put, and agreed to; Debate further adjourned

. Debate resumed [Tenth Night] Sept 1, 991

Amendt. at end of last paragraph, add "And humbly to represent to Her Majesty that certain circumstances accountable for the recent outbreak, prolongation, and repeated renewals of riots, raids for plunder, and conflicts with the Forces of the Crown, in Belfast, dictate the necessity for the prompt adoption of special measures for the maintenance of social order there, and that the most imperative and urgent of these measures are, the re-establishment of Her Majesty's authority in the district from which the Constabulary Force has been expelled by the rioters, the limitation of all powers of control over the Forces of the Crown, in times of public emergency, and adjudication upon cases of persons charged with offences against social order, to magistrates directly responsible to Her Majesty's Government, and the increase of the local Constabulary Force to such a strength as may enable it to deal with any probable contingency, until Parliament, on consideration of the Report of the Commission of Inquiry, can proceed to the application of adequate permanent measures for the protection of life and property in certain quarters of Belfast" (*Mr. Sexton*); Question proposed, "That those words be there added;" after long debate, Debate further adjourned

Debate resumed [Eleventh Night] Sept 2, 1096; after long debate, Question put; A. 127, N. 235; M. 88

[*cont.*

PARLIAMENT—COMMONS—*cont.*

308] Division List, Ayes and Noes, 1159

Main Question put, and agreed to

Committee appointed, "to draw up an Address to be presented to Her Majesty upon the said Resolution;" List of the Committee, 1162

Report of Address brought up, and read 1^o Sept 2, 1162

Moved, "That the Address be read 2^o:"

Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. Parnell*); after short debate, Question put; A. 121, N. 228; M. 107 (D. L. 9)

Original Question again proposed, 1165;

Moved, "That this House do now adjourn" (*Mr. James Stuart*); after short debate, Question put; A. 120, N. 223; M. 103 (D. L. 10)

Original Question again proposed, 1169;

Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. Dillwyn*); after short debate, Motion agreed to; Debate adjourned

Debate resumed Sept 3, 1228; Question put; Address read 2^o

Amendt. to add, at end "And we humbly declare to Your Majesty, that certain language used and published by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in regard to the action which ought to be taken by a certain section of the Irish people, should the Bill for the better Government of Ireland (1886) pass into Law, was calculated to provoke breaches of the Law, and ought to be publicly withdrawn, in view of the preservation of the peace of Ireland" (*Mr. Labouchere*); Question proposed, "That those words be there added"

Amendt. proposed to the proposed Amendt. To leave out from "used," to "calculated," insert "by certain Members of this House, and their participation in Conventions held in Foreign Countries in reference to Irish affairs, have given colour to the allegations which have been publicly made and extensively circulated throughout the United Kingdom that such persons are or have been members or associates of the Fenian Brotherhood of the United States, or of the Irish Republican Brotherhood are" (*Colonel Sanderson*) &c.; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after long debate, Question put, and agreed to

Main Question put; A. 119, N. 202; M. 83

Division List, Ayes and Noes, 1278

Amendt. at end, add, "We humbly represent to Your Majesty that the pacification of Upper Burma would be promoted by an independent inquiry into the mode of administering the Law in the Courts of that Country, and humbly pray Your Majesty to cause such inquiry to be made, and the results to be communicated to this House" (*Dr. Cameron*) Sept 3, 1280; Question proposed, "That those words be there added;" after short debate, Question put; A. 81, N. 192; M. 111 (D. L. 12)

Moved, "That this House doth agree with the Committee in the said Address"

Law and Justice (Scotland)—Administration, Observations, Dr. Clark; Reply, The Lord Advocate (Mr. J. H. A. Macdonald); short debate thereon Sept 3, 1289

PARLIAMENT—COMMONS—*cont.*

Question put, and agreed to; to be communicated by Privy Counsellors

HER MAJESTY'S ANSWER TO THE ADDRESS 309] reported Sept 14, 343

Debate on the Address, Personal Explanation, Mr. Mahony Sept 17, 788

DOUBLE RETURNS

County of Edinburgh (Midlothian) and Borough of Leith, Letter received by Mr. Speaker from the Right Hon. William Ewart Gladstone, electing to serve for the County of Edinburgh (Midlothian) Aug 9, [308] 19

Belfast Borough (Western Division) and Sligo County (Southern Division), Motion, Mr. Biggar; Observations, Mr. Speaker; Questions, Mr. Sexton, Sir Wilfrid Lawson; Answers, Mr. Speaker Aug 20, [308] 168

THE COMMITTEE ON PROCEDURE

Question, Mr. Norris; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Lord Randolph Churchill) Aug 20, [308] 159

Parliamentary Procedure, Question, Mr. R. G. Webster; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Lord Randolph Churchill) Sept 22, [309] 1269

THE NEW RULES OF PROCEDURE

Rule 2 (*Adjournment of the House*)

Moved, "That this House do now adjourn" *Matter (The Appointment of a Military Officer over an extensive District in Ireland)* (*Mr. E. R. Russell*) Aug 26, [308] 565; after debate, Question put; A. 146, N. 241; M. 95

Division List, Ayes and Noes, 599

PRIVATE BILLS

Resolutions, The Chairman of Ways and Means (Mr. Courtney) Sept 20, [309] 955

SITTINGS AND ADJOURNMENT OF THE HOUSE

Resolved, That this House will, at the rising of the House this day, adjourn till Thursday 19th August Aug 10

Resolved, That this House will, at the rising of the House this day, adjourn till Monday next (*Mr. Jackson*) Aug 20

Resolved, That this House, at its rising, do adjourn till Monday next (*Mr. Jackson*) Aug 27

Resolved, That this House will, at the rising of the House this day, adjourn till Saturday (*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer*) Sept 22

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE AND PUBLIC BUSINESS

Notice of Motion, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Lord Randolph Churchill) Aug 19, 308] 89; Question, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answer, Mr. Speaker Sept 7, 1480; Question,

Mr. C. E. Lewis; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Lord Randolph Churchill) Sept 9, 1755;—*Duration of the Session*, Question, Mr. Parnell; Answer, The Chan.

PARLIAMENT—COMMONS—*Business of the House and Public Business*—cont.

- cellor of the Exchequer (Lord Randolph Churchill) Aug 19, 89;—*Votes in Supply*, Question, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Lord Randolph Churchill) Aug 19, 91;—*Bills of Private Members*, Question, Mr. Labouchere; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Lord Randolph Churchill) Aug 20, 166;—*Hours of Commencement*, Observation, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Lord Randolph Churchill) Aug 20, 169;—*Precedence of Government Orders—Motions on Perpetual Pensions and Incidence of the Poor Rate*, Questions, Mr. Bradlaugh, Mr. Pickersgill; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Lord Randolph Churchill) Aug 30, 795;—*The Estimates*, Question, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Lord Randolph Churchill) Sept 2, 1095
- 309] Question, Mr. Dillon; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Lord Randolph Churchill) Sept 20, 983;—*Committee of Supply—Incorrect Entry in Votes*, Questions, Mr. Sexton; Answers, Mr. Speaker Sept 10, 28;—*Order of Supply—The Vote for the Royal Irish Constabulary*, Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Lord Randolph Churchill), Sept 16, 604;—*Ministerial Statement—Tenants Relief (Ireland) Bill*, Questions, Mr. John Morley, Mr. Labouchere, Sir George Campbell; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Lord Randolph Churchill) Sept 17, 787

ORDERS OF THE DAY AND BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE
The Address

Moved, "That the Order of the Day for resuming the Adjourned Debate on the Motion for the Address have precedence this day of the Notices of Motion, and To-morrow of the other Orders of the Day" (*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer*) Aug 24, [308] 381; after short debate, Motion agreed to

Ordered, That the Order of the Day for resuming the Adjourned Debate on the Motion for the Address have precedence this day of the Notices of Motion, and To-morrow of the other Orders of the Day (*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer*) Aug 31

Moved, "That the Committees of Supply and Ways and Means, and all stages of the Appropriation Bill, have precedence of other Orders of the Day and the Notices of Motions on every day on which they may be appointed" (*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer*) Sept 3, [308] 1195

Amendt. to leave out from "That," add "in the opinion of this House the state of Ireland is such as to require the proposal of remedial measures by the Government, before the time of the House is appropriated solely to the Business of Supply" (*Mr. Dillon*) v.; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after debate, Amendt. withdrawn; main Question put, and agreed to

Ordered, That the Standing Order, No. 21, relating to Notices on going into Committee

PARLIAMENT—COMMONS—*Orders of the Day and Business of the House*—cont.

- of Supply on Monday and Thursday be extended to the other days of the week (*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer*)
- Ordered, That, on Monday next, the Order of the 3rd day of September, giving precedence to all stages of the Appropriation Bill, be suspended (*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer*) Sept 18
- Ordered, That the Standing Orders of the House relating to Wednesday Sittings be suspended To-morrow (*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer*) Sept 21
- Ordered, That the Order of the Day for resuming the Adjourned Debate on the Second Reading of the Tenants Relief (Ireland) Bill have precedence next after the Consolidated Fund (Appropriation) Bill (*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer*) Sept 21

HOUSE OF COMMONS

Appointment of Officers of this House, Question, Mr. Richard Power; Answer, The Postmaster General (*Mr. Raikes*) Sept 7, [308] 1474

PALACE OF WESTMINSTER

Constables on Duty, Questions, Mr. Bradlaugh; Answers, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (*Mr. Matthews*) Sept 16, [309] 584

Electrical Communication in the House, Question, Captain Cotton; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (*Mr. Jackson*) Sept 2, [308] 1076

House of Commons Arrangements—A Select Committee, Question, Sir Richard Paget; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Lord Randolph Churchill) Aug 31, [308] 881

Re-opening of Westminster Hall, Question, Sir Henry Tyler; Answer, The First Commissioner of Works (*Mr. Plunket*) Aug 30, [308] 782

Shelter in Palace Yard, Question, Mr. W. Beckett; Answer, The First Commissioner of Works (*Mr. Plunket*) Aug 20, [308] 160

Ventilation of the House

Ordered, That the Committee to inquire into the Ventilation of the House be re-appointed Aug 23; Committee nominated of Mr. Tatton Egerton, Dr. Farquharson, Mr. Cyril Flower, Sir Guyer Hunter, Mr. Isaacs, Mr. Lyell, Mr. Plunket, Mr. Richard Power, and Sir Henry Roscoe

Question, Mr. Radcliffe Cooke; Answer, The First Commissioner of Works (*Mr. Plunket*) Aug 26, [308] 554

The Prorogation

Adjournment of the House, Observation, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Lord Randolph Churchill) Sept 22, [309] 1253

Re-assembling of the House, Questions, Mr. Shaw Lefevre, Sir George Campbell; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Lord Randolph Churchill) Sept 22, [309] 1268

Parliament — Sessional Orders — Interference of Peers in Elections

Moved, "That it is a high infringement of the liberties and privileges of the Commons of the United Kingdom, for any Lord of Parliament, or other Peer or Prelate, not being a Peer of Ireland at the time elected, and not having declined to serve for any county, city, or borough of Great Britain, to concern himself in the Election of Members to serve for the Commons in Parliament, except only any Peer of Ireland, at such Elections in Great Britain respectively where such Peer shall appear as a Candidate, or by himself, or any others, be proposed to be elected; or for any Lord Lieutenant or Governor of any county to avail himself of any authority derived from his Commission, to influence the Election of any Member to serve for the Commons in Parliament" *Aug 19, [308] 73*; after debate, Question put; A. 294, N. 126; M. 168 (D. L. 1)

PARLIAMENT—HOUSE OF LORDS

New Peers

Aug 19—The Right Honourable William John Lord Monson, created Viscount Oxenbridge of Burton in the county of Lincoln

Sir Michael Arthur Bass, Baronet, created Baron Burton of Rangemore and of Burton-upon-Trent, both in the county of Stafford

Sir Thomas Brassey, K.C.B., created Baron Brassey of Bulkeley in the county of Chester

Sir Henry Thring, K.C.B., created Baron Thring of Alderhurst in the county of Surrey

Sept 2—The Right Honourable Sir Richard Assheton Cross, G.C.B., created Viscount Cross of Broughton-in-Furness in the county Palatine of Lancaster

The Right Honourable Sir Frederick Arthur Stanley, G.C.B., created Baron Stanley of Preston in the county Palatine of Lancaster

Sat First

Aug 6—The Viscount Melville, after the death of his uncle
The Lord Penrhyn, after the death of his father

PARLIAMENT—HOUSE OF COMMONS

New Writs Issued

Aug 6—For Paddington (South Division), v. Right honble. Randolph Henry Spencer Churchill, commonly called Lord Randolph Churchill, Chancellor of the Exchequer

For Bristol (Western Division), v. Right honble. Sir Michael Edward Hicks-Beach, baronet, Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland

[cont.]

PARLIAMENT—COMMONS—*New Writs Issued*—cont.

For Birmingham (East Division), v. Right honble. Henry Matthews, Secretary of State

For Strand, v. Right honble. William Henry Smith, Secretary of State

For South-West Lancashire (Newton Division), v. Right honble. Sir Richard Assheton Cross, G.C.B., Secretary of State

For Lincoln County (South Lindsey Division), v. Right honble. Edward Stanhope, Secretary of State

For Middlesex (Ealing Division), v. Right honble. George Francois Hamilton, commonly called Lord George Hamilton, First Commissioner to the Admiralty

For Leicester County (Eastern Division), v. Right honble. John James Robert Manners, commonly called Lord John Manners, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster

For Manchester (Eastern Division), v. Right honble. Arthur James Balfour, Secretary for Scotland

For Hampstead, v. Right honble. Sir Henry Thurstan Holland, baronet, Vice President of the Committee of Council for Education

For Tower Hamlets (Saint George's Division), v. Right honble. Charles Thomson Ritchie, President of the Local Government Board

For Dublin University, v. Right honble. David Robert Plunket, First Commissioner of Works

For Cambridge University, v. Right honble. Henry Cecil Raikes, Postmaster General

For Isle of Wight, v. Sir Richard Everard Webster, Attorney General

For Plymouth, v. Edward George Clarke, esquire, Solicitor General

For Universities of Edinburgh and St. Andrews, v. Right honble. John Hay Athole Macdonald, Lord Advocate of Scotland

For Bute County, v. James Patrick Bannerman Robertson, esquire, Solicitor General for Scotland

For Dublin University, v. Right honble. Hugh Holmes, Attorney General for Ireland

For Liverpool (Walton Division), v. John George Gibson, esquire, Solicitor General for Ireland

For Brighton, v. Right honble. William Thackeray Marriott, Judge Advocate General

For Devon County (North East Division), v. Lieutenant Colonel William Hood Walrond, Commissioner of the Treasury

For Croydon, v. Honble. Sidney Herbert, Commissioner of the Treasury

For Wigtown County, v. Sir Herbert Eustace Maxwell, baronet, Commissioner of the Treasury

[cont.]

PARLIAMENT—COMMONS—*New Writs Issued*—
cont.

For Marylebone (East Division), *v.* Captain the honble. Charles William De la Poer Beresford, commonly called Lord Charles Beresford, Commissioner of the Admiralty

For Sheffield (Ecclesall Division), *v.* Ellis Ashmead - Bartlett, esquire, Commissioner of the Admiralty

For Down County (West Division), *v.* Right honble. Arthur William Hill, commonly called Lord Arthur Hill, Comptroller of Her Majesty's Household

For Middlesex County (Enfield Division), *v.* Right honble. William Pleydell Bouverie, commonly called Viscount Folkestone, Treasurer of Her Majesty's Household

For Lewisham, *v.* Right honble. William Heneage Legge, commonly called Viscount Lewisham, Vice Chamberlain of Her Majesty's Household

Aug 9—*For* Leith, *v.* The Right honble. William Ewart Gladstone, who, having been returned for the said Borough of Leith and for the County of Edinburgh (Midlothian), hath elected to sit for the County of Edinburgh (Midlothian)

For Staffordshire (Burton Division), *v.* Sir Michael A. Bass, Baronet, Manor of Northstead

Aug 10—*For* North Lancashire (Blackpool Division), *v.* The Right honble. Sir Frederick Arthur Stanley, G.C.B., President of the Committee of the Privy Council for Trade and Plantations

For Northampton County (North Division), *v.* The honble. Brownlow Henry George Cecil, commonly called Lord Burghley, one of the Grooms in Waiting on Her Majesty

Aug 19—*For* King's Lynn, *v.* The Right honble. Robert Bourke, Governor of the Presidency of Fort St. George, at Madras, in the East Indies

New Members Sworn

Aug 19—Right honble. Randolph Henry Spencer Churchill, commonly called Lord Randolph Churchill, *Paddington (South Division)*

Right honble. Sir Michael Edward Hicks-Beach, baronet, *Bristol (West Division)*

Right honble. John James Robert Manners, commonly called Lord John Manners, *Leicester (Eastern Division)*

Right honble. Henry Matthews, *Birmingham (East Division)*

Right honble. William Henry Smith, *Strand*

Right honble. Edward Stanhope, *Lincoln County (South Lindsey Division)*

PARLIAMENT—COMMONS—*New Members Sworn*—
cont.

Right honble. George Francis Hamilton, commonly called Lord George Hamilton, *Middlesex (Ealing Division)*

Right honble. Henry Cecil Raikes, *Cambridge University*

Right Honble. David Robert Plunket, *Dublin University*

Right honble. Charles Thomson Ritchie, *Tower Hamlets (St. George's Division)*

Right honble. Sir Henry Thurstan Holland, baronet, *Hampstead*

Sir Richard Everard Webster, *Isle of Wight*

Edward George Clarke, esquire, *Plymouth*

Right honble. Hugh Holmes, *Dublin University*

John George Gibson, esquire, *Liverpool (Walton Division)*

Right honble. William Pleydell Bouverie, commonly called Viscount Folkestone, *Middlesex (Enfield Division)*

Ellis Ashmead - Bartlett, esquire, *Sheffield (Ecclesall Division)*

Right honble. John Hay Athole Macdonald, *Edinburgh and St. Andrews Universities*

James Patrick Bannerman Robertson, esquire, *Bute County*

Right honble. William Heneage Legge, commonly called Viscount Lewisham, *Lewisham*

Right honble. Arthur James Balfour, *Manchester (East Division)*

Right honble. William Thackeray Marriott, *Brighton*

Lieutenant Colonel William Hood Walrond, *Devon County (North-East Division)*

Honble. Sidney Herbert, *Croydon*

Sir Herbert Eustace Maxwell, baronet, *Wigtown County*

Right honble. Arthur William Hill, commonly called Lord Arthur Hill, *Down County (West Division)*

Captain Charles William De la Poer Beresford, commonly called Lord Charles Beresford, *Marylebone (East Division)*

Honble. Brownlow Henry George Cecil, commonly called Lord Burghley, *Northampton County (Northern Division)*

Thomas Wodehouse Leigh, esquire, *South West Lancashire (Newton Division)*

Aug 23—Ronald Craufurd Munro Ferguson, esquire, *Leith Burghs*

Sydney Evershed, esquire, *Stafford County (Burton Division)*

Aug 26—Sir Matthew White Ridley, baronet, *North Lancashire (Blackpool Division)*

Aug 27—Alexander Weston Jarvis, esquire, *Borough of King's Lynn*

Parliamentary Elections

Polling Places in Rural Districts, Question, Mr. Waddy; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) *Sept 21*, [309] 1116; Observation, Mr. Waddy; Reply, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews), 1130

Parliamentary Elections (Closing of Public Houses) Bill (*Mr. Shirley, Mr. Quilter, Mr. Lawrence Gane, Mr. T. W. Russell*)

c. Ordered; read 1^o * *Aug 23* [Bill 23]
2R. [Dropped]

Parliamentary Elections Expenses (Ireland) Bill (*Mr. Finucane, Mr. Timothy Harrington, Mr. Tuile, Mr. Maurice Healy*)

c. Ordered; read 1^o * *Aug 23* [Bill 27]
2R. [Dropped]

Parliamentary Elections Law Amendment Bill (*Mr. Howell, Mr. Pickersgill, Mr. Fenwick, Mr. Picton*)

c. Ordered; read 1^o * *Aug 25* [Bill 39]
2R. [Dropped]

Parliamentary Franchise, The

Disabilities of the Police Force, Question, Mr. Lafone; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Lord Randolph Churchill) *Sept 14*, [309] 343

Electoral Power of Women, Question, Mr. Lafone; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Lord Randolph Churchill) *Sept 14*, [309] 344

PARNELL, Mr. C. S., Cork

Ireland — Evictions — The Latest Statistics, [309] 984
Irish Land Commission—Returns, [309] 28

Parliament—Business of the House—Duration of the Session, [308] 89

Parliament — Business of the House, Motion for the Address, [308] 381

Parliament—Business of the House, Res. [308] 1220

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Question, Mr. Tomlinson; Answer, The Secretary to the Board of Trade (Baron Henry De Worms) *Sept 2*, [308] 1064

PAULTON, Mr. J. M., Durham, Bishop Auckland

Mines, Royal Commission on — Safety Lamps, [309] 1110

PEARCE, Mr. W., Lanark, Govan

Navy—Returns of Ships of War, [308] 1642

PEEL, Right Hon. A. W. (see SPEAKER, The)

PENTON, Captain F. T., *Finsbury, Central Hall*—Marking—The Watch Trade, [309] 1090
Prisons Act—Site of the Clerkenwell Prisons, [309] 24

PERCY, Lord A., St. George's, Hanover Square

Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, [308] 1155

Peru and Chili—The Peruvian Bondholders' Committee

Question, Mr. Hunter; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir James Fergusson) *Sept 21*, [309] 1102

Pharmacy Act, 1868 — Prescriptions by Chemists

Question, Sir Thomas Esmonde; Answer, The Vice President of the Council (Sir Henry Holland) *Sept 3*, [308] 1188

PICKERSGILL, Mr. E. H., Bethnal Green, S. W.

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Establishments—Salaries, [309] 591

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Government of Ireland — Law Adviser to the Lord Lieutenant, [308] 164

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City of London Livery Companies, [309] 1123

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Public Health—Water Supply—The Poplar District, [309] 1256

Metropolitan Asylums Board—Questions

Accommodation for Imbecile Children, [308] 792

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Small-Pox Hospital at Darenth, [308] 664

Parliament — Business of the House—Precedence of Government Orders — Motions on Perpetual Pensions, &c. [308] 796

Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, [308] 528

Poor Law (England and Wales)—Questions

Flogging at the Hanwell Pauper Schools, [308] 164; [309] 1257

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1084; — Quota for Officers' Rations,
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[308] 376
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[308] 1187, 1188; — Medical Staff, [309]
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PICOT, Mr. J. A., *Leicester*

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Arnold's Special Report, [309] 979
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Father Fahy, [309] 1310
Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in An-
swer to, [308] 652; Motion for Adjourn-
ment, 871, 873, 921, 950
Supply—Civil Contingencies Fund, &c., [309]
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**Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders
Bill** (*Mr. Charles Acland, Mr. Mundella*)

c. Read 1^o *; read 2^o; read 3^o Aug 26 [Bill 201]
i. Read 1^a * (*E. Waldegrave*) Aug 30 (No. 191)
Read 2^a * Sept 2
Committee *; Report Sept 6
Read 3^a * Sept 7
Royal Assent Sept 25 [50 *Vict.* c. ix]

PINKERTON, Mr. J., *Galway*

India (Madras)—Land Union in Tanjore—Land
Tax in Madras, [308] 1745
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Bowling Green Mills, Co. Galway—Report
of Colonel Smith, R.E. [309] 345, 346,
597, 598
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Lower Bann, [308] 889; [309] 778
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swer to, [308] 311, 1133
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&c. [309] 537, 539
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**PLUNKET, Right Hon. D. B. (First
Commissioner of Works), *Dublin*
*University***

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Wellington Place, [309] 1099
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Electric Lighting, [309] 23
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[309] 211, 212

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(Mr. Ritchie) Aug 20, [308] 164; Sept 22,
[309] 1257
Homeless Poor of the Metropolis, Question, Mr.
Pickersgill; Answer, The Secretary to the
Local Government Board (Mr. Long) Sept 8,
[308] 1829
*Landing of Destitute and Insanitary Aliens—
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Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home
Department (Mr. Matthews) Sept 22, [309]
1269
*Launceston Board of Guardians—Education
of Children in a Public Elementary School*,
Question, Mr. Borlase; Answer, The Presi-
dent of the Local Government Board (Mr.
Ritchie) Sept 6, [308] 1315
Married Couples in Union Workhouses, Ques-
tions, Mr. Charles W. Gray; Answers, The
President of the Local Government Board
(Mr. Ritchie) Sept 3, [308] 1181; Sept 18,
[309] 928
Removal of Paupers, Question, Mr. Pickersgill;
Answer, The President of the Local Go-
vernment Board (Mr. Ritchie) Sept 22,
[309] 1268
"Vagrants and the Local Government Board,"
Question, Mr. Pickersgill; Answer, The
President of the Local Government Board
(Mr. Ritchie) Sept 7, [308] 1472

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POOR LAW (England and Wales)—cont.

Metropolitan Poor Amendment Act, 1870 — Metropolitan Common Poor Fund

Questions, Mr. Buxton, Mr. Pickersgill: Answers, The President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Ritchie) *Sept 2, [308] 1084*

Rations of Poor Law Officers, Question, Mr. Pickersgill; Answer, The President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Ritchie) *Aug 30, [308] 792*

Rations to Officers in the Bethnal Green Union, Question, Mr. Pickersgill; Answer, The President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Ritchie) *Sept 2, [308] 1094*

Quota for Officers' Rations, Observations, Mr. Pickersgill, Mr. Speaker *Sept 9, [308] 1755*

Poor Law Guardians (Ireland) Bill

(Mr. Luke Hayden, Mr. E. Harrington, Mr.

Dwyer Gray, Mr. Sexton, Mr. Jordan,

Mr. Sheehy, Mr. Connolly)

c. Ordered; read 1^o • *Aug 20* [Bill 1]
2R. [Dropped]

Portsmouth and Hayling Railway Bill (by Order)

c. Considered *Sept 2, [308] 1061*

Amendts. made; Ordered, That Standing Orders 223 and 243 be suspended (Queen's Consent signified)

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 3^o" (Sir Charles Forster); after short debate, Debate adjourned

Portugal—Madeira—Mr. Maxwell Wright, a British Subject

Question, Sir Whittaker Ellis; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir James Fergusson) *Sept 10, [309] 11*

POST OFFICE (Questions)

Major and Minor Departments, Questions, Mr. Wootton Isaacson; Answers, The Postmaster General (Mr. Raikes) *Sept 16, [309] 594*

The General Post Office—Vacancies in the Sorting Offices, Question, Mr. Crilly; Answer, The Postmaster General (Mr. Raikes) *Sept 17, [309] 784*

Acceleration of the Scotch Mails, Question, Dr. Clark; Answer, The Postmaster General (Mr. Raikes) *Aug 24, [308] 377*

Atlantic Mail Service from Galway, Question, Sir Roper Lethbridge; Answer, The Postmaster General (Mr. Raikes) *Sept 2, [309] 1091*

Book Post Parcels, Question, Mr. Tomlinson; Answer, The Postmaster General (Mr. Raikes) *Aug 31, [308] 874*

Parcel Post—Conveyance of Parcels to South Africa, Question, Mr. Baden-Powell; Answer, The Vice President of the Council (Sir Henry Holland) *Sept 21, [309] 1059*

Delays in Transmission, Question, Sir Thomas Esmonde; Answer, The Vice President of the Council (Sir Henry Holland) *Sept 20, [309] 966*

POST OFFICE—cont.

Friendly and Benefit Societies and Mercantile Firms—Additions to Circulars, and of Headings to Invoices, Questions, Sir Albert Rollit, Mr. Schwann; Answers, The Postmaster General (Mr. Raikes) *Sept 2, [308] 1087*

Insurance of Registered Letters, Question, Mr. Watt; Answer, The Postmaster General (Mr. Raikes) *Sept 16, [309] 602*

Postage of Circulars, Question, Sir Julian Goldsmid; Answer, The Postmaster General (Mr. Raikes) *Sept 3, [308] 1179*

Postage of Printed Matter, Question, Observations, The Earl of Milltown; Reply, The Prime Minister (The Marquess of Salisbury) *Sept 9, [308] 1719*

Postage of Unpaid Letters, Question, Sir John Lubbock; Answer, The Postmaster General (Mr. Raikes) *Sept 22, [309] 1256*

Postage Rates and Charges to the Australian Colonies, Question, Lord Henry Bruce; Answer, The Postmaster General (Mr. Raikes) *Sept 18, [309] 603*; Question, Sir Samuel Wilson; Answer, The Postmaster General (Mr. Raikes) *Sept 17, 786*

Rates of Postage between England and the Colonies, Questions, Mr. Henniker Heaton; Answers, The Postmaster General (Mr. Raikes) *Sept 10, [309] 14*; *Sept 22, 1260*

Postage Stamps—Distinctive Colours, Question, Mr. Dixon-Hartland; Answer, The Vice President of the Council (Sir Henry Holland) *Sept 20, [309] 976*

Postal Union, The—Payment in French Currency, Question, Mr. Samuel Montagu; Answer, The Postmaster General (Mr. Raikes) *Sept 9, [308] 1744*

Robbery of Mails on the Railway between London and Dover, April 8, 1886, Questions, Mr. J. G. Hubbard; Answers, The Postmaster General (Mr. Raikes), The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Lord Randolph Churchill) *Sept 14, [309] 329*

Savings Banks—The Savings Bank, Hastings, —Double Account, Questions, Major Ross; Answers, The Postmaster General (Mr. Raikes) *Sept 7, [308] 1468*

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"*Clerks in Waiting*"—"Table Money," Question, Mr. Pickersgill; Answer, The Postmaster General (Mr. Raikes) *Aug 24, [308] 376*

Female Clerks, Question, Mr. Baumann; Answer, The Postmaster General (Mr. Raikes) *Aug 26, [308] 559*

Medical Staff, General Post Office—Dr. Field, Questions, Mr. Pickersgill; Answers, The Postmaster General (Mr. Raikes) *Sept 3, [308] 1187*; *Sept 10, [309] 23*; Observation, Mr. Pickersgill *Sept 18, 934*; Observations, Mr. Pickersgill, Mr. Wootton Isaacson; Reply, The Postmaster General (Mr. Raikes) *937*

Postmasterships—The Welsh Language, Question, Mr. Kenyon; Answer, The Postmaster General (Mr. Raikes) *Aug 26, [308] 541*

Postmasters and Masters of Sub-Offices—Salaries, Question, Mr. Beadel; Answer, The Postmaster General (Mr. Raikes) *Sept 17, [309] 770*

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TELEGRAPH DEPARTMENT

Annual Holiday to Telegraphists, Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, The Vice President of the Council (Sir Henry Holland) *Sept* 21, [309] 1112

Clerks—Subsistence Allowances, Question, Mr. O'Lea; Answer, The Postmaster General (Mr. Raikes) *Sept* 2, [308] 1064

Discharge of a Clerk, Question, Mr. Pickersgill; Answer, The Postmaster General (Mr. Raikes) *Aug* 24, [308] 380

Country Telegrams, Question, Mr. Cochrane-Baillie; Answer, The Postmaster General (Mr. Raikes) *Sept* 3, [308] 1186

Rates for Telegrams to the Continent, Question, Sir George Campbell; Answer, The Postmaster General (Mr. Raikes) *Sept* 9, [308] 1720

Foreign Telegrams—The Sub-Marine Telegraph Company, Question, Sir George Campbell; Answer, The Postmaster General (Mr. Raikes) *Sept* 14, [309] 336

Deficient Arrangements at West Ham, Question, Mr. Forrest Fulton; Answer, The Postmaster General (Mr. Raikes) *Sept* 9, [308] 1740

Money Orders, Question, Mr. Shirley; Answer, The Postmaster General (Mr. Raikes) *Aug* 31, [308] 878

Success of the Sixpenny Telegram System, Observations, Mr. Shaw Lefevre *Sept* 18, [309] 935; Observations, Mr. Shaw Lefevre; Reply, The Postmaster General (Mr. Raikes), 935; — *Financial Results*, Question, Mr. Shaw Lefevre; Answer, The Postmaster General (Mr. Raikes) *Sept* 22, [309] 1267

Telegraphic Communication between the United Kingdom and the Australasian Colonies, Question, Sir Samuel Wilson; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. E. Stanhope) *Sept* 13, [309] 174; Question, Captain Colomb; Answer, The Vice President of the Council (Sir Henry Holland) *Sept* 20, 777

Telephone Companies, Questions, Mr. Dwyer Gray; Answers, The Postmaster General (Mr. Raikes) *Sept* 2, [308] 1073

The Northern District Telephone Company, Question, Sir Henry Havelock-Allan; Answer, The Postmaster General (Mr. Raikes) *Sept* 14, [309] 338

POWELL, Mr. F. S., *Wigan*

Education Department—Schemes of the Charity Commissioners, [308] 741

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Westminster Hall (Restoration), [308] 268

POWER, Mr. P. J., *Waterford, E.*

Army Estimates—Militia Pay and Allowances, [308] 1368, 1371

Ireland—Law and Justice—Administration, [308] 1779, 1780

Post Office—Sub-Postmaster of Stradbally, Co. Waterford, [309] 766, 1123

Supply—Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, [309] 488

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POWER, Mr. R., *Waterford*

House of Commons—Appointment of Officers, [308] 1474

Ireland—Board of National Education—Dismissal of Mr. J. G. Fitzgerald, [308] 1086

Resignation of Dr. Newell, [308] 1086

PRICE, Captain G. E., *Devonport*

Army Estimates—Warlike Stores, &c., Manufacture and Repair of, [308] 1501, 1504, 1544, 1572

Works, Buildings, &c. at Home and Abroad, [308] 1580

Navy—Returns of Ships of War, [308] 1641

Navy Estimates—Machinery and Ships Built by Contract, &c. [308] 1687, 1691, 1696

Medical Establishments at Home and Abroad, [308] 1667

Miscellaneous Services, [308] 1706

PRIME MINISTER (*see* SALISBURY, Marquess of)

Private Lunatic Asylums (Ireland) Bill

(Mr. William Corbet, Mr. Dillwyn, Mr. P. J. Power, Dr. Cameron, Mr. Molloy)

c. Ordered; read 1^o *Aug* 20 [Bill 7]
2R. [Dropped]

Public Accounts Committee—Secret Service Money

Question, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Lord Randolph Churchill) *Aug* 27, [308] 667

[See Supply]

Public Departments, The Royal Commission on—Out-door Officials of Customs and Excise

Question, Mr. Matthew Kenny; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Lord Randolph Churchill) *Sept* 20, [309] 981

[See title *Civil Service*]

Public Health

Gipsy-Van and Travelling Children, Question, Mr. Burt; Answer, The Vice President of the Council (Sir Henry Holland) *Sept* 17, [309] 776

Public Health—cont.

Hydrophobia—*Mr. Pasteur's Researches*, Question, Sir John Lubbock; Answer, The President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Ritchie) Aug 26, [308] 835

The River Chess, Herts, Question, Mr. Lawson; Answer, The President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Ritchie) Aug 30, [308] 779 [See *Rivers Pollution*]

Public Health (Scotland) Provisional Order (Urray Water) Bill

(*The Lord Advocate, Mr. Solicitor General for Scotland*)

- c. Read 1^o * Aug 28 [Bill 279]
 Read 2^o * Aug 31
 Report *; Considered; read 3^o Sept 7
 l. Read 1^o * (*Lord Stanley of Preston*) Sept 7
 Read 2^a * Sept 16 (No. 17)
 Committee *; Report; read 3^a Sept 20
 Royal Assent Sept 25 [50 Vict. c. xx]

PULESTON, Mr. J. H., *Devonport*

Currency—The Royal Commission—Names of Members, [308] 1479

Liabilities of Trustees—Indian Guaranteed Railway Shares, [308] 1760

Russia—Ill-treatment of an M.P. at Moscow, [308] 263

PYNE, Mr. J. D., *Waterford, W.*

Army Estimates—Miscellaneous Effective Services, [308] 1591

Supply—Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, [309] 482, 489

Woods and Forests, Department of—Administration of the Department, [308] 1791, 1792

Queen, The—Accession of Her Majesty—Celebration of the Jubilee

Question, Mr. Lawson; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Lord Randolph Churchill) Sept 25, [309] 1354

RAIKES, Right Hon. H. C. (Postmaster General), *Cambridge University*

House of Commons—Appointment of Officers, [308] 1474

Post Office (England and Wales)—Questions

Book Post Parcels, [308] 875

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General Post Office—Chief Medical Officer, [308] 1188;—Medical Staff, [309] 943, 944;—Dr. Field, [309] 23;—Vacancies in the Sorting Offices, [309] 785

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Postage Rates to the Australian Colonies, [309] 14, 603, 786, 1261

Postal Union—Payment in French Currency, [308] 1744

Postmasters and Masters of Sub-Offices—Salaries, [309] 770

Postmasterhips—The Welsh Language, [308] 541

Robbery of Mails on the Railway between London and Dover, April 8, 1886, [309] 330

Savings Banks—Savings Bank, Hastings—Double Account, [308] 1469

Supply—Post Office Estimates—Clerks in the Savings Bank Department, [309] 24

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Sixpenny Telegrams—Financial Results, [309] 936, 937, 1267

Telegraph Clerks—Discharge of a Clerk, [308] 380;—Subsistence Allowances, [308] 1064

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Railway Freights Bill

(Colonel Nolan, Mr. Conybeare, Mr. Richard Power, Mr. Marum)

c. Ordered; read 1^o * Aug 23 [Bill 25]
2R. [Dropped]

Railway Regulation Bill

(Mr. Channing, Mr. A. Acland, Mr. Broadhurst, Mr. Fenwick, Mr. John Ellis, Mr. Charles Parker, Mr. Jacoby, Mr. Lawson)

c. Ordered; read 1^o * Aug 24 [Bill 37]
2R. [Dropped]

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The Penistone Accident—Brakes on the Manchester, Sheffield, and Lincolnshire Railway, Question, Mr. Channing; Answer, The Secretary to the Board of Trade (Baron Henry De Worms) Sept 7, [308] 1466

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(*Mr. Mahony, Mr. Chance, Mr. Maurice Healy, Mr. Timothy Harrington, Mr. Peter McDonald, Mr. Carew*)

c. Ordered; read 1° Aug 20 [Bill 5]
2R. [Dropped]

REID, Mr. R. T., *Dumfries, &c.*

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(*Mr. Picton, Mr. Edmund Robertson, Mr. Cairns, Mr. E. R. Russell, Mr. Burt, Mr. James Stuart*)

c. Ordered; read 1° Aug 20 [Bill 8]
2R. [Dropped]

RICHARD, Mr. H., *Merthyr Tydvil*

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Rivers Pollution (River Lea)

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**Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday
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(*Mr. Borlase, Sir John St. Aubyn, Mr. Acland,
Mr. Conybeare, Mr. Courtney, Mr. Bickford-
Smith*)

c. Ordered; read 1^o * *Aug 20* [Bill 12]
2R. [Dropped]

Sale under Legal Process Bill

(*Mr. Edmund Robertson, Mr. Pictou, Mr. Handel
Cosham, Mr. Howorth, Mr. William
Hunter*)

c. Ordered; read 1^o * *Sept 1* [Bill 43]
2R. [Dropped]

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Secret Service (Repeal) Bill

(Mr. Jackson, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Akers-Douglas)

c. Ordered; read 1^o * *Aug 30* [Bill 41]

Read 2^o * *Sept 2*

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l. Read 1^o * (*M. of Salisbury*) *Sept 6* (No. 15)

Read 2^o *Sept 13*, [309] 160

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Royal Assent *Sept 25* [50 Vict. c. 2]

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c. Bill, *pro forma*, read 1^o *Aug 19*

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SETON-KARR, Mr. H., *St. Helen's*

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(*Sir John Lubbock, Mr. Barry, Mr. Burt, Mr. Cameron Corbett, Mr. Macnaghten*)

c. Ordered; read 1^o Aug 26 [Bill 40]
 2R. [Dropped]

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(*Mr. O'Hara, Mr. Sexton, Mr. Deasy, Mr. Dwyer*
Gray, Mr. Arthur O'Connor)

c. Ordered; read 1^o Aug 20 [Bill 16]
2R. [Dropped]

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The Commercial Tariff — "Certificates of Origin," Question, Mr. Jacob Bright ; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir James Fergusson) Aug 31, [308] 891
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Great Britain and Spain—Treaty of Extradition, Question, Mr. F. S. Stevenson ; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir James Fergusson) Sept 25, [309] 1353

SPEAKER, Tho (Right Hon. ARTHUR WELLESLEY PEEL), Warwick and Leamington

Right Hon. Arthur Wellesley Peel chosen Speaker of this House Aug 5, [308] 8— is presented to the Lords Commissioners, and approved and confirmed by Her Majesty, 12, 15—and takes the Oath, 16

Double Returns—Election of Seat—Mr. Sexton having been returned for the Southern Division of the County of Sligo and the Western Division of the Borough of Belfast, had informed Mr. Speaker that he elected to serve for Belfast ; and Mr. Biggar now moved the issue of a new Writ for the Sligo Division.—Mr. Speaker said, he had replied to the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Sexton) that he was not in a position to make his election, for reason that a Petition had been presented against his return for one of those constituencies. In his (Mr. Speaker's) opinion a Member could not elect to choose which of the two constituencies he should sit for, until he had been duly returned for both of them. In this case he had not been duly returned for both of them, because the return for one of them was still *sub judice* ; and it was an old and a very well-established and well-known practice of that House that until there was no question as to the return of a Member for either of the constituencies for which he was returned he was not able to make his choice of either. . . . It is a well-understood Rule of the House that if a Member is returned for two places he can sit ; but for which place the hon. Member is now sitting it is impossible for me to say until the Court has decided upon his return, [308] 163, 169

[cont.]

SPEAKER, Tho—cont.

Procedure—Moved, "That the Address be read a second time"—Mr. Parnell : I wish to know whether the Report of the Address can be taken without Notice and without the consent of the House ?—Mr. Speaker : It is not uncommon that the Report of the Address should be taken immediately after the Address has been agreed to. There is no Notice necessary for the Report of the Address—it is brought up as a matter of course immediately after the Address is agreed to, [308] 1162, 1163

Rules of Debate

Precedence in Speaking.—Mr. A. O'Connor : I wish to know whether it is not the recognized practice that the debate should be resumed by the hon. Member who moved the adjournment on the previous day ? If the hon. Member who so moved the adjournment fails to be in his place at the resumption of the debate, is he entitled, at a subsequent period, to precedence over hon. Members who have been here all the evening and desire to speak ?—Mr. Speaker : If the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham (Mr. J. Chamberlain) had been in his place at the commencement of the debate he would have claimed the right to address the House ; but I see nothing to debar him from rising to address the House at a later period, [308] 614

Reading a Speech.—It is contrary to the Rules of the House for a Member to read his speech ; but he may refer to his notes to refresh his memory, [308] 1034

Reference to a previous Debate.—I must remind the hon. Gentleman that he is not entitled, when the Speaker is in the Chair, to refer to a speech made in Committee of this Session, [309] 1288

Speaking a Second Time.—The hon. Gentleman has spoken already on the Main Question, [309] 1306

Reference to Debates in the other House.—It is a well-established Rule, and one of obvious convenience, that no reference should be made to words used in the other House of Parliament in the same Session, [308] 223

Relevancy and Irrelevancy.—The Debate on the Address—Amendments—Relevancy—Mr. Speaker states, at length, his opinion that when the general debate on the Address appears to be terminated by the introduction of an Amendment then the general discussion on the Address is closed ; and the debate is thereafter confined to the subject-matter of that Amendment. But when the Amendment is concluded, the Address is again open to amendment in the interval between an Amendment and possibly a subsequent Amendment, [308] 413, 414, 1242, 1243

Irrelevancy.—Mr. Harris continuing irrelevancy of observation, though repeatedly called to Order, Mr. Speaker requested him to resume his seat, [308] 939

Mr. Flynn continuing irrelevancy of observation and tedious repetition, though repeatedly called to Order, Mr. Speaker

[cont]

SPEAKER, The—*cont.*

requested him to resume his seat; but, not complying, Mr. Speaker directed him to resume his seat, [308] 983, 984

When a right hon. Gentleman has pursued a course which has brought him under the notice of the Chair, and requires him to be called to Order, Mr. Speaker does not consider that the remarks he had made are a fit subject for subsequent discussion, [308] 737, 738

Colonel Sanderson, having alluded to certain Members of the House, in connection with the Fenian Brotherhood, read the names of those who had taken the Fenian Oath, and, being challenged for his authority, referred to a pamphlet published at Chicago, U.S.—On discussion, Mr. Speaker said: The hon. and gallant Gentleman has given his authority for the statement he is making. The House must judge of the value of that authority for itself. It is not for me to interfere on a point of Order in this instance, [308] 1241

Premature discussion of a Motion.—Mr. Speaker: I must point out to the hon. Member (Mr. Pickersgill) that he has introduced a Bill, which is now standing on the Paper for a second reading, which contains a distinct reference to the subject-matter of the present Motion; and as that Bill is to be brought on upon a future day, the hon. Member would not be in Order in moving his Resolution now, as he would be anticipating the discussion upon the Bill, [308] 1756

Dr. Clark: While the right hon. Gentleman shields criminals . . . Mr. Speaker: The expression the hon. Gentleman has used is not a proper one to use in this House, and he must withdraw it, [308] 1295

The Lord Advocate: I am rather inclined to think that if the manner and tone of the hon. Member (Dr. Clark) were pretty much the same as we have seen him occasionally adopt in this House . . . Mr. Speaker: The right hon. and learned Gentleman is not entitled to use that expression, and I hope he will withdraw it, [308] 1299

After Question put, Captain Colomb said: Mr. Speaker, at this moment an hon. Member (Dr. Tanner) crossed from the other side of the House and said to me that I had said he was paid for obstructing, and that I was a liar . . . After the Division, Mr. Speaker said, that as the words complained of had been used in the House that matter had come under his authority; that while the Division was in progress both the hon. Members had expressed to him their deep regret at the occurrence, and had unreservedly withdrawn the words that had given offence, and tendered their apologies to each other and to the House, [308] 1164, 1165

Mr. Parnell: I wish to know whether the noble Lord (Lord R. Churchill) is entitled to impute a Parliamentary offence to any Member or Party in this House—the offence of Obstruction?—Mr. Speaker: I have never understood that there was anything un-Parliamentary in attributing that quality to any hon. Member, [308] 1170

SPEAKER, The—*cont.*

Dr. Commins: I wish to know, Sir, whether the hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Macartney) is in Order in speaking of the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Pinkerton), or any other Member of the House, as a renegade to his religion or anything else?—Mr. Speaker: The hon. and learned Gentleman must withdraw that expression. It is un-Parliamentary, [308] 1136

Mr. W. Redmond: I shall not condescend to follow the hon. Tory Member for Antrim (Mr. Macartney) through the low and scurrilous depths of language into which he has fallen.—Mr. Speaker: The hon. Member has made use of an improper and un-Parliamentary expression, and I hope he will at once withdraw it, [308] 1138

Mr. W. Redmond: I will not even say that the hon. Member's speech was "ditch-water," although he said that about the speech of one of my hon. Friends. In fact, I will not follow such an ungentlemanly line of argument.—Mr. Speaker: If the hon. Member repeats this language I shall have to take the very severe course of Naming him. This is the second time I have called him to Order for using expressions which are highly improper and un-Parliamentary. I will now ask him to express regret to the House for having used the last expression which has fallen from him.—Mr. W. Redmond: The expression "ungentlemanly" I unreservedly withdraw, and I would not have used it if I had thought it was un-Parliamentary.—Mr. Speaker: I do not consider that the hon. Member has made an apology to the House.—Mr. W. Redmond: Then, Sir, I will apologize to the House, [308] 1139, 1140

Reflections on Members of the House of Lords.—I must remind the hon. Member (Dr. Tanner) that a certain amount of courtesy is due from the Members of one branch of the Legislature to those of the other. The hon. Member has been alluding to a noble Duke in "another place" in a manner which violates the obligation of courtesy due from a Member of the House of Commons to a Member of the House of Lords.—Subsequently, the hon. Member continuing his irrelevance and tedious repetition, Mr. Speaker asked him to resume his seat, [308] 937, 938

The hon. Member (Mr. Baumann) is referring to some language used outside the House; but if he, as a Member of this House, charges the hon. Member for Caithness with "vulgar and venomous scurrility," it is an expression which is not Parliamentary, and not suited to the dignity or the Forms of this House, [308] 910, 920

Mr. Speaker: I do not think the right hon. Gentleman (Sir William Harcourt) is justified in that line of argument. [*A Voice from the Home Rule Benches: Shame!*] That is a most unjustifiable expression, and if I knew who used it I would take action. [*Cries of "Name!"*].—Sir William Harcourt: Of course, I shall bow absolutely to your ruling. I only wish, Sir . . . Mr. Speaker: The right hon. Gentleman is now arguing with the Chair. . . . Sir William Harcourt: I

SPEAKER, The—*cont.*

shall absolutely obey your ruling, Sir, [308] 1156, 1157

Mr. T. W. Russell : I came to this House determined to vote as my conscience directed me, either for or against the Government — Dr. Tanner : You never had one.—Mr. Speaker : Order, order ! The hon. Member has made use of a most improper and un-Parliamentary expression, which I must ask him at once to withdraw, [308] 465

Imputation on Members of this House.—Colonel Saunderson : As far as I understand the explanation, the hon. Member (Mr. Harris) now informs the House of an interesting fact which I was not aware of before—namely, that he belongs to the Ribbon Organization.—Mr. Dillon : I rise to Order. I wish to know whether the hon. and gallant Member is entitled to accuse the hon. Member of belonging to the Ribbon Organization ?—Mr. Speaker : It is not an accusation, but a statement that the hon. Member has admitted a certain fact. It is for the House to judge.—After some time, Mr. Speaker said : I think it must be the wish of the House that these personal recriminations should cease, [308] 517, 518

Mr. Speaker : I have already stated that if the hon. and gallant Gentleman (Colonel Saunderson) intends, by the expression he made use of, to impute to the hon. Member for Cork (Mr. Parnell) the act of having turned on crime at his pleasure, I do not consider that would be a Parliamentary expression, and I think it should be withdrawn, [308] 525

Questions—Notice.—Mr. J. G. Hubbard, in his place, proposed to give Notice that on a subsequent day he would ask a Question of the Home Secretary respecting an article in *The Daily News* entitled "The Tithe War in Wales."—Mr. Speaker : As I understand, the right hon. Gentleman is now giving Notice of a Question. According to the Rule of the House made last Session, the right hon. Gentleman must give Notice of the Question to the Clerk at the Table in the usual way, [308] 254, 556

Supply—Mr. Tuite said, he rose to call attention to the administration of justice in Ireland, and to the fact that successive Lords Lieutenant of Ireland, in the face of new facts which had come to light in connection with the Barbavilla prisoners, had neglected their administrative duties.—Mr. Speaker : I must call the attention of the hon. Member to the fact that I have already ruled, at an earlier period of the evening—[308] 1755—that the question of the Barbavilla murder has no reference whatever to the Estimates now before the House. The Standing Order states that distinctly—that no Question shall be raised, or Motion made, that is not strictly relevant to the Estimates to be taken in Supply, [308] 1774

Mr. Speaker : In my opinion the Report of Supply is part of the same transaction as Committee of Supply, and is therefore covered by the Resolution which was passed by the House the other day, [308] 1481

SPEAKER, The—*cont.*

Supply—Relevancy—I do not know how the hon. Member (Mr. Labouchere) proposes to connect his remarks with the Estimates. It is altogether out of Order to enter into details on the Motion that the Speaker do leave the Chair; and, further, it is out of Order to refer to Estimates which are not now before the House, but which have been already disposed of in the previous Session, [308] 1789, 1793

On Motion for Leave to bring in the Consolidated Fund (Appropriation) Bill, Mr. Pickergill said, if he were in Order he would move to reduce the amount voted for the Medical Staff of the Post Office by the sum of £100.—Mr. Speaker said, it would not be in Order to put the Motion. The Question before the House was that leave be given to bring in the Bill. The hon. Member moved to strike out an item; but he could not do that on the introduction of a measure, [309] 242

Supply—Committee—Mr. Sexton having complained of an error in the Votes which he sought to have rectified—Mr. Speaker said : I have no cognizance of what takes place in Committee of Supply. I am only cognizant of those matters which take place when I am in the Chair. The hon. Member had better make a representation to the Chairman of Committees. I have no doubt that if any mistake has been committed it will at once be rectified, [309] 28

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- 308] General, 699, 861
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- 308] Order in Debate—Committee of Supply, 620, 621, 1215, 1642, 1775, 1776, 1779, 1780, 1785, 1786
- 308] Order in Debate—Relevancy, 583, 596, 611, 625, 627, 680, 683, 693, 698, 703, 705, 734, 737, 738, 868, 869, 871, 1248
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- 308] Relevancy and Irrelevancy, 429, 442, 452, 460, 827, 847, 870, 908, 910, 911, 928, 937, 938, 982, 984, 987, 1101, 1107, 1108, 1109, 1139, 1155
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- Great Britain and Spain—Treaty of Extradition, [309] 1353

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- Bulgaria—Reported Abdication of Prince Alexander, [308] 1711

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- Army Estimates—Miscellaneous Effective Services, [308] 1586, 1587, 1588

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- Parliament—Business of the House, Res. [308] 1211
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Submarine Telegraph Act (1885) Amendment Bill

(*Baron Henry De Worms, Sir James Fergusson*)

- a. Ordered; read 1^o * Sept 9 [Bill 45]
- Read 2^o * Sept 10
- Committee; Report; read 3^o Sept 13, [309] 328
- l. Read 1^o * (*Lord Stanley of Preston*) Sept 16 (No. 20)
- Read 2^o *; Committee negatived; read 3^o Sept 20
- Royal Assent Sept 25 [50 Vict. c. 3]

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- Abolition—An International Congress, Question, Mr. Tomlinson; Answer, The Secretary to the Board of Trade (*Baron Henry De Worms*) Sept 2, [308] 1063
- Exportation of Sugar—Continuance of Bounties, Question, Colonel Hill; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (*Sir James Fergusson*) Sept 21, [309] 1117

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- Law and Justice—Imprisonment of Father Fahy, [309] 1323
- Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, [308] 726, 1050; Report, 1244, 1245, 1248

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- Supply—Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, [309] 364
- Public Works in Ireland, Amendt. [309] 574

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- Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, [308] 836

SUPPLY

Customs Estimates—Surveyor of the Port of London, Questions, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Lord Randolph Churchill) *Sept 9*, [308] 1737

Order of taking the Estimates, Question, Mr. Lewis; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Lord Randolph Churchill) *Sept 14*, [309] 346

Post Office Estimates—Clerks in the Savings Bank Department, Question, Mr. Pickersgill; Answer, The Postmaster General (Mr. Raikes) *Sept 10*, [309] 24

Supply

Moved, "That this House will, upon Monday next, resolve itself into a Committee to consider of the Supply to be granted to Her Majesty" (*The Secretary of State for War*, Mr. W. H. Smith) *Sept 3*, [308] 1302; Motion agreed to [Estimates referred]

SUPPLY

308] Considered in Committee *Sept 6*, 1328—ARMY ESTIMATES, Votes 2 to 9 and 11

Resolutions reported, and, after short debate, agreed to *Sept 7*, 1602

Considered in Committee *Sept 7*, 1481—ARMY ESTIMATES, Votes 12 to 25

Resolutions reported *Sept 8*, 1700

First Resolution postponed; Subsequent Resolutions agreed to

Postponed Resolution considered, and, after debate, agreed to *Sept 9*, 1855

Considered in Committee *Sept 8*, 1643—NAVY ESTIMATES, Votes 7 to 10 and 13

Resolutions reported *Sept 9*

Considered in Committee *Sept 9*, 1793—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES—CLASS I.—PUBLIC WORKS AND BUILDINGS, Votes 21 and 22; CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS, Votes 1 to 12; NAVY ESTIMATES, Votes 12, 13, 14

309] Resolutions reported *Sept 10*, 153

Res. 1 to 15, inclusive, agreed to

Res. 16 read 2°; Moved, "That this House doth agree with the Committee in the said

[cont.

SUPPLY—cont.

Resolution" (Mr. Jackson); after short debate, Question put; A. 129, N. 50; M. 79 (D. L. 22)

309] Considered in Committee *Sept 10*, 29—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES—CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS, Votes 13 to 25

Resolutions reported, and, after short debate, agreed to *Sept 13*, 325

Considered in Committee *Sept 13*, 188—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES—CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS, Votes 25 to 35, 37, 40, 42; CLASS III.—LAW AND JUSTICE, Vote 21

Resolutions reported *Sept 14*

Considered in Committee *Sept 14*, 348—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES—CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS, Vote 36

Resolution reported *Sept 15*

Considered in Committee *Sept 15*, 496—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES—CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS, Votes 38 & 39

Resolutions reported, and, after short debate, agreed to *Sept 16*, 763

Considered in Committee *Sept 16*, 604—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES—CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS, Vote 41; CLASS III.—LAW AND JUSTICE, Votes 21, 22, 25 to 29, and 31; CLASS IV.—EDUCATION, SCIENCE, AND ART, Votes 1 to 3, 6 to 9

Resolutions reported, and, after short debate, agreed to *Sept 17*, 925

Considered in Committee *Sept 17*, 789—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES—CLASS III.—LAW AND JUSTICE, Vote 30; CLASS IV.—EDUCATION, SCIENCE, AND ART, Votes 4 and 5, 10 to 18; CLASS V.—FOREIGN AND COLONIAL SERVICES, Votes 1 to 8; CLASS VI.—NON-EFFECTIVE AND CHARITABLE SERVICES, Votes 1 to 9; CLASS VII.—MISCELLANEOUS, Votes 1, and 2; REVENUE DEPARTMENTS, Votes 1. to V.; CLASS III.—LAW AND JUSTICE, Vote 7, and Vote for Crofters' Commission; CLASS IV.—EDUCATION, SCIENCE, AND ART, Vote 18; CLASS VII.—MISCELLANEOUS, Vote 2

Resolutions reported, and, after debate, agreed to *Sept 18*, 929

SUP SUP (GENERAL INDEX) SUP SUP
308—309.

SUMMARY (SESSION 1.)

APPROPRIATION OF GRANTS. £ s. d.			WAYS AND MEANS.		
1885-86.			GRANTS OUT OF THE CONSOLIDATED FUND.		
Deficiencies, 1884-85 ...	595	12 1	For the service of the years £ s. d.		
Navy Deficiency, 1884-85 ...	38,119	10 0	ending 31st March 1885		
Civil Services and Revenue Departments (Supplementary), 1885-86 ...	236,272	0 0	and 1886; viz.		
Navy (Supplementary), 1885-86 ...	308,400	0 0	Under Act 49 Vic. cap. 4 ...		
Army (Supplementary), 1885-86 ...	100	0 0	533,487 2 1		
	533,487	2 1	For the service of the year		
1886-87			ending 31st March 1887:—		
NAVY SERVICES... ..	9,056,700	0 0	Under Act 49 Vic. cap. 7 ...		
ARMY SERVICES... ..	12,739,300	0 0	12,713,318 0 0		
CIVIL SERVICES—viz.:			Under this Act ...		
I. Public Works and £			28,993,652 0 0		
Buildings ...	1,807,343		/		
II. Salaries, &c. Civil Departments ...	1,438,600				
III. Law and Justice	5,480,163				
IV. Education, Science, and Art ...	3,384,200				
V. Foreign and Colonial Services ...	433,400				
VI. Non-Effective, &c. Services ...	613,264				
VII. Miscellaneous	24,000				
	13,180,970	0 0			
REVENUE DEPARTMENTS, &c. ...	4,730,000	0 0			
Total ...	£40,290,457	2 1	Total . £40,290,457 2 1		

SUMMARY (SESSION 2.)

APPROPRIATION OF GRANTS. £ s. d.			WAYS AND MEANS.		
1886-7.			GRANT OUT OF THE CONSOLIDATED FUND.		
(to complete)			For the service of the year £ s. d.		
NAVY SERVICES... ..	3,936,400	0 0	ending 31st March 1887		
ARMY SERVICES... ..	5,493,900	0 0	20,089,689 0 0		
CIVIL SERVICES—viz.:					
I. Public Works and £					
Buildings ...	26,931				
II. Salaries, &c. Civil Departments ...	1,038,358				
III. Law and Justice	837,244				
IV. Education, Science, and Art ...	2,063,782				
V. Foreign and Colonial Services ...	211,464				
VI. Non-Effective, &c. Services ...	627,000				
VII. Miscellaneous ...	30,919				
Total CIVIL SERVICES (to complete) ...	4,835,986	0 0			
REVENUE DEPARTMENTS, &c. (to complete) ...	5,823,691	0 0			
Total ...	£20,089,689	0 0	Total... £20,089,689 0 0		

NAVY ESTIMATES, 1886-87.

Supply—cont.

COMMITTEE Mar 15—REPORT Mar 16

I.—NUMBERS.

Moved, "That 61,400 Men and Boys be employed for the Sea and Coast-guard Service for the year ending the 31st day of March, 1887, including 12,000 Royal Marines"	<i>Numbers</i>
After debate, Vote agreed to	
	[303] 905 61,000

II.—EFFECTIVE SERVICES

COMMITTEE Mar 19— REPORT Mar 19	Amount Voted. £	Total of Estimate. £				Amount voted to complete. £
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(1.) Wages &c. of Seamen and Marines	2,902,900	2,902,900	.	.	.	£
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Departmental Statement of the Secretary to the Admiralty on moving the first Vote £2,902,900, Wages, &c. to Seamen and Marines

After long debate, Vote agreed to [303] 1184

(2.) Victuals and Clothing for Seamen and Marines	964,400	964,400	.	.	.	_____
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After short debate, Vote agreed [303] 1285

COMMITTEE June 10—

REPORT June 11

(3.) Admiralty Office ...	203,400	203,400	.	.	.	_____
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COMMITTEE May 24—

REPORT May 25

(4.) Coast Guard Service, Royal Naval Reserves, &c.	207,600	207,600	.	.	.	_____
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(5.) Scientific Branch ...	113,200	113,200	.	.	.	_____
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After short debate, Vote agreed to [305] 1971

COMMITTEE June 10—

REPORT June 11

(6.) Dockyards and Naval Yards at Home and Abroad	1,729,500	1,729,500	.	.	.	_____
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Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £1,729,500, be granted, &c."

Moved, "That the Item A Salaries and Allowances (Salaries of Civil Assistants) be omitted" (Sir John Gorst); after debate, Motion withdrawn [306] 1322

Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £1,029,500, &c." (Lord Charles Beresford); after short debate, Motion withdrawn, 1379

308—309.

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SUP SUP { SESSION 2, 1886 } SUP SUP

308—309.

Supply—cont.	Amount Voted.	Total of Estimate.	Amount voted to Complete.
Section I. Military Pensions and Allowances	£ 905,800	£ 905,800	
Section II. Civil Pensions and Allowances	333,300	333,300	
Total for the Naval Service		12,741,100	
IV.—EXTRA ESTIMATE FOR SERVICES NOT NAVAL:			
(17.) Freight, &c. for the Army (Conveyance of Troops)	252,000	252,000	
Total ...	£9,056,700	£12,993,100	Total ... £3,936,400

Total Estimate for NAVY SERVICES ...	£12,993,100
Amount voted (Session 1) ...	9,056,700
Ditto to complete (Session 2) ...	3,936,400
	<u>£12,993,100</u>

ARMY ESTIMATES, 1886-7.

COMMITTEE Mar 22—REPORT Mar 23

I.—NUMBERS.

Numbers

(A.) Total number of Men on the Home and Colonial Establishments of the Army, exclusive of those serving in India	151,867
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Departmental Statement of the Secretary of State for War (*Mr. Campbell-Bannerman*) in moving the Army Estimates

Moved, "That a number of Land Forces, not exceeding 151,867, all ranks, be maintained for the Service of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland at Home and Abroad, excluding H.M.'s Indian Possessions, during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1886"

After short debate, Vote agreed to [303] 1588

II.—EFFECTIVE SERVICES.

	Amount Voted.	Total of Estimate.	Amount voted to Complete.
(1.) Pay of the General Staff, Regimental Pay and Allowances, and other Charges	£ 4,457,300	£ 4,457,300	
(2.) Divine Service	30,000	60,800	
(3.) Administration of Military Law	20,000	37,600	
(4.) Medical Establishments and Services	160,000	333,000	
(5.) Militia Pay and Allowances	270,000	555,000	
	(cont.)		

COMMITTEE Sept 6 — REPORT Sept 7	£
(2.) Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £17,600, be granted, &c.;" after short debate, Vote agreed to [308] 1328	30,800
(3.) Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £173,000, be granted, &c.;" after debate, Vote agreed to [308] 1328	17,600
(4.) Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £173,000, be granted, &c.;" after debate, Vote agreed to [308] 1328	173,000
(5.) After debate, Vote agreed to [308] 1347	285,000
	(cont.)

SUP SUP { GENERAL INDEX } SUP SUP

30 8—309.

<i>Supply—cont.</i>	Amount Voted.	Total of Estimate.	<i>Supply—cont.</i>	Amount voted to Complete.
(6.) Yeomanry Cavalry Pay and Allowances...	£ 40,000	£ 76,000	(6.) Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £36,000, be granted, &c.;" after short debate, Question put; A. 155, N. 64; M. 91; Vote agreed to [308] 1373	£ 36,000
(7.) Volunteer Corps Pay and Allowances ...	320,000	624,500	(7.) Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £304,500, be granted, &c." After debate, Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £288,500, &c." (<i>Mr. John O'Connor</i>); Question put; A. 55, N. 150; M. 95; Vote agreed to [308] 1374	304,500
(8.) Army Reserve Force Pay and Allowances (including Enrolled Pensioners) ...	200,000	423,000	(8.) After debate, Vote agreed to [308] 1394	223,000
(9.) Commissariat, Transport, and Ordnance Store Establishments, Wages, &c. ...	260,000	520,200	(9.) Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £260,200, be granted, &c." After debate, Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £255,700, &c." (<i>Dr. Tanner</i>); Motion withdrawn; Vote agreed to [308] 1410	260,200
COMMITTEE May 24— REPORT May 25				
(10.) Provisions, Forage, Fuel, Transport, and other Services ...	3,282,000	3,282,000		
COMMITTEE Mar 25—				
11.) Clothing Establishments, Services, and Supplies ...	440,000	866,500	(11.) Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £426,500, be granted, &c." Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £396,500, &c." (<i>Mr. John O'Connor</i>); after debate, Question put; A. 51, N. 152; M. 101; Vote agreed to [308] 1428	426,500
After long debate, <i>Comm. R.P.</i> [303] 1809				
(12.) Supply, Manufacture, and Repair of Warlike and other Stores ...	1,200,000	2,569,000	COMMITTEE Sept 7—REPORT Sept 9 (12.) Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £1,369,000, be granted, &c." After debate, Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £1,319,000, &c." (<i>Colonel Hughes-Hallett</i>); Motion withdrawn; Vote agreed to [308] 1481	1,369,000
(13.) Superintending Establishment of, and Expenditure for, Works, Buildings, and Repairs, at Home and Abroad...	460,000	925,800	COMMITTEE Sept 7—REPORT Sept 8 (13.) After short debate, Vote agreed to [308] 1577	465,800
(14.) Establishments for Military Education ...	60,000	133,600	(14.) After short debate, Vote agreed to [308] 1583	73,600
(15.) Miscellaneous Effective Services ...	20,000	37,100	(15.) After short debate, Vote agreed to [308] 1585	17,100
(16.) Salaries and Miscellaneous Charges of the War Office ...	120,000	255,500	(16.) After short debate, Vote agreed to [308] 1591	135,500
Total Effective Services				
£15,156,900				

[cont.]

SUP SUP { SESSION 2, 1886 } SUP SUP

308—309.

<i>Supply—cont.</i>	Amount Voted.	Total of Estimate.	<i>Supply—cont.</i>	Amount voted to Complete.
III.—NON-EFFECTIVE SERVICES.				
(17.) Rewards for Distinguished Services, &c.	£ 10,000	£ 18,400	(17.)	£ 9,400
(18.) Half-Pay ...	40,000	79,700	(18.)	39,700
(19.) Retired Pay, Gratuities, and Payments allowed by Army Purchase Commissioners	500,000	1,187,400	(19.) Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £687,400, be granted, &c.;" after short debate, Question put, and agreed to [308] 1595	687,400
(20.) Widows' Pensions and Compassionate Allowances ...	70,000	129,700	(20.)	59,700
(21.) Pensions for Wounds	10,000	16,900	(21.)	6,900
(22.) Chelsea and Kilmainham Hospitals (In-Pensions) ...	20,000	32,200	(22.) After short debate, Vote agreed to [308] 1599	12,200
(23.) Out-Pensions ...	630,000	1,372,100	(23.) After short debate, Vote agreed to [308] 1600	742,100
(24.) Superannuation, Compensation, and Compassionate Allowances ...	90,000	188,000	(24.)	98,000
(25.) Retired Allowances to Officers of the Militia, Yeomanry, and Volunteer Forces ...	30,000	50,900	(25.)	20,900
Total ...	£12,730,300	£18,233,200	Total ...	£5,493,900

Total Estimate for ARMY SERVICES	...	£18,233,200
Amount voted (Session 1)	...	12,739,300
Ditto to complete (Session 2)	...	5,493,900
		<u>£18,233,200</u>

ESTIMATES, &c. CIVIL SERVICE AND REVENUE DEPARTMENTS,
1886-87.

CLASS I.—PUBLIC WORKS AND BUILDINGS.

GREAT BRITAIN: COMMITTEE <i>Mar 4</i> —R.P. COMMITTEE <i>Mar 11</i> — REPORT <i>Mar 12</i>				
	Amount voted.	Total of Estimate.		Amount voted to Complete.
(1.) Royal Palaces	£	£		£
Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £31,997, be granted, &c."				
Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £23,723, &c." (<i>Mr. Labouchere</i>); after debate, Question put; A. 123, N. 240; M. 115; after further debate, Vote agreed to [303] 479	31,997	31,997	. . . . .	_____
(2.) Marlborough House	1,625	1,625	. . . . .	_____
(3.) Royal Parks and Pleasure Gardens				
Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £112,619, be granted, &c."				
Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £62,216, &c." (<i>Mr. Labouchere</i>); after debate, Question put; A. 131, N. 114; M. 17 [303] 493				

. [cont.]

[cont.]

SUP SUP (G E N E R A L I N D E X) SUP SUP

308—309.

Supply—cont.

Amount Total of
Voted. Estimate.

Supply—cont.

Amount voted
to Complete.

COMMITTEE *Mar 18—*

REPORT *Mar 19*

Moved, " That, in addition to the sum of £82,216 already granted, the sum of £50,403 be granted, making together £112,619 "

Moved, " That the reduced sum of £48,253 be granted, making together £110,469 " (*Mr. Labouchere*) ; after short debate, Question put ; A. 65, N. 141 ; M. 76 ; Vote agreed to [303] 1308

£ £
112,619 112,619

£

COMMITTEE *Mar 11—*

REPORT *Mar 12*

(4.) Houses of Parliament
After short debate, Vote agreed to [303] 509

47,865 47,865
500 500

(5.) Gordon Monument

(6.) Public Buildings

After short debate, Vote agreed to [303] 529

192,221 192,221

(7.) New Admiralty and War Office ...

— 25,000

(8.) Furniture of Public Offices ...

19,060 19,060

(9.) Revenue Department Buildings ...

227,464 227,464

(10.) County Court Buildings ...

29,150 29,150

(11.) Metropolitan Police Courts ...

6,370 6,370

(12.) Sheriff Court Houses, Scotland ...

9,630 9,630

(13.) Surveys of the United Kingdom

After short debate, Vote agreed to [303] 545

258,000 258,000

(14.) Science and Art Department Buildings

19,742 19,742

(15.) British Museum Buildings

After short debate, Vote agreed to [303] 546

11,477 11,477

(16.) Harbours, &c. under Board of Trade

After short debate, Vote agreed to [303] 547

17,598 17,598

(17.) New Harbour at Dover ...

200 1,000

Moved, " That a sum, not exceeding £1,000, be granted, &c. ; " after debate, *Comm.—R.P.*

Comm. May 3—Moved, " That a sum, not exceeding £800, be granted, &c. ; " *Amendt. (Mr. Bradlaugh)* ; after debate, *Amendt.* and Vote withdrawn

[305] 153

[cont.]

[cont.]

SUP SUP { SESSION 2, 1886 } SUP SUP

308—309.

<i>Supply—cont.</i>	Amount Voted.	Total of Estimate.	<i>Supply—cont.</i>	Amount voted to Complete.
COMMITTEE May 3— REPORT May 5	£	£		£
(18.) Peterhead Harbour	30,120	30,120	.	_____
(19.) Rates on Government Property (Great Britain and Ireland) ...	221,485	221,485	.	_____
(20.) Metropolitan Fire Brigade ...	10,000	10,000	.	_____
(21.) Disturnpiked and Main Roads (England and Wales) ...	242,000	242,000	.	_____
(22.) Disturnpiked Roads (Scotland) ...	35,000	35,000	.	_____
IRELAND :				
(23.) Public Buildings After short debate, Vote agreed to [305] 174	212,335	212,335	COMMITTEE Sept 9—REPORT Sept 10	
(24.) Royal University Buildings ...	8,000	17,931	(24.)	9,931
(25.) Science and Art Buildings (Dublin) ...	8,000	25,000	(25.)	17,000
ABROAD :				
(26.) Lighthouses Abroad	13,208	13,208		
(27.) Diplomatic and Consular Buildings After short debate, Vote agreed to [305] 174	41,677	41,677		
Total ...	£1,807,343	£1,860,074	Total ...	£26,931

Total Estimate for CIVIL SERVICES, Class I. £1,860,074

Amount Voted (Session 1) ... 1,807,343
Ditto to complete (Session 2) 26,931

Not Voted—

Vote 7—New Admiralty and War Office 25,000
Vote 17—Dover Harbour 800

£1,860,074

CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS.

ENGLAND :	Amount Voted	Total of Estimate.	COMMITTEE Sept 9—REPORT Sept 10	Amount voted to Complete.
	£	£		£
(1.) House of Lords Offices ...	28,000	43,978	(1.) Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £15,978, be granted, &c." Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £14,278, &c." (<i>Mr. Labouchere</i>); after debate, Question put; A. 98, N. 173; M. 75; after short debate, Vote agreed to [308] 1793	15,978
(2.) House of Commons Offices ...	30,000	52,493	(2.) After debate, Vote agreed to [308] 1813	22,493
(3.) Treasury, including Parliamentary Counsel	36,000	58,718	(3.) Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £23,506 (including £788, Supplementary), be granted, &c." Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £20,506 (including £788, Supplementary), &c." (<i>Mr. Labouchere</i>); Question put; A. 66, N. 181; M. 115; Vote agreed to [308] 1824	23,506

[cont.]

[cont.]

SUP SUP { GENERAL INDEX } SUP SUP

308—309.

<i>Supply—cont.</i>	Amount Voted. £	Total of Estimate. £	<i>Supply—cont.</i>	Amount voted to Complete. £
(4.) Home Office and Subordinate Depart- ments... ..	55,000	95,632	(4.) After short debate, Vote agreed to [308] 1830	40,632
(5.) Foreign Office ...	40,000	71,671	(5.) Moved, "That a sum, not ex- ceeding £31,671, be granted, &c.;" after short debate, Moved to report Progress (<i>Dr. Tanner</i>); Motion negatived; Vote agreed to [308] 1838	31,671
(6.) Colonial Office ...	24,000	41,016	(6.)	17,016
(7.) Privy Council Office and Subordinate De- partments ...	24,000	46,816	(7.)	22,816
(8.) Board of Trade and Subordinate Depart- ments	60,000	106,817	(8.)	46,817
(9.) Bankruptcy Depart- ment of the Board of Trade... ..	100	242	(9.) After short debate, Vote agreed to [308] 1840	142
(10.) Charity Commission (including Endowed Schools Department)	23,500	38,465	(10.)	14,965
(11.) Civil Service Com- mission	19,000	33,554	(11.) After short debate, Vote agreed to [308] 1842	14,554
(12.) Exchequer and Audit Department	33,000	53,955	(12.) After short debate, Vote agreed to [308] 1845	20,955
			COMMITTEE Sept 10—REPORT Sept 13	
(13.) Friendly Societies Registry	4,500	8,207	(13.)	3,707
(14.) Land Commission for England	12,000	22,111	(14.) After short debate, Vote agreed to [309] 29	10,111
(15.) Local Government Board	270,000	445,956	(15.) Moved, "That a sum, not ex- ceeding £175,956, be granted, &c." Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £150,456, &c." (<i>Mr. A. O'Connor</i>); after debate, Question put, and negatived Original Question again proposed; Moved, "That a sum, not exceed- ing £175,656, &c." (<i>Mr. Dillon</i>); after debate, Question put, and agreed to [309] 35	175,656
(16.) Lunacy Commission	9,000	15,239	(16.) Moved, "That a sum, not ex- ceeding £6,239, be granted, &c." Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £239, &c." (<i>Mr. Molloy</i>); after de- bate, Question put; A. 67, N. 123; M. 56; Vote agreed to [309] 86	6,239
(17.) Mint (including Coinage)	40,000	69,081	(17.) After debate, Vote agreed to [309] 102	29,081
(18.) National Debt Office	9,000	14,796	(18.) Moved, "That a sum, not ex- ceeding £5,796, be granted, &c." Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £5,296, &c." (<i>Sir G. Campbell</i>); after debate, Question put; A. 73, N. 139; M. 66; Vote agreed to [309] 113	5,796
(19.) Patent Office ..	28,000	53,303	(19.) Moved, "That a sum, not ex- ceeding £25,303, be granted, &c." After debate, Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £24,903, &c." (<i>Mr. A. Blane</i>); Question put, and nega- tived; Vote agreed to [309] 120	25,303
(20.) Paymaster General's Office... ..	15,000	26,190	(20.)	11,190
(21.) Public Works Loan Commission	5,600	9,614	(21.) Moved, "That a sum, not ex- ceeding £4,014, be granted, &c.;" after short debate, Vote agreed to [309] 122	4,014

[cont.]

[cont.]

SUP SUP { SESSION 2, 1886 } SUP SUP

308—309.

<i>Supply—cont.</i>	Amount Voted. £	Total of Estimate. £	<i>Supply—cont.</i>	Amount voted to Complete. £
(22.) Record Office ...	13,000	21,326	(22.)	8,326
(23.) Registrar General's Office ...	27,000	49,211	(23.)	22,211
(24.) Stationery Office and Printing ...	320,000	561,424	(24.) Moved, "That a sum, not ex- ceeding £241,424, be granted, &c." After debate, Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £236,274, &c." (<i>Mr.</i> <i>Labouchere</i>); after further short debate, Question put; A. 30; N. 176; M. 146; after further short debate, Vote agreed to [309] 135	241,424
(25.) Woods, Forests, &c., Office of ...	13,000	23,043	(25.) Moved, "That a sum, not ex- ceeding £10,043, be granted, &c." After debate, Moved to report Pro- gress (<i>Mr. Dillon</i>); after further short debate, Question put, and agreed to; <i>Comm.—R.P.</i> [309] 151	10,043
COMMITTEE Sept 13—REPORT Sept 14				
Moved, "That a sum, not exceed- ing £10,043, be granted, &c." After debate, Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £8,043, be granted, &c." (<i>Mr. Clancy</i>); Motion with- drawn				
Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £8,043, be granted, &c." (<i>Mr.</i> <i>Clancy</i>); Question put; A. 73, N. 149; M. 76; Vote agreed to [309] 188				
(26.) Works and Public Buildings, Office of ...	28,000	49,059	(26.) After short debate, Vote agreed to [309] 210	21,059
(27.) Mercantile Marine Fund, Grant in Aid ...	30,000	40,000	(27.)	10,000
(28.) Secret Service ...	20,000	50,000	(28.) Moved, "That a sum, not ex- ceeding £30,000, be granted &c." After short debate, Question put; A. 159, N. 54; M. 105; Vote agreed to [309] 212	30,000
SCOTLAND:				
(29.) Secretary for Scot- land ...	5,500	8,893	(29.) After short debate, Vote agreed to [309] 215	3,393
(30.) Exchequer and other Offices ...	3,700	6,455	(30.) Moved, "That a sum, not ex- ceeding £2,755, be granted, &c." Moved, "That a sum, not exceed- ing £2,125, be granted, &c." (<i>Mr.</i> <i>Labouchere</i>); after short debate, Motion withdrawn Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £1,466, be granted, &c." (<i>Mr. La-</i> <i>bouchere</i>); after short debate. Ques- tion put; A. 59, N. 141; M. 82; Vote agreed to [309] 220	2,755
(31.) Fishery Board ...	14,000	26,780	(31.) Moved, "That a sum, not ex- ceeding £12,780, be granted, &c." After short debate, Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £12,580, be granted, &c." (<i>Mr. Hunter</i>); Ques- tion put; A. 65, N. 154; M. 89; Vote agreed to [309] 227	12,780
(32.) Lunacy Commission	3,500	5,982	(32.) After short debate, Vote agreed to [309] 255	2,482
(33.) Registrar General's Office ...	3,000	6,089	(33.)	3,089
(34.) Board of Supervi- sion ...	26,000	29,340	(34.)	3,340

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[cont.]

SUP SUP (GENERAL INDEX) SUP SUP

308—309.

Supply—cont.	Amount Voted.	Total of Estimate.	Supply—cont.	Amount voted to Complete.
IRELAND :				
(35.) Lord Lieutenant's Household	5,000	£ 7,516	(35.) Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £2,516, be granted, &c." Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £2,489, be granted, &c." (<i>Mr. A. O'Connor</i>); after short debate, Motion withdrawn Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £953, be granted, &c." (<i>Mr. T. W. Russell</i>); after short debate, Question put; A. 36, N. 178; M. 142 Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £1,727, be granted, &c." (<i>Dr. Tanner</i>); after short debate, Question put; A. 55, N. 179; M. 124 Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £1,437, be granted, &c." (<i>Mr. Clancy</i>); after short debate, Question put; A. 62; N. 172; M. 110 Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £2,456, be granted, &c." (<i>Mr. Dillon</i>); after short debate, Question put; A. 56; N. 165; M. 109 Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £2,154, be granted, &c." (<i>Mr. Crilly</i>); after short debate, Motion withdrawn; Vote agreed to [309] 256	£ 2,516
(36.) Chief Secretary's Office, &c.	23,000	40,866	(36.) Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £17,866, be granted, &c.;" after short debate, Motion withdrawn [309] 256	17,866
COMMITTEE Sept 14—REPORT Sept 15 Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £17,866, be granted, &c." After debate, Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £7,866, &c." (<i>Mr. Twite</i>); after further debate, Moved to report Progress (<i>Mr. Biggar</i>); Question put, and negatived Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £7,866, &c." (<i>Mr. Twite</i>); after debate, Question put; A. 75, N. 178; M. 103 Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £10,666, &c." (<i>Mr. Lalor</i>); after debate, Motion withdrawn; Vote agreed to [309] 348				
(37.) Charitable Donations and Bequests Office	1,200	2,019	COMMITTEE Sept 13—REPORT Sept 14 (37.)	819
COMMITTEE Sept 14— (38.) Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £68,688, be granted, &c." <i>Comm.—R.F.</i> [309] 490				
8.) Local Government Board	75,000	143,688	COMMITTEE Sept 15—REPORT Sept 16 Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £68,688, be granted, &c." After debate, Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £65,688, &c." (<i>Mr. Jordan</i>); after further debate, Question put, and negatived	65,688

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SUP SUP (SESSION 2, 1886) SUP SUP
308—309.

<i>Supply—cont.</i>	Amount Voted.	Total of Estimate.	<i>Supply—cont.</i>	Amount voted to Complete.
(39.) Public Works Office	£ 32,000	£ 50,559	Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £55,198, &c." (<i>Mr. Finucane</i>); after short debate, Question put, and negatived; Vote agreed to [309] 496	£ 18,559
(40.) Record Office ...	4,000	6,414	(39.) Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £18,559, be granted, &c." After debate, Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £17,559, &c." (<i>Mr. Donal Sullivan</i>); Question put; A. 72, N. 155; M. 83	
(41.) Registrar General's Office ...	11,000	16,126	Moved, "That the Vote be omitted" (<i>Mr. Clancy</i>); after short debate, Motion withdrawn; Vote agreed to [309] 555	
(42.) Valuation and Boundary Survey ...	15,000	23,826	COMMITTEE Sept 13—REPORT Sept 14	
Total ...	£1,438,600	£2,476,470	(40.) After short debate, Vote agreed to [309] 287	2,414
			COMMITTEE Sept 15—	
			(41.) Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £5,126, be granted, &c." Comm.—R.P. [309] 578	5,126
			COMMITTEE Sept 16—REPORT Sept 17	
			Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £5,126, be granted, &c."	
			Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £5,106, be granted, &c." (<i>Mr. A. O'Connor</i>); after short debate, Question put; A. 76, N. 136; M. 60; Vote agreed to [309] 604	
			COMMITTEE Sept 18—REPORT Sept 14	
			(42.)	8,826
			Total ..	£1,038,358

Total Estimate for CIVIL SERVICES, Class II.	£2,476,470
Amount Voted (Session 1)	1,438,600
Ditto to complete (Session 2) (including Supplementary to Vote 3, £788, and less deduction from Vote 15 £300) ...	1,038,358
	<u>£2,476,958</u>

CLASS III.—LAW AND JUSTICE.

ENGLAND :	Amount Voted.	Total of Estimate.	Amount voted to Complete
COMMITTEE May 3— REPORT May 5			£
(1.) Law Charges	£	£	
After short debate, Vote agreed to [305] 180	84,974	84,974	
(2.) Criminal Prosecutions ...	159,377	159,377	
(3.) Supreme Court of Judicature			
After short debate, Vote agreed to [305] 181	422,219	422,219	

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SUP SUP { GENERAL INDEX } SUP SUP

308—309.

<i>Supply—cont.</i>	Amount Voted. £	Total of Estimate. £	<i>Supply—cont.</i>	Amount voted to Complete. £
(4.) Wreck Commission	13,430	13,430		
(5.) County Courts ...	428,804	428,804		
(6.) Land Registry ...	2,942	2,942		
(7.) Revising Barristers, England				
After short debate, Vote agreed to [305] 197	18,690	18,690	COMMITTEE Sept 17—REPORT Sept 18	
(8.) Police Courts (Lon- don and Sheerness) ..	15,565	15,565	(7.) (Supplementary) . . .	1,630
(9.) Metropolitan Police				
After short debate, Vote agreed to [305] 199	559,730	559,730		
(10.) Special Police ...	36,000	36,000		
(11.) County and Borough Police, Great Britain				
After short debate, Vote agreed to [305] 204	853,311	853,311		
(12.) Convict Establish- ments in England and the Colonies				
After short debate, Vote agreed to [305] 211	346,644	346,644		
(13.) Prisons, England	466,035	466,035		
(14.) Reformatory and In- dustrial Schools, Great Britain				
After short debate, Vote agreed to [305] 211	280,852	280,852		
(15.) Broadmoor Criminal Lunatic Asylum				
After short debate, Vote agreed to [305] 216	29,282	29,282		
SCOTLAND :				
(16.) Lord Advocate, and Criminal Proceedings				
After short debate, Vote agreed to [305] 217	64,356	64,356		
(17.) Courts of Law and Justice				
After short debate, Vote agreed to [305] 221	63,921	63,921		
Report May 5; debate adjourned, 480; May 10, debate resumed; after debate, Res. agreed to, 601				
(18.) Register House De- partments ...	36,862	36,862		
(18a.) Scotch Crofters Commission			(18a.) (Supplementary) . . .	3,630
(19.) Police, Counties and Burghs (Scotland)				
After short debate, Vote agreed to [305] 227	148,037	148,037		
(20.) Prisons, Scotland	108,876	108,876		
IRELAND :				
(21.) Law Charges and Cri- minal Prosecutions ...	45,000	74,041	COMMITTEE Sept 13— (21.) Moved, "That a sum, not ex- ceeding £29,041, be granted, &c." After short debate, Moved, "To re- port Progress" (<i>Mr. Conyngham</i>) ; Question put; A. 54, N. 150; M. 96 Moved, "That the Chairman, &c." (<i>Mr. J. O'Connor, Tipperary, S.</i>) ; Question put; A. 55, N. 154; M. 99	29,041

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SUP SUP {SESSION 2, 1886} SUP SUP

308—309.

Supply—cont.	Amount Voted.	Total of Estimate.	Supply—cont.	Amount voted to Complete.
			Moved, "To report Progress" (<i>Mr. Hunter</i>); Question put; A. 56, N. 148; M. 93	
			Moved, "That the Chairman, &c." (<i>Mr. Dillwyn</i>); Motion withdrawn	
			Moved, "That the Chairman, &c.;" after short debate, Motion agreed to [309] 288	
			COMMITTEE Sept 16—REPORT Sept 17	
			Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £39,041, be granted, &c."	
			After long debate, Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £32,041, &c." (<i>Mr. Sheehy</i>); Moved, "To report Progress" (<i>Colonel Nolan</i>); after further short debate, Motion withdrawn	
			Question again proposed; Question put; A. 75, N. 162; M. 87	
			Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £36,791, &c." (<i>Mr. Alexander Blane</i>); after short debate, Question put, and negatived	
			Original Question put, and agreed to [309] 614	
(22.) Supreme Court of Judicature	£ 50,000	£ 88,861	(22.) After short debate, Vote agreed to [309] 695	£ 38,861
COMMITTEE May 3— REPORT, May 5				
(23.) Court of Bankruptcy	10,059	10,059		
(24.) Admiralty Court Registry	1,285	1,285		
(25.) Registry of Deeds ...	9,000	16,835	(25.) After short debate, Vote agreed to [309] 696	7,835
(26.) Registry of Judgments	1,200	2,363	(26.)	1,163
(27.) Land Commission ...	28,000	54,613	(27.) After short debate, Vote agreed to [309] 699	36,613
(28.) County Court Officers, &c.	51,000	96,687	(28.) Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £54,450 (including £8,768 supplementary), be granted, &c."	54,450
			Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £53,450, &c." (<i>Mr. J. O'Connor, Tipperary, S.</i>); after short debate, Moved, "To report Progress" (<i>Mr. Clancy</i>); Motion withdrawn; after further short debate, Question put; A. 54, N. 188; M. 124	
			After short debate, Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £53,950, &c." (<i>Mr. M. J. Kenny</i>); after further short debate, Question put; A. 57, N. 171; M. 114	
(29.) Dublin Metropolitan Police (including Police Courts)	90,000	150,632	Original Question put, and agreed to [309] 699	60,632
(30.) Constabulary ...	555,000	1,397,153	COMMITTEE Sept 17—REPORT Sept 18	
			(30.) After debate, Vote agreed to [309] 789	542,153
(31.) Prisons, Ireland ...	85,000	155,886	COMMITTEE Sept 16—REPORT Sept 17	
			(31.) After short debate, Vote agreed to [309] 734	70,886

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SUP SUP { GENERAL INDEX } SUP SUP

308—309.

<i>Supply—cont.</i>	Amount Voted.	Total of Estimate.	<i>Supply—cont.</i>	Amount voted to Complete.
COMMITTEE May 3— REPORT May 5				
(32.) Reformatory and Industrial Schools ...	£ 108,057	£ 108,057		
(33.) Dundrum Criminal Lunatic Asylum ...	6,755	6,755		
Total ...	£5,480,163	£6,303,034		<u>£837,244</u>

Total Estimate for CIVIL SERVICES, Class III. ... £6,303,034

Amount Voted (Session 1) ...	...	...	...	5,480,163
Ditto to complete (Session 2) including Supplementary, Vote 7	...	...	£1,680	
Ditto " " 18a	...	...	3,930	
Ditto " " 28	...	...	8,763	837,244
				<u>£6,317,407</u>

CLASS IV.—EDUCATION, SCIENCE, AND ART.

	Amount Voted.	Total of Estimate.		Amount voted to Complete.
ENGLAND :				
	£	£	COMMITTEE Sept 16—REPORT Sept 17	£
(1.) Public Education...	2,100,000	3,422,989	(1.) After short debate, Vote agreed to [309] 743	1,322,989
(2.) Science and Art Department ...	280,000	400,043	(2.) After short debate, Vote agreed to [309] 751	170,043
(3.) British Museum ...	85,000	162,285	(3.)	77,285
(4.) National Gallery, including Natural History Museum ...	5,000	8,607	(4.) Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £3,607, be granted, &c.;" after short debate, Motion withdrawn [309] 760	3,607
			COMMITTEE Sept 17—REPORT Sept 18	
			Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £3,607, be granted, &c."	
			Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £3,307, be granted, &c." (Sir George Campbell); after short debate, Motion withdrawn; after further short debate, Vote agreed to [309] 828	
(5.) National Portrait Gallery ...	1,200	1,731	(5.) After short debate, Vote (including £630, Supplementary) agreed to [309] 837	1,161
			COMMITTEE Sept 16—REPORT Sept 17	
(6.) Learned Societies, &c.	17,000	24,400	(6.) After short debate, Vote agreed to [309] 761	7,400
(7.) London University	7,000	13,153	(7.)	6,153
(8.) University Colleges, Wales ...	6,000	12,000	(8.)	6,000
(9.) Deep Sea Exploring Expedition (Report) H.M.S. "Challenger" Transit of Venus, 1882	2,500	4,337	(9.) After short debate, Vote agreed to [309] 762	1,337
			COMMITTEE Sept 17—REPORT Sept 18	
SCOTLAND :				
(10.) Public Education ...	340,000	524,263	(10.) After debate, Vote agreed to [309] 833	184,263
(11.) Universities, &c.	11,000	19,508	(11.) After debate, Vote agreed to [309] 866	8,508
(12.) National Gallery ...	1,600	2,100	(12.)	500
		[cont.]		[cont.]

SUP SUP { SESSION 2, 1886 } SUP SUP
308—309.

<i>Supply—cont.</i>	Amount Voted. £	Total of Estimate. £	<i>Supply—cont.</i>	Amount voted to Complete. £
IRELAND :				
(13.) Public Education...	570,000	828,073	(13.) After debate, Vote agreed to [309] 867	258,073
(14.) Teachers' Pension Office	1,200	2,145	(14.)	945
(15.) Endowed Schools Commissioners ...	400	670	(15.)	270
(16.) National Gallery ...	1,800	2,501	(16.)	701
(17.) Queen's Colleges ...	2,500	11,028	(17.) After short debate, Vote agreed to [309] 889	8,528
(18.) Royal Irish Academy	2,000	2,520	(18.) After short debate, Vote agreed to [309] 891	520
			(19.) Royal University of Ireland	5,000
Total ..	£3,384,200	£5,442,352	Total ...	£2,063,782

Total Estimate for CIVIL SERVICES, Class IV. ... £5,442,352

Amount voted (Session 1) 3,384,200
Ditto to complete (Session 2) (including Supplementary, Vote 5, £630, and Supplementary, Vote 19, £5,000) 2,063,782
£5,447,982

CLASS V.—FOREIGN AND COLONIAL SERVICES.

	Amount Voted. £	Total of Estimate. £		Amount voted to Complete. £
COMMITTEE Sept 17—REPORT Sept 18				
(1.) Diplomatic Services	170,000	232,010	(1.) Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £32,010, be granted, &c." Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £58,010, be granted, &c." (Sir George Campbell); after debate, Question put; A. 54, N. 158; M. 104; Original Question put, and agreed to [309] 892	62,010
(2.) Consular Services...	140,000	186,486	(2.)	46,486
(3.) Slave Trade Services	10,000	14,160	(3.)	4,160
(4.) Suez Canal (British Directors)	400	2,405	(4.)	2,005
(5.) Colonies, Grants-in-Aid	17,000	30,116	(5.)	13,116
(6.) South Africa and St. Helena	40,000	109,637	(6.) After short debate, Vote agreed to [309] 907	69,637
(7.) Subsidies to Telegraph Companies ...	37,000	50,050	(7.)	13,050
(8.) Cyprus, Grant-in-Aid	19,000	20,000	(8.) Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £1,000, be granted, &c.;" after short debate, Question put; A. 148 N. 47; M. 101 [309] 914	1,000
Total ...	£433,400	£644,864	Total ...	£211,464

Total Estimate for CIVIL SERVICES, Class V. ... £644,864

Amount voted (Session 1) 433,400
Ditto to complete (Session 2) 211,464
£644,864

CLASS VI.—NON-EFFECTIVE AND CHARITABLE SERVICES.

	Amount voted.	Total of Estimate.		Amount voted to Complete.
COMMITTEE Sept 17—REPORT Sept 18				
(1.) Superannuation and Retired Allowances ...	£ 340,000	£ 463,928	(1.)	£ 123,928
COMMITTEE June 11— REPORT June 16				
(1A.) Gratuity to Widow of the late Sir Ralph Gosset, Serjeant-at-Arms				
After short debate, Vote agreed to [306] 1510	1,000	1,000		
(2.) Merchant Seamen's Fund Pensions, &c. ...	15,000	19,200	(2.)	4,200
(3.) Pauper Lunatics, England ...	10,000	495,000	(3.)	485,000
(4.) Pauper Lunatics, Scotland ...	85,000	87,000	(4.)	2,000
(5.) Pauper Lunatics, Ireland ...	99,000	99,800	(5.)	800
(6.) Hospitals and Infir- maries, Ireland ...	9,000	16,658	(6.)	7,658
(7.) Savings Banks and Friendly Societies De- ficiency ..	51,364	52,364	(7.)	1,000
(8.) Miscellaneous Chari- table and other Allow- ances, Great Britain	1,500	2,611	(8.)	1,111
(9.) Miscellaneous Chari- table and other Allow- ances, Ireland ...	1,400	2,703	(9.)	1,303
Total ...	£613,264	£1,240,264	Total ...	£627,000

Total Estimate for CIVIL SERVICES, Class VI.. ... £1,240,264

Amount voted (Session 1) 613,264

Ditto to complete (Session 2) 627,000

£1,240,264

CLASS VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

	Amount Voted.	Total of Estimate.		Amount voted to Complete.
COMMITTEE Sept 17—REPORT Sept 18				
(1.) Temporary Commis- sions ...	£ 19,000	£ 32,331	(1.)	£ 13,331
(2.) Miscellaneous Ex- penses ...	5,000	7,802	(2.) Moved, "That a sum, not ex- ceeding £2,802, be granted, &c."	2,802
			After short debate, Question put ; A. 140, N. 48 ; M. 92 ; Vote agreed to [309] 916	
			(3.) Moved, "That a sum, not ex- ceeding £14,786, be granted, &c."	14,786
			Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £14,172, &c." (Mr. Labouchere) ; after short debate, Question put ; A. 48, N. 126 ; M. 78 ; Vote agreed to [309] 920	
Repayment to Civil Con- tingencies Fund ...		- -		
Registration of Voters, England ...		- -		
Registration of Voters, Scotland ...		- -		
Registration of Voters, Ireland ...		- -		
Total ...	£24,000	£40,133	Total ..	£30,919

Supply—cont.

Total Estimate for CIVIL SERVICES Class VII.	..	<u>£40,133</u>
Amount voted (Session 1)	..	<u>£24,000</u>
Ditto to complete (Session 2) (in-	..	<u>£30,919</u>
cluding Supplementary, Vote 3, £14,786)	..	<u>£54,919</u>

REVENUE DEPARTMENTS, &c.

	Amount Voted. £	Total of Estimate. £		Amount voted to complete.
Vote I. For Salaries and Expenses of the Cus- toms Department ...	420,000	956,057	COMMITTEE Sept 17—REPORT Sept 18	
Vote II. For Salaries and Expenses of the Inland Revenue Department	740,000	1,797,506	(I.)	536,057
Vote III. For Salaries and Expenses of the Post Office Services, the ex- penses of Post Office Savings Banks, and Go- vernment Annuities and Insurances, and the Col- lection of the Post Office Revenue ...	2,100,000	5,218,955	(II.)	1,057,506
Vote IV. For the Post Of- fice Packet Service ...	400,000	735,663	(III.)	3,118,955
Vote V. For Salaries and Expenses of the Post Office Telegraph Service	1,070,000	1,845,510	(IV.) After short debate, Vote agreed to [309] 919	335,663
Total ...	<u>£4,730,000</u>	<u>£10,553,691</u>	(V.)	775,510
			Total ...	<u>£5,823,691</u>

Total Estimate for REVENUE DEPARTMENTS	..	<u>£10,553,691</u>
Amount voted (Session 1)	..	<u>£4,730,000</u>
Ditto to complete (Session 2)	..	<u>£5,823,691</u>
		<u>£10,553,691</u>

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- Deep Sea Exploring Expedition, Report, [309] 762
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- Contagious Diseases (Animals)—Splenic Blood Poisoning at Arnesby, *Leicestershire*, [308] 1467
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TEMPLE, Sir R., *Worcester, Evesham*

- Admiralty—Mr. C. J. Cox, Principal Clerk, [309] 16
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 Bulgaria—Reported Abdication of Prince Alexander, [308] 549, 670;—Message of Prince Alexander to the Czar, [308] 1195
 India—The Forest Service—Pensions, [308] 888
 Queensland—Newly Discovered Gold Field, [309] 972

Tenants Relief (Ireland) Bill

(*Mr. Parnell, Mr. Sexton, Mr. Dillon, Mr. T. P. O'Connor, Mr. Pinkerton, Mr. Mahony*)

c. Ordered; read 1^o 9 Sept 10 [Bill 47]

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2^d" Sept 20, [309] 984

Amendt. to leave out from "That," add "in the opinion of this House, it is inexpedient at the present time to make any further alteration in the Irish Land Laws" (*Mr. Penrose Fitzgerald*) v.; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after long debate, Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. John Morley*); Question put, and agreed to; Debate adjourned

Debate resumed Sept 21, 1132; after long debate, Question put; A. 302, N. 297; M. 95

Div. List, A. and N. 1347

Words added; main Question, as amended, put, and agreed to

Tenants Relief (Ireland) Bill—cont.

Resolved, That, in the opinion of this House, it is inexpedient at the present time to make any further alteration in the Irish Land Laws

THOMAS, Mr. A., Glamorgan, E.

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Tithe Commutation Act, 1836

Collection of Tithes, Questions, Mr. Dillwyn, Mr. Kenyon; Answers, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews); Question, Mr. Sexton [no reply] Aug 26, [308] 551

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Payment of Tithes—Legislation, Question, Mr. H. R. Farquharson; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) Aug 30, [308] 794

Wales—The Tithe Agitation, Notice of Question, Mr. J. G. Hubbard Aug 23, [308] 254; Question, Mr. J. G. Hubbard; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) Aug 27, 654; Questions, Mr. J. G. Hubbard, Mr. Borlase; Answers, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) Sept 10, [309] 19

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Town Holdings

Moved, "That the Select Committee of last Parliament be re-appointed to inquire into the terms of occupation and the compensation for improvements possessed by the occupiers of town houses and holdings in Great Britain and Ireland; and to inquire into the expediency of giving to leaseholders facilities for the purchase of the fee simple of their property; and also into the question of imposing a direct assessment on the owners of ground rents, and on the owners of increased values imparted to land by building operations, or other improvements" (Colonel Nolan) Aug 20, [308] 249; after short debate, Motion withdrawn

Trade and Agriculture, Royal Commission on—Foreign Bounties

Question, Mr. Norris; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Lord Randolph Churchill) Aug 30, [308] 781

Trade and Commerce

Commercial Education, Question, Mr. Lawson; Answer, The Vice President of the Council (Sir Henry Holland) Sept 6, [308] 1309

Foreign Labour in the Tower Hamlets—The Census, Question, Captain Colomb; Answer, The Secretary to the Board of Trade (Baron Henry De Worms) Sept 10, [309] 17

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Law of Trade Marks—The International Industrial Convention, Questions, Mr. Howard Vincent, Mr. Mundella; Answers, The Secretary to the Board of Trade (Baron Henry De Worms) Aug 24, [308] 368

Trade Marks Act—Registration of "Fancy Words", Question, Mr. Lockwood; Answer, The Secretary to the Board of Trade (Baron Henry De Worms) Aug 26, [308] 543

False Marking and Wrapping—Legislation, Question, Mr. Howard Vincent; Answer, The Secretary to the Board of Trade (Baron Henry De Worms) Aug 30, [308] 784

Tramways Provisional Orders (No. 1)

Bill (Mr. Charles Acland, Mr. Mundella)

c. Read 1^o; read 2^o; read 3^o Aug 26 [Bill 195]

l. Read 1^a (E. Waldegrave) Aug 30 (No. 192)

Read 2^a Sept 3

Committee*; Report Sept 6

Read 3^a Sept 7

Royal Assent Sept 25 [50 Vict. c. x]

Tramways Provisional Orders (No. 2)

Bill (Mr. Charles Acland, Mr. Mundella)

c. Read 1^o; read 2^o Aug 26 [Bill 208]

Report*; Considered; read 3^o Sept 7

l. Read 1^a (L. Stanley of Preston) Sept 7

Read 2^a Sept 16 (No. 18)

Committee*; Report; read 3^a Sept 20

Royal Assent Sept 25 [50 Vict. c. xxi]

Tramways Provisional Orders (No. 3)

Bill (Mr. Charles Acland, Mr. Mundella)

c. Read 1^o; read 2^o Aug 26 [Bill 213]

Report*; Considered; read 3^o Sept 7

l. Read 1^a (L. Stanley of Preston) Sept 7

Read 2^a Sept 16 (No. 19)

Committee*; Report Sept 20

Read 3^a Sept 22

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(*Mr. Carew, Mr. Arthur O'Connor, Mr. Cobb*)

o. Ordered; read 1^o Aug 30 [Bill 42]
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(*Mr. Patrick O'Brien, Mr. Parnell, Mr. Dillon, Mr. Clancy, Dr. Commins, Dr. Fox*)

c. Ordered; read 1^o Aug 23 [Bill 33]
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Considered in Committee Sept 17

Resolved, That, towards making good the Supply granted to Her Majesty for the service of the year ending on the 31st day of March 1887, the sum of £20,089,639 be granted out of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom

Resolution reported Sept 18

[See title *Consolidated Fund (Appropriation) Bill*]

SUMMARY (SESSION 1.)

WAYS AND MEANS.

GRANTS OUT OF THE CONSOLIDATED FUND.

For the service of the years	£	s.	d.
ending 31st March 1885			
and 1886 ; viz.			
Under Act 49 Vic. cap. 4 ...	583,487	2	1
For the service of the year			
ending 31st March 1887 :—			
Under Act 49 Vic. cap. 7 ...	12,718,318	0	0
Under this Act ...	26,993,652	0	0
Total ...	£40,390,457	2	1

SUMMARY (Session 2.)

WAYS AND MEANS.

GRANT OUT OF THE CONSOLIDATED FUND.

For the service of the year	£	s.	d.
ending 31st March 1887	20,089,689	0	0
Total...	£20,089,689	0	0

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ERRATA.

In Vol. [308], page 845, line 3 from bottom, *for* "Earl," *read* "Lord (Randolph Churchill).

" [309], page 29, line 12 from top, *for* "(Mr. Parnell)," *read* "(Dr. Tanner)."

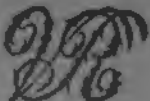
" " page 176, line 23 from bottom, *for* "1883," *read* "1885."

" " page 810, line 30, *for* "Mr. P. O'Brien (Monaghan, N.)," *read* "Mr. P. J. O'Brien (Tipperary, N.)"

END OF VOLUME CCCIX., AND SECOND AND LAST
VOLUME OF SESSION 2, 1886.

VOL. CCCIX.

PART V.

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HANSARD'S
PARLIAMENTARY
DEBATES.



GENERAL INDEX AND CONTENTS
TO
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